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[Addis Ababa, s.n.]

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Next Month's

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which will contain the full text of

H.I.M. THE EMPEROR HAILE SELLASSIE'S IMPORTANT SPEECHES ON HIS RECENT INTERNATIONAL TOUR

and a survey of the activities of many Ethiopian organisations

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This Month's Cover Illustration

The Emperor Haile Sellassie I. confers with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana during the latter's recent visit to Ethiopia

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A moment of relaxation: Right to left: H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Sellassie I; H.E. Tsehafie Taezaz Tafara Worq; Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

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The close of a friendly conference

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H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Sellassie I

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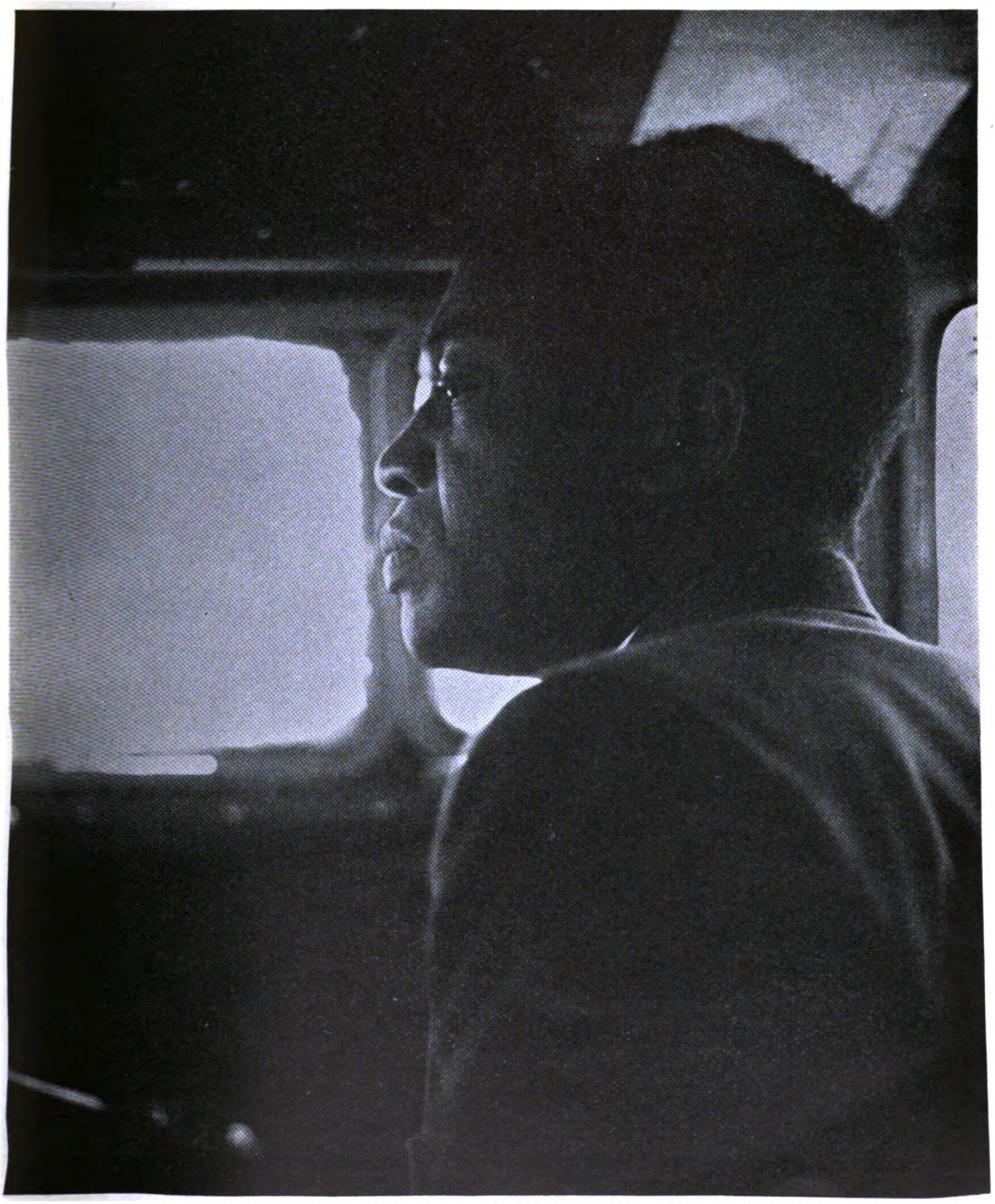

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah flies in an Ethiopian 'plane to the old city of Gondar, flying over the Blue Nile. On the opposite page two glimpses of the scenery he saw from the 'plane

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Dr. Kwame Nkrumah giving a farewell message over Addis Ababa radio

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The Genesis of the Italo-Ethiopian War — Part II

(concluded from last issue)

by SYLVIA PANKHURST

THE COLONIAL WAR IN TRIPOLI

The hope of securing a Colonial Empire to rival those of Britain and France remained latent in certain strata of Italian society. Italy had lost the protectorate her rulers had attempted to establish in Ethiopia; the ancient African Empire had retained its age-old independence. Nevertheless a second Italian colony had been established on the Indian Ocean coast of Ethiopia and its boundary, after much pressure and wrangling, was fixed in 1908. Eritrea, Italy's first colony had been enlarged. King Humbert had, after all, gained this from his contest with Emperor Menelik.

With an eye to obtaining a third colony, the Italian Government set up a claim to "special rights" in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, then included in the Ottoman Empire. The claim was based solely on the fact that the Mediterranean washed alike the Libyan shore and also the coast of Italy.

The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire had long been discussed by the European Powers. The Italian Government, when renewing its participation in the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany in 1877, had extracted from Austria an agreement that Tripoli, then part of the Ottoman Empire, should fall to Italy's share. The British Government, always favourable to Italian colonisation, had raised no objection to this solution. In 1902 the Italian Government had obtained French assent that Italy should have this part of the Ottoman Empire in return for a promise that she would not join her two companions in the Triple Alliance should they make war on France.* In 1909 Italy obtained the agreement of Russia. The Powers being agreed that she might have Tripoli, it was only a matter of time and convenience as to when the seizure would take place.

In the meantime "special rights" in Tripoli were claimed and the nature of these rights was described by the Italian Foreign Minister, Tommaso Tittoni, to the Italian Senate on May 10, 1905:

"If we do not wish to occupy Tripoli at present . . . it is evident that the rights we have upon Tripoli for the future must give us, even at present, a preference in the economic field in directing our capital to that region and in promoting commercial currents and agrarian and industrial enterprises."

This meant the exclusion of other than Italian enterprise in all commerce, agriculture and industry. Rumours that concessions for development had been granted to companies of other nationality had disturbed the ever-jealous Italian Parliament and Press from time to time. Tittoni explained that in each case the Sultan had stated, in reply to Italian official enquiries, that he had not given the alleged concession. As to the Port of Tripoli, about which an uproar had been raised, he declared he was not considering its development at present and any future works there would be executed not by a European firm but by the Turkish Ministry of Works. Tittoni added:

"To clear up this matter and to assure unquestionably Italian rights, even after the Sultan's declaration, I invited our Ambassador to point out to His Imperial Majesty that the intentions of Italy are peaceful, but the Italian Government must draw the Sultan's special attention to the grave consequences for Turkey of the granting by her of concessions or privileges in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica which would be opposed to Italian interests."

Italy being economically the weakest of what were termed "the Great Powers," her economic predominance was not beneficial to the country upon which she succeeded in imposing it. Tittoni himself told the Chambers that Italians were unwilling to invest capital for development abroad and that if the Government had any surplus revenue it would be best to spend it in the undeveloped areas of southern Italy where roads, schools and water supplies were deficient and people in some localities were living in caves and holes in the mountain side.

The agreements to protect and to develop African countries which the European Powers made among themselves usually ended in annexation, as happened in the case of Libya in the very year after Tittoni had declared Italy's claim to exercise special rights there.

1911 was the year of the Agadir crisis when the Ger-

* c.f. French Yellow Book, 1912.

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man Emperor sent the *Panther* and the *Berlin* to that Moroccan seaport to defend German commercial interests which he held to be threatened by the French determination to control Morocco. The British Government had agreed to this French predominance in the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale of 1904 in return for French agreement to the British occupation of Egypt. The Kaiser and Government of Germany were complaining of "encirclement" by France and Britain and of the frustration of German expansionist aims eastwards. French politicians were apprehensive of another attack by Germany. There had been several anti-German naval scares in the British Press during the preceding years. Agreements had been made between the British and Belgian Governments concerning their attitude in the event of war with Germany, or at least so it was believed in Germany. There had been conversations between the French and British naval staffs, though certainly not much had come of them. England was notoriously unprepared in 1914. Nevertheless, with these movements and rumours of movements agitating the international atmosphere, it was suggested that Germany, balked in Morocco, might pounce upon Libya. Therefore when the Giolitti administration under King Victor Emmanuel III staged its invasion of Tripoli in September 1911, it was currently believed Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, had given his approval to the coup.

The Tripoli war was popular in bellicose Italian circles styling themselves "Nationalists," who were declaring a "blood-bath" necessary to impart to the Italian forces the strength and virility of the conquering Roman legions of old. The spectre of the ancient Roman Empire stirred their restless ambitions, rendering them contemptuous of peaceful endeavours. That spectre was the nemesis of modern Italy.

Poets of Empire

About this time emerged into prominence the self-styled Gabriele D'Annunzio whose actual name was in fact Kapagnetta. As a poet of war and empire, a prophet of Italian grandeur, he had chosen this pseudonym with its Biblical suggestion — St. Gabriel's Annunciation to the Virgin—in order to surround himself with the aura of a holy mission and of a herald of heroism and glory. He was largely an imitator of Carducci, the poet of Italian unity and in a superficial way a disciple of Nietzsche, a believer in strength, war and glory. His appeal was to the ambitions of an extremely vocal section of Italian society, the impecanious petty aristocracy and would-be aristocracy, dissatisfied by the poverty of their means and opportunities. War, bloodshed, violence and sensualism expressed in his phrase, "death or pleasure, pleasure or death," were the ingredients of his verse.

He was joined by a host of followers who aped and endeavoured to outdo his extravagancies. Most prominent among these imitators was the self-styled "futurist poet" Marinetti, whose blood-thirsty absurdities flourished throughout two wars and were current in the subsequent fascist period.

The nationalists and the writers who expounded their propaganda declared the invasion of Tripoli had been undertaken to purge Italy's reputation from the "stain" of her defeat by the armies of Emperor Menelik II at Adowa, the notion that Italy's politics required purging of the trickery practised toward Ethiopa was foreign to their conceptions of honour and glory.

Other Italians with greater knowledge of affairs or greater candour declared hostilities had been precipitated by the embarrassments of the Banco di Roma. Its branches in Tripoli had bought up large areas of land in Tripoli in the anticipation of an early Italian invasion. The invasion being delayed the bank was being obliged to sell for two lire, plots which it had purchased for 10 lire. Other speculations of the bank had also turned out badly. Its Tripoli branches were subsidised by the Italian Government for the work of "peaceful penetration." Its vice-president was a brother of the Minister Tittoni. Had a crisis occurred in its affairs the Cabinet would have been involved.* Critics claimed, therefore, that the difficulties of the Banco di Roma had greater influence in determining the date of the invasion than the propaganda of the Nationalists and the extravagances of their poets—or even than the international situation.

Moreover, the Ottoman Government had granted a concession to a German syndicate to establish a bank in Tripoli and this was proving more successful than the branches of the Banco di Roma. The concession came within the terms of Foreign Minister Tittoni's warning to the Sultan that only Italian enterprises would be permitted in Tripoli. This concession doubtless also had its influence in bringing about the war.,

Turkey was unable to assist her Tripoli garrison for lack of a fleet.† The young Turks who were then endeavouring to rejuvenate the moribund government of the "Sublime Porte" had ordered a navy to be built in British shipyards, but before the ships were ready Italy commenced the war. Some torpedo boats already prepared to go to sea were taken care of in England until the war ended.

Just at this juncture, September 1911, the British Government sent Field Marshal Kitchener to Egypt, then under British occupation. Egypt, as a vassal of Turkey, was liable to contribute troops for the defence of Turkish possessions. Kitchener, however, effectively prevented any help reaching the Tripoli garrison from Egypt as was described in some detail by an article in the "Fortnightly Review" at the time.

The German and French Consuls in Tripoli, at a secret meeting held in the German Consulate, appealed to the Turkish officers to leave Tripoli town undefended, in order to spare the lives of the civilian population, mainly women and children, both Christian and Moslem. They urged that all would perish if the town were subjected to prolonged bombardment and afterwards taken by storm. The Turkish officers had resolved to shoot the Italians as they landed and to contest every inch of the ground. It was only after long pleading by the consuls that they agreed to abandon their plan and to withdraw into the desert to wage their resistance to the invaders.

* Francis McCullagh: **Italy's War for a Desert**, pp. 14-19.

† Francis McCullagh: **Italy's War for a Desert**, pp. 26-29.

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The Italian invasion was conducted throughout under the cruel fiction, usual in colonial wars, that the soldiers of a country it is intended to colonise are not national patriotic forces engaged in the defence of their country but rebels against the Power which has decided to annex it In the Libyan war this fiction was applied not alone to the Arabs, but also to the Turkish officers employed by the Government which had hitherto been recognised by the world (including Italy) as the imperial ruling power in Tripoli. Consequently prisoners were executed without mercy. Doctors and messengers coming to the Italian lines under a flag of truce to appeal for medical supplies for the sick and wounded were seized and deported in chains. Patients in hospital at the time of the invasion were similarly ill-treated. The Turks on the other hand gave to the Italians they took prisoner the privileges war prisoners are supposed to receive in what is called civilised warfare. The Italian military gave no aid to the sick and wounded of the forces opposed to them or among the Arab non-combatants; they were either left to die or killed.

The invasion commenced under the locally proclaimed subterfuge that the Italians had come to liberate the Arabs from Turkish oppression. With numerous quotations from the Koran, the people were urged to receive the Italians with gratitude and to obey them faithfully. When they proved unwilling to welcome the new masters they were massacred as traitors; men. women and children were hunted and shot. Beggars, pedlars, Moslem hermits at their prayers, women at the well, babies at the breast, craftsmen at their toil, the crippled and the blind, were slaughtered at sight.

These atrocities were exulted over by Italian journalists and deplored by correspondents of *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Reuter, the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, the *Daily Mirror*, *Morgenpost*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the Paris *Excelsior*, the *Morning Post* and other Press representatives. The British, German and, in fact, all the consular representatives sent reports of the atrocities to their governments.

Francis McCullagh, an Irishman, went to Tripoli as a press correspondent and contributed articles about the war to the *New York Herald*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily News*. When he set forth for Tripoli he was an enthusiast for "the return of the Romans to Tripoli," and wrote a poem glorifying the anticipated return. The experience of the cruel slaughter the return involved filled him with sorrow and caused him to write a book "Italy's War for a Desert," illustrated by his own photographs of some of the tragic scenes he had witnessed.

The Italian censorship was extremely rigid. No reports of reverses or casualties to the Italian forces were allowed to pass. The mildest criticism of the conduct of the war was denounced as "ignoble" and a tirade against the offender continued for many days. The British Press had been friendly at first to Italy's new colonial effort in accordance with Foreign Office policy but journalists found themselves unable to maintain this line in view of the atrocities.

When the Italian Government realised the Press of all Europe was becoming hostile and the massacre of the Arabs in the town and oasis was over, the paeans of violence were more or less superseded; newspaper photographs began to display the "Roman Legionaries" as kindly good fellows nursing Arab babies. This was a newspaper phase; the war continued.

The Turks had been furnished in Tripoli with sufficient arms and ammunition to maintain their defence for a long period, as the Italians contemptuously declared, accusing them of cowardice. They had been induced by the European consuls to withdraw from the town to avoid precisely that terrible massacre which eventually occurred. The Turkish officers had been unable to carry their ample military stores into the desert. Their Arab allies, the warlike desert tribes who, as fellow-Moslems joined them against the invaders, were poorly armed, mainly with obsolete weapons. Nevertheless, the Italians suffered many reverses. Their losses were heavy, the progress of their occupation slow. Their conflict with the Turks might have been lengthy, but the outbreak of the Balkan war against Turkish supremacy caused the Government at Stamboul to make peace with Italy on October 18, 1912.

Though the Turks had ended their hostilities and the Italian Government had declared Tripolitania and Cyrenaica amnexed to Italy, the war with the Arabs dragged on. Even the harsher severities, later introduced by Graziani and his tactics of attrition and extermination did not destroy their resistance; they maintained it for 30 years, until the Italian forces were defeated and driven from Tripoli during the Second World War.

Poets of Empire

But to mention this is to anticipate. In Italy during those early days, when the Tripoli war was a new excitement it was vehemently waged by politicians, journalists and pseudo-poets with ink and newsprint; fisticuffs also came into play. Letters purporting to be written by soldiers at the front to their aged parents expressing readiness to die for Italian grandeur appeared in the newspapers; articles and poems eulogised Italian prowess and lauded war and bloodshed. "We wish to glorify war—the only health-giver of the world," wrote Marinetti, and continued in a spate of illogical and unreasoning hysteria, "we glorify militarism, patriotism, the destructive arm of the anarchist, the beautiful ideas that kill, the contempt for woman!"

Permitted to join the army in Tripoli as a war correspondent, he ecstatically recorded that he "embraced the ensanguined brow of this soldier who hugs in his arms his hot rifle as a mother embraces a feverish child." "But nothing equals the epic splendour," he declared, "of this sergeant, who with his mouth closed by bloody gashes, lifts his two hand towards me each instant to indicate by his outspread digits that he has killed ten."

In his "Canzone dei Trofei" D'Annunzio, the leader of these poets of bloodshed, became enraptured by the mere firing of a gun. Marinetti described the bursting of a shell among the Turks: "The deluge of lead, the

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grand deluge of Italian force, how beautiful it is! A delirious joy constricts my throat!" He wishes he could turn himself into a projectile to burst among the enemy. The machine-gun is to him "a woman, charming, sinister and divine."

All Italy was not of this opinion; Marinetti's exultation over a conflict with the opponents of the Tripoli war was no mere figure of speech: "We have knocked down with our fists in the streets and at public meetings our bitterest adversaries, spitting in their faces our firm principles. The tiresome memory of Roman glory must be wiped out by an Italian grandeur a hundred times greater. We invite the Italian Government, which has become futurist, to increase all nationalist ambitions, despising all stupid accusations of piracy and proclaiming the birth of Pan-Italianism."

The Humanitarian Protest: "Avanti"

All Italy was by no means of this opinion. There were many humanitarian and sober-minded people who deprecated this lauding of bloodshed and violence. The Socialist daily *Avanti*, which voiced the opinion of circles extending far beyond the Socialist Party membership, showed that the "magnificent victories" many newspapers and propagandists were praising were in fact merely trifling. Of the outburst of jingo fury which had synchronised with the opening of the war the *Avanti* wrote in September: "The day will come when by far the greater part of the literature of this period will seem brutal and barbarous, even to those who now produce it in a state of violent excitement and jingoist frenzy, and to those who now devour it and excite themselves with it. When sobriety returns Italian 'civilisation' will look at herself in the glass and will perhaps be horror-stricken at her own appearance. When that day comes we, at least, can say that we did not encourage our country in her mad debauch, that we did not urge her on to fresh excesses."

In October *Avanti* deplored the mounting war fever as a "colossal collective aberration, declaring that Italy had been "intoxicated by the crude alcohol of a bastard patriotism."

Avanti at that time was edited by one of the early Italian Socialists, Leonida Bissolati.

Enter Mussolini

Among the Italians of the extreme political Left Wing who most loudly denounced the colonial war in Tripoli was Benito Mussolini, then a young man of 28 years, the son of an obscure blacksmith of Predappio at Forli in the Romagna—a Socialist of no prominence.

The facts concerning the early activities of Benito, the future dictator and his rôle in Italian political life, prior to his ascent to power in 1922, have been grossly distorted by his official biographers and propagandists. The accounts of him still to be read, even in neutral writings, are also in many cases grossly incorrect. The writers unwittingly gathered what they imagined to be reliable information from Fascist sources. Today since the one-time superman has fallen, most of those who formerly penned eulogistic accounts of him would now desire to see them expunged.

To discover the truth concerning the life of the future dictator, investigators who were not themselves in touch with Italian political movements and personalities at the various stages of his career, must now search for the files of the publications where his writings and verbal utterance appeared and enquire of the dwindling circles of those who knew him at each period, many of whom have produced accounts of him and of the movements wherein he strove always to figure as the most prominent and the most extreme of the extreme.

He was among the group of young Italians who in the closing years of the nineteenth century and opening years of the twentieth decried the ideals of Mazzini and other popular heroes of Italian Unity. the "Resorgimento," as merely "bourgeois" and vaunted their own opinions as "pure Marxist" and revolutionary Socialist.

He had no more than an elementary education, and had run away from the Roman Catholic boarding school to which his devout mother had sent him, but he had obtained a certificate qualifying him to teach elementary French from the teachers' school at Forlimpopolo.

His education, like that of many working-class agitators, was mainly acquired by attendance at the numerous public meetings held by political propagandists and from political pamphlets. But his knowledge of French which comes easily to Italians enabled him, somewhat later, to earn a modest sum by translating from French two books of Kropotkin for a Swiss publisher.

When he reached the age for military service he crossed the frontier into Switzerland to avoid conscription for the Italian Army.

He was warmly received as the guest of poor and industrious Italian emigrant workers who had settled in Switzerland to gain a living. By them he was greeted as a man of noble principles, a voluntary exile on account of conscientious opposition to militarism. On many occasions these confiding comrades had reason to deplore the lack of moral principles he betrayed in his personal dealings with those who had trusted him. Had it not been for their forbearance toward a comrade and respect for the honour and solidarity of the movement, his conduct might have led to more than one prosecution; much was forgiven him on these accounts.

The Swiss police classed him as an anarchist. In 1903 he was expelled from Canton Berne following a strike of masons whom he had incited. In 1904 he was arrested at Geneva on the charge of altering the date on his passport. He would have been handed over to the Italian military authorities but for the intervention of the Swiss Socialist leaders who argued on his behalf that he could not legally be extradited for refusing military service. These and the following facts concerning Mussolini's police record are drawn from No. 1349, 14 Div. II of the Forli Prefecture Police Record. They have been several times published and never challenged.*

After two further years of hand-to-mouth existence

* See, among other writers, Beatrice Baskerville: **What Next O Duce?**, pp. 128-131; also Armando Borghi: **Mussolini en Chemise**, pp. 22-29; etc.

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in which he figured as agitator and strike leader, he was expelled from Switzerland.

He returned to Predappio on 6th September, 1906, and left in November ostensibly to seek work as a teacher. He returned to Forli in 1908, took part in agrarian riots, was condemned to three months' imprisonment and fined 200 lire for armed assault. On September 10 of the same year he was fined 100 lire for violation of the Public Safety Act, and a few months later was imprisoned for 10 days for not paying the fine.

In February 1909 the police record his living at Trent, then under Austrian rule. Again he was generously received as a Socialist comrade. Cesare Battisti edited there a non-political chronicle of doings in the area, births, marriages, deaths, meetings and so forth. Engaging Mussolini to assist him, Battisti gave him his first notions of journalism, proof-reading and press routine.

Battisti was a fervent supporter of the reunion to Italy of the territories ruled by Austria which were mainly populated by Italians. He was eventually executed by the Austrian Government for his faith.

Mussolini did not share Battisti's ideals, though his apologists subsequently alleged he was converted by Battisti to the cause of " Italia irredenta." On the contrary he denounced such ideas as bourgeois and professed himself a supporter of Hervé, the French self-styled " anti-patriot." He was also now an advocate of "Syndicalism" and direct industrial action by the workers—ideas which he had imbibed from Sorel and kindred French writers of the period.

Soon expelled from Trent for class-war propaganda, not for irredentist agitation, Mussolini returned to Forli, where he published a weekly organ, *La Lotta di Classe* (the class war). Therein he attacked the Socialist leaders for being reformist and not revolutionary.

In *La Lotta di Classe* he defended, and even eulogised, terrorist activities of the period: even the bomb outrage at the Colon theatre of Buenos Aires in Argentina which the anarchists themselves repudiated, but of which he wrote, " individual acts are also of value and sometimes mark the advent of profound social transformations." In confirmation of this view he organised a demonstration against the Argentine Republic which resulted in another prosecution for violating the Public Safety Act.

On September 30, 1911, at the commencement of the colonial war in Tripoli, the police record of him states he was "charged at Forli with provoking revolt against the authorities and established institutions in the course of his anti-war agitation." On October 14, 1911, he was arrested, along with Pietro Nenni, then a mere youth much his junior, for having organised a demonstration against the war, and having called upon the assembled crowd to tear up the railway and tram lines to prevent the soldiers proceeding to the front and to paralyse communications by cutting the telegraph wires. While in prison awaiting trial, he complained to Nenni† that the " cowards " had not organised a general strike to secure his release. He was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment, reduced by the Court of Appeal to five months.

Mussolini Leads Attack on Socialist Moderates

Emerging from prison as a martyr of militant Socialism and anti-militarism, an opponent of capitalist war, he led a faction against the Socialist leaders whom he accused of being insufficiently strenuous and wholehearted in the cause.

At the Socialist Congress of Reggio Emilia, in 1912, Mussolini was a delegate. He succeeded by his vehement denunciations in securing the expulsion from the party of three members of its executive who were also Members of Parliament: Leonida Bissolati, editor of the *Avanti*, with Bonomi and Cabrini, also Podrecca, another Socialist Member of Parliament. The first three were expelled for having joined members of other parties in congratulating the king upon his escape from an attempt to assassinate him, Podrecca for supporting the war in Tripoli.

Mussolini led the attack; had he not in *La Lotta di Classe* of September 23, 1911, in hailing with joy the assassination of the Russian Minister, Stolypin, expressed the hope that the Czar Nicholas II would soon suffer the same fate? He demanded now: "Why is this excessive hysterical sensibility when it is a question of crowned heads? Who is the king?; is he not by defini-

† Pietro Nenni: **Ten Years of Tyranny in Italy.**

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tion the citizen who is useless? People who are in the advance-guard of progress have sent their kings to the guillotine! He added a phrase which became well-known in anti-monarchist circles, "Assassinations are the professional risks of kings, as falls from scaffolds are the professional risks of masons."

Bissolati (whose editorials on the Libyan war have earlier been quoted) being expelled from the Party had also to be ejected from the editorship of *Avanti*. There was difficulty in finding a successor, Mussolini was temporarily appointed and eventually remained though there were doubts and objections both as to his policy and to his style of bitter invective and bombast which was moderated at first but later intensified.

A new spirit now became manifest in the Italian Socialist movement. It had been founded largely by university graduates under the leadership of Filippo Turati in a strongly humanitarian and constructive spirit. The Socialist Party, the first foundation of the then young enthusiasts, had in its turn been the founder of the co-operative movement and the trade union, General Confederation of Labour, in which the great mass of Italian workers were enrolled and which included an agricultural wing. The foundation of these movements by the Socialist Party of Italy was, of course, totally different to the evolution of similar movements in Great Britain, where the trade unions greatly ante-dated the Socialist movement. The Italian trade union movement had also features of importance to its growth and utility unknown in Britain. The Chambers of Labour in Italy were a species of employment bureau and centre of mediation loosely attached to the unions. The trade union movement also undertook evening technical instruction of the workers in order to enable them to improve their mechanical skill and technical knowledge. This activity in Britain was undertaken at first by the entirely voluntary Mechanics' Institutes and subsequently by the local governing authorities. In Italy where national unity and liberation from foreign rule were recent, there was no such ancient framework of local government as existed in the United Kingdom. The necessary task of educating the workers for the advance in industry was accordingly left to the trade unions, animated by the Socialist pioneers. It was a task of value to the workers and to the nation. Another activity developed by the early Socialists of Italy and of some other countries were the "People's Houses," centres of culture and entertainment, and guest houses where travelling workers were accommodated. All these institutions had been created with arduous devotion by the Socialist pioneers long before the advent of the turbulent Mussolini, the fire-breathing advocate of class-war to the death.

As editor of the *Avanti* he gained an organ of large circulation and broadly based distributive machinery and could daily address readers throughout Italy. His headquarters was now in the industrial city of Milan, where *Avanti* was published. A much more favourable centre than the Romagna for the industrial militancy he was preaching. As editor he was always extreme in demanding working-class militancy and in denouncing moderation. His flamboyant language appealed to the volatile temperament of many Italians.

The police record of the Forli Prefecture noted that in April 1914 he was brought to court for an article in *Avanti* attacking the Army. He was acquitted of the charge, and at a public reception in Milan to celebrate his release he used "violent language against the Army, the police and the king, according to his custom."

The wretched colonial war in Libya dragged on, detested by the young conscript soldiers, hated for its drain on Italy's slender revenue by social reformers desirous of securing better conditions in Italy itself.

General Strike Against the Tripoli War

In 1914 all the parties opposed to the imperialist war, which was still dragging on in Tripoli, agreed to unite in a nation-wide protest to synchronise with the celebration of Italian unity held annually on June 7. This was the anniversary of the day on which in 1848 Charles Abbert of Savoy had promulgated the Italian constitution. The Socialist and Republican Parties united in these demonstrations; the latter still possessed a numerous following though their Republican views, in the course of the years, had become mainly academic.

At Ancona, a seaport on the Adriatic, the police fired on the demonstrators. Some people were killed, and a national general strike was organised in protest. Mussolini, from the security of his editorial office, was, as usual, most vitriolic in his denunciations of the shooting and threats of revenge. The police record of his activities declares: "July 4, 1914. He organised the general strike of protest against the shooting at Ancona. He published articles in the *Avanti* calling on workers to participate in the strike; in public speeches he made a violent appeal in favour of class warfare. He is mainly responsible for the insubordination of the working classes. (Signed) Prefect of Police."

Mussolini was of the same opinion. On 12 June, 1914, the strike having terminated, he wrote in the *Avanti*: "We chronicle these events with a trace of the legitimate joy felt by the artificer in contemplating his creation. If the proletariat of Italy is in the course of acquiring a new psychology; if it appears today on the political scene with a new individuality, more independent and more savage, if a movement such as this has been achieved with a rapidity and completeness which has overwhelmed the bourgeoisie, it is due to our journal. There is no fault of arrogance in affirming the fact."

"He swelled with pride in the belief that it was not the hardships and sorrows of the people but his own eloquent and bitterly corrosive pen which had caused the strike to spread to all categories of workers in all areas, urban and rural," as he claimed. It was "the gravest popular movement Italy has ever known," he insisted. The stores of armourers had been attacked, he said, fires had been raised; in Rome there had been shouts of "To the Quirinal!" (the seat of Government), and an attempt to get there. "The only dark spot in those days of blood and fire was the attitude of the General Confederation of Labour which suddenly and unexpectedly, by the secret instructions of the Party, decreed the stoppage of the strike after forty-eight sacred hours." This he considered "an act of treason."

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The moderating influence he was later alleged by his propagandists to have exercised among the Socialists is by no means to be found in this editorial, nor in any of his published writings and speeches! On the contrary, he led some of the moderate minded persons to believe him to be a provocative agent in the pay of the police. Rebuked by the Milan newspaper *Seccolo* for boasting sedition to be a marvellous result of his educative influence, he replied in the *Avanti* of June 22, 1914: "Of the last general strike we accept everything, the good and the bad, the workers and the rabble, the legality and the illegality.

The mob violence in resistance to police efforts to disperse the demonstrations of which Mussolini boasted, had actually occurred on a very minor scale; the public meetings and processions, and the subsequent protest strike against the Ancona shooting had in the main been peaceful and orderly. That the anti-militarist movement had widespread public support was evidenced by the result of the municipal elections which followed soon after; the Socialist vote increased greatly and many municipalities now had Socialist majorities. Mussolini was elected to the Council of Milan along with the older leaders, Turati, and the others of the Socialist list.

WORLD WAR I

Mussolini Right-about-Face

The excitement of the general strike and the fiery polemics which followed had barely subsided when the Great War burst upon the world. The people were alarmed by the catastrophe; there was a general desire that Italy should remain outside the tragic holocaust. The Government maintained a cautious attitude and declared its neutrality on August 2, 1944, while bargaining for a share of the spoils as the price of subsequent adhesion to one side or the other. The Nationalists, according to their habitual war policy, demanded immediate hostilities on the side of Germany and Austria, Italy's colleague's in the Triple Alliance, but the Nationalists were only a small isolated minority. The Socialists maintained their traditonal stand against war as opposed to their ideal of international brotherhood.

None was so emphatic as Mussolini that Italy must not be drawn into the "capitalist conflict." His editorials demanded "absolute neutrality." He declared on 29 July, 1914: "The workers of all countries should hinder and circumvent as much as possible the conflict "which could serve only the triumph of militarism and parasitic corruption." "You Italian workers," he declared, "who in the recent general strike proved your class-consciousness, should now prevent Italy being dragged into this terrible adventure." On 27 July he had written, "If the Government, scorning the unanimous desire of public opinion throws itself into this new adventure the truce to arms proclaimed by us after the red week will be denounced." The "red week" referred to the anti-militarist demonstrations and the general strike.

Many men have gone to prison for utterances milder than this, but it was mere oratorical bombast, an empty threat.

On August 16 he averred: "We intend to remain true to our Socialist and international ideals, right to the end; torture may extinguish us but it cannot extinguish our faith!" How many simple souls blessed this braggart for his professions of deathless fidelity to the noble ideals he propounded? How many were disgusted?

The story that it was the misery of poor little Belgium and love for France which converted him to war is exposed by his article on September 8, 1914. "They ask us to shed tears for Belgium. This is but a sentimental comedy staged by France and Belgium. These two harridans would like to exploit universal gullibility. To us Belgium is a belligerent country, no different from all others. We do not see why we ought to adopt special views in her regard. It is our right and duty to urge the revolt of the working classes against today's events."

The above masterpiece of Mussolini's style is quoted from *Avanti* by Professor Gaetano Salvemini* during his exile from Fascism, lecturer on History in Italy at King's College London University and at Harvard University.

Meanwhile Mussolini was negotiating, through intermediaries, for the French Government to supply him with funds to enable him to publish a newspaper advocating Italy's entry into the war on the side of France. The fact was later disclosed by the French

* Gaetano Salvemini: **Prelude to World War II**, p. 29.

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Socialist, Jules Guesde, who was a member of the French Cabinet at the time. Others† who were concerned in the transaction also revealed it in various publications. Maitre Henri Torres, a well-known French lawyer, declared the facts in open court and subsequently repeated them in fuller detail to an Italian journalist, Armando Borghi,‡ who had heard the statement in court and asked for more information.

It would, however, be absurd to allege, as Mussolini's supporters did, that his propaganda, or in fact any propaganda, brought Italy into the first World War in 1915. The decision to enter the war was made, quite deliberately, by the Italian King and Government, after bargaining first with Germany and Austria, Italy's colleagues in the Triple Alliance. Not being satisfied by the terms offered, the Italian Government approached Britain and France. Having obtained from them substantial offers of territory in Europe and Asia and of some expansion also in Africa, the Italian Government signed with them the secret Treaty of London in 1915.

Now Italy had entered the World War there was scope for all the impecunious scribes of glory and bloodshed. D'Annunzio, who had been obliged to leave Italy to escape from his creditors, was able to return, with the assurance of well-paid journalism as a war advocate. Marinetti, too, had plenty of employment. These two writers thus became connected with Mussolini and later were to be of the crowd who surrounded him in the days of fascism which were to come.

Mussolini with his ample French subsidy was now prosperous. His new daily newspaper was entitled *Popolo d'Italia* with "Socialist Daily" as its subtitle. There were two captions, "Who has iron has bread—Blanqui," which bore the meaning, "success is to the strong," and "Revolution is an idea which has found bayonets—Napoleon."

The thesis preached continually in *Il Popolo d'Italia* (the Italian People) was that World War would open the way to the social revolution of the workers against kings and bourgeoisie. The war was now "a war of liberation to free oppressed peoples." On January 21 *Il Popolo* declared all problems arising from the war would be solved "according to Socialist and Libertarian ideals." A week later they added that Italy would reject any plan "which did not conform to justice and would lead to nationalism and imperialism". In November 1918 he exalted, as usual, "the peace which bears the olive branch in one hand and the Republican ideal in the other."

Il Popolo was anti-Catholic; Mussolini denounced the Empire of Germany and predicted its death, "as the Empires of Charlemagne and Napoleon had died," and added, "No better fate has been reserved for that fourth empire—the Pope's—in the spiritual domain. It, too, has crumbled."

Despite its atheism and republicanism and constant appeal to revolution *Il Popolo d'Italia* was distributed to the troops by the military authorities free of charge. It was evidently regarded as a means of popularising the unpopular war and of counteracting the influence of the Socialist Party which remained aloof, refusing to accept any responsibility for the conflict. The Socialists confined themselves to expressing the desire for an early and just peace. They patiently devoted themselves to alleviating the great hardships of the people, endeavouring to improve the conditions of the soldiers and their families, to ameliorating food shortages and to curbing the rise in prices, by municipal purchase, and distribution of essential foods by municipal restaurants, infant and maternity clinics, and rest homes for children in the mountains. By this type of quiet service they won public support and confidence.

The war remained unpopular. Mussolini had been howled down when he presented himself before the Milan section of the Socialist Party to explain his change of front. This man who had called for the expulsion of many old members of the Party, who had ever been foremost in the persecution of what he deemed heresy, weakness and compromise, was now expelled from the Socialist Party. He was henceforth its bitterest enemy.

Though posing as the prime war advocate, and eulogised by his friends in later times as the man who brought Italy into the war, Mussolini spent little time in the Army. He did not join the voluntary Garibaldi Legion, formed before the war in anticipation of the great event. He waited for his class to be called and then, on the plea of the necessities of his newspaper, received frequent leave of absence. He received a slight wound during a hand grenade practice, and on his recovery his war service terminated. It had covered less than six months including leave of absence. Being more than literate at a time when many Italian soldiers were illiterate, he had been made a sergeant on enrolment. It appeared he had taken part in no battle.

His band of war propagandists, who were subsequently to form the nucleus of his fascists were all fervent advocates of the "knock-out blow to the enemy" were mostly unknown to the barracks or the trench.

END OF WORLD WAR I

Italy of the Peace Conference—Enter President Wilson

When the World War ended Italy had half a million dead and a million and a half wounded and disabled. The Italian Government entered the Peace Conference under the slogan "Sacred Egoism," determined to secure as much as possible for Italy; the old desire for empire which had been the bane of the country since united Italy was constituted still impelled them.

By the secret Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, which had brought Italy into the war, the French and British Governments had promised that if victory were achieved Italy would receive: (1) Italian speaking Trentino; (2) the cities of Gorizia and Trieste and western Istria whose inhabitants were claimed to be predominantly Italians; (3) the German-speaking South Tyrol, called by the Italians Alto Adige; (4) the hinterland of Gorizia,

† Alceste de Ambris, Libero Francredi, Maria Ryger, Leonida Bissolati, etc.

‡ Armando Borghi: **Mussolini en Chemise**, pp. 92-93.

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Trieste, and Western Istria, inhabited by Slav population; (5) a free hand in Albania which, of course, meant annexation sooner or later though the country was not peopled by Italians; (6) a substantial share of Dalmatia inhabited by an overwhelming Slav population and most of the islands off the Dalmatian coast, also having Slav populations; (7) "equitable" colonial compensation for any acquisitions that Great Britain and France might obtain in the Near East and Africa.

When, however, President Wilson brought America into the war, he did so on the stipulation that "peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as though they were chattels or pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited of the balance of Power." He set fourth Fourteen Points, which were to be embodied in the Peace Treaties. These points were wholly at variance with several of the promises made to Italy in the Treaty of London.

In his Points the President had declared "a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality." This accorded with the claims put forward in Italian war propaganda for the liberation of Italian populations subject to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but it did not accord with the promises that Italy should rule German and Slav populations contained in the Treaty of London.

President Wilson's Point Ten stated: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded, should be accorded the freest opportunity of national development."

Point Twelve provided: "The Turkish populations of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. The Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantee."

Point Fourteen declared: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity of small powers and great."

Moreover in explaining his Points to Congress, the President had said: "Every territorial settlement must be made in the interests and for the benefit of the populations concerned—and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compensation of claims among rival States."

In face of these stipulations, President Wilson could not accept the terms of the secret Treaty of London which was based on giving to Italy a share of the defeated empires, without regard to the rights of the non-Italian populations upon whom those empires had imposed their unwelcome rule. President Wilson knew nothing of the secret Treaty of London when he brought the United States into the war to assist the Western Allies. He refused to be bound by the Treaty. He stood by the stipulations he had made concerning war aims and the peace settlement before committing his country to war.

In his first Point he had insisted upon "open covenants" and had declared against "private international understandings of any kind."

Orlando, the Italian Prime Minister, and Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, on the other hand, were determined to secure all and more than all the Treaty of London had promised to Italy. For example, as Professor Salvemini * has observed, Sonnino continued demanding Dalmatia which the Treaty of London had promised to Italy, while Orlando demanded Fiume on the basis of nationality, though Italy was pledged by the Treaty to allow Fiume to Croatia, because, though the population of the seaport was largely Italian the hinterland served by the port was wholly inhabited by Slavs.

President Wilson had been greeted in Rome, as in Paris and London, with the warmest of popular applause being hailed as the bringer of peace and justice to peoples. He found the Italian official negotiators entirely opposed to his ideals. They showed themselves determined to fight for everything he had specifically condemned and to oppose all the principles on the basis of which he had brought America into the war. In other words their desire was for Italy to succeed Austria as the ruler of all the nationalities she had conquered, while he was desirous of giving to those nations the liberation and self-government they had endeavoured to obtain. The war had arisen through the conflicting claims of the imperial powers to be the ruler of subject peoples; the President's solution for the future was to enable those peoples to rule themselves.

Finding the Italian negotiators obstinately opposed to this solution Wilson addressed an appeal directly to the Italian people not to accept domination over others, but to stand firm for international justice and the right of all peoples to self-government. His initiative was received with execration and insult by the Ministers, Orlando and Sonnino, the press and the vociferous warmongers headed by D'Annunzio. The President was accused of interfering in Italian affairs and of improper conduct for presuming to appeal to the people over the head of their Government. He was charged with encouraging the plutocratic nations to enrich themselves at the expense of poor Italy.

Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia* had no more to say of the just peace it had preached. On October 28, 1918, it had declared Mazzini had made Italy the birthplace of internationalism and that the country must continue on the path he had inaugurated, but in 1919 there was no more talk of the friendship with the neighbouring Slav peoples which had been preached in the *Popolo* during the four years of war.

Bissolati, whom its fiery editor had ousted from the Socialist Party, had favoured Italy's entry into the war on the side of France and Britain urging that Italy might thus be "a working instrument by which this international crisis will engender the new world we see dawning." That Italy would be such an instrument was now seen to be mere wishful thinking, without basis in

* Gaetano Salvemini: **Prelude to World War II**, p. 21.

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concrete fact or probability. Bissolati, however, had believed in his dream. Though 58 years of age, he had immediately enlisted with the Alpine troops. He continued through the real war, not the war of ink and paper, although twice wounded. In January 1919, at the invitation of a body of wounded ex-Servicemen, he was to address a meeting in the great Scala theatre of Milan on his idea of "the just and enduring peace" promised to the soldiers, to be realised, he claimed through the Wilsonian League of Nations "that superior form of international life destined to close the era of international anarchy and to open that of human right." The League he held to be the sole instrument capable of deriving from the war the divine benefits of man's liberation from war.

The Italian delegates at the peace conference, he urged, must oppose any measure which would sow the seeds of new war.*

The speech† was afterwards printed. It could not be heard in the Scala Theatre. Mussolini and his friends with a band of ex-soldiers were there to howl down the speaker. Mussolini, like D'Annunzio, had now become the exponent of the most extreme demands for Italian expansion in Europe, Asia and Africa.

At the Peace Conference in Paris in January, 1919, President Wilson found the European Governments unwilling to accept the practical implementation of the Fourteen Points he had stipulated before entering the war. They did not accede to his ideal of a peace of justice without annexations—a peace which would leave no rancour. He succeeded in securing their acceptance of the League of Nations and its covenant, which to him embodied the central necessity for the formation of sound international relations and the avoidance of future war. He found himself forced to compromise on many of the actual peace terms. He was obliged to contend with demands by the French, Italian and Japanese Governments for territorial and economic concessions. All the European victors demanded impossibly great reparations payments from Germany which eventually had to be progressively reduced. The attempt to pay them resulted in the dumping of cheap German goods in the victorious countries with consequent large-scale unemployment, misery and unrest.

In protest against President Wilson's rejection of several of their demands which were not justified by the principle of nationality, the Italian delegates at one point withdrew from the Peace Conference. When they returned they were enraged to find the former subject territories of the Ottoman Empire had been disposed of in one way or another. The German colonies had been mandated to France, Britain, South Africa and Australia.

Ethiopia, being an independent nation and not a belligerent on either side, had not been mentioned at the Peace Conference; the Italian negotiators, however, approached the French and British Governments to remind them that in the Secret Treaty of London, Italy had been promised "equitable compensation" if France and Britain obtained any of the German colonies in Africa. They asked, in fulfilment of this promise of compensation, that Italy should have at least a free hand in Africa. Lloyd George, who headed the British delegation, rejected this proposal. The Italian delegates then reminded him of the Anglo-Italian protocols of 1891 and 1894 which it will be remembered were concluded on the false assumption that Ethiopia had become an Italian protectorate—a claim which the Italian Government had officially renounced after the defeat of its attempt to enforce the protectorate at the battle of Adowa. Lloyd George rejected also the Italian appeal to the discredited protocols. To grant it would have flouted too drastically the agreements with President Wilson and the pledges just made in the League of Nations covenant. Lloyd George could not agree.

For the concessions he had made to predatory aims, President Wilson was severely criticised by progressive opinion in Great Britain and America, as well as execrated by those whose still more predatory aims he had defeated. Ill and wearied by the struggle in Paris, he returned to the United States. Meanwhile in the Congressional elections the Democratic majority who had supported his policies in the Senate had been replaced by a Republican majority opposed to him. While campaigning for American ratification of the Peace Treaty with participation in the League of Nations he suffered a physical collapse and was compelled to desist. Congress refused to ratify the Peace Treaty and accordingly America remained outside the League of Nations.

Mussolini Post-War Agitator: Still Preaching Revolution

The war had terminated, but Mussolini still continued to publish *Popolo d'Italia*. Its sub-title was no longer "Socialist Newspaper" but "Organ of the Fighters and Producers."

It now vehemently demanded the fullest extent of Italian war claims: all that was promised by the Treaty of London, plus Fiume, Italian occupation of Albania, territories formerly in the Ottoman Empire, colonies in Africa.

In addition to claiming annexation of territories abroad, *Popolo d'Italia* demanded drastic solutions in Italy—an amalgam torn from the programmes of Russian Bolshevists, Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Republicans.

Popolo d'Italia was still issued gratis to the troops by the military authorities, as it had been during the war, because of its demands for the satisfaction of Italy's fullest war aims, despite its incitements to popular revolution.

Throughout the war Mussolini had declared the conflict would lead to the Socialist revolution and had prophesied the paradise of the workers to follow. Others also had promised good things for the people. Lloyd George in England was talking of "three acres and a

* Count Carlo Sforza **Makers of Modern Europe**, pp. 250-1. Professor Salvemini: **Prelude to World War II**, p. 31.

† Bissolati: **La politica esterna dell'Italia**, p. 41.

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cow" for soldiers who had defended the motherland and "homes fit for heroes to live in." In Italy also the soldiers who fought for the country were promised they should have land of their own to cultivate after the war. Instead of the promised prosperity and popular welfare the world war had been followed by a period of acute scarcity and high prices from which the peoples of the victorious nations suffered extreme privations, disillusion and distress.

The revolution Mussolini had predicted would follow the war had broken out earlier—not in Italy—but in Russia. The overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy in October, 1917, had led in November to the Communist revolution under the slogan "all power to the Soviets, workers, soldiers and peasants," "peace, land and bread for the Russian people." It had been followed by revolutions in Hungary, Austria and Germany, but attempts to establish Soviet Governments outside Russia had soon collapsed.

In Russia itself the Soviet Revolution had a hard struggle for existence having to contend with an invasion from Germany and the necessity of making the peace of Brest Litovsk in January, 1918, involving large cessions of territory and heavy reparations in food and raw materials. These opened new sources of supply to Germany and led in their turn to suspicion of treacherous connivance with Germany on the part of Russia's former allies. Accordingly Britain, France and America commenced a military intervention on Russian soil which continued from August, 1919, till November, 1920. An invasion by Poland began in January, 1920, to recover the territory lost to Russia in former times, and ended in March, 1921, with further loss of territory by the new Soviet State.

No doubt the peace of Brest Litovsk, the story of which and the charges of pro-Germanism arising from it, still resounding caused Mussolini to omit all reference in his programme to Lenin and the Russian Soviets though their influence is evident in both its timing and composition—jumble of many notions though it was.

Mussolini's Programme

Here are some of its demands:

"Institution of national technical councils on the basis of those established in Bavaria by Kurt Eisner." Eisner's brief regime was inspired by the Russian model. It was speedily crushed. Mussolini found no difficulty in taking a leaf out of Eisner's book as the revolution in Germany had hastened the Allied victory and therefore was not the subject of the same execration in Allied military circles as that of Russia which had proved advantageous to the enemy. Mussolini was anxious to manifest revolutionary sentiments without disturbing his military and nationalist supporters.

Another point in this programme was "A National Constituent Assembly, as the Italian section of the International Constituent Assembly of Peoples to proceed to a radical transformation of the political and economic bases of community life."

This, of course, was totally out of harmony with the annextionist aims at the expense of several neighbouring and distant peoples which he was one of the loudest in propagating. The programme continues:

"Proclamation of the Italian Republic. Decentralisation of the executive powers; autonomous administration of regions and communes. Sovereignty of the people, exercised and through a universal, equal and direct franchise of both sexes, the people to reserve the initiative of referendum and veto."

All this was, of course, utterly opposed to the fight for the destruction of the democratic system in which he was presently to engage, or rather was already engaged, though not yet openly. The programme continues:

"Abolition of the Senate; abolition of the political police; magistrates elected independently of the executive power.

"Abolition of all titles of nobility and of all orders of knighthood. (Mussolini himself instructed the King to distribute many such titles among his own supporters later on.)

"Abolition of compulsory military service; substitution of a national militia for the permanent Army.

"Liberty of opinion, conscience, religion, association and the Press.

"Dissolution of industrial and financial limited companies, suppression of every kind of speculation, of banks and stock exchanges.

"A strong progressive tax on capital having the character of a veritable partial expropriation of all wealth. Confiscation of unproductive revenues.

"Confiscation of all property of all the religious orders and abolition of the salaries of bishops.

"The revision of all war contracts for munitions and equipment, and the reduction of war profits by 85 per cent.

"Abolition of secret diplomacy.

"International policy opened to, and inspired by the solidarity of peoples and their independence in a confederation of States."

Here was a programme designed to rope in, by one point or another, support from all sorts of people, particularly extremists: Wilsonian Internationalists, pacifist anti-militarists, Anarchist-syndicalists and Communists—but certainly not the people who were providing the funds for his *Popolo d'Italia*. Mussolini neutralised this programme calling for "the solidarity of peoples" by his propaganda of annexation.

In an article contributed by him to the "Enciclopaedia Italiana" in 1932, ten years after he obtained power, he referred to this programme and to the meeting in March, 1919, at which he had founded the Fascist organisation, saying: "If one were to re-read in the now dusty columns of that date the report of the meeting on which the "Fasci Italiani di Combattimenti" were constituted, one would find there no ordered expression of doctrine but a series of aphorisms,

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anticipations and aspirations, which, when refined by time from the original ore, were destined after some years to develop into an ordered series of doctrinal concepts, forming the fascist political doctrine—different from all others of the past or the present day."

There is little in Mussolini's programme of 1919 that is not diametrically opposed to the fascist State, as it developed when he came to power. Many "fascists of the first hour" who were as devoid of stable principles as their leader himself, followed the Duce in all the contortions of his devious progress to power and then to total autocracy. Those of the young and inexperienced who had accepted all his 1919 "aphorisms" in good faith and youthful exuberance were ruthlessly persecuted when later they ventered to express, even mildly, the "liberty of conscience and of opinion" originally demanded.

The Arditi

Mussolini had early associated himself with the Arditi, a regiment largely composed of criminals released from their cells to take part in the war. They were armed only with hand-grenades and a poignard, their duty being to leap into the enemy trenches for hand-to-hand conflict. The Arditi were the nucleus of Mussolini's fighting squads and the "fasci di combattimenti." First formed in Milan in March, 1919, they were to prove an outstanding factor in his subsequent ascent to power. The skull and crossbones in their caps with the black epaulettes and facings of their uniform, imparted to them a sinister aspect in keeping with the rôle they were to play.

Mussolini Demands the Execution of Profiteers

In the years 1919 and 1920 Mussolini was again the stormy petrel of every turbulent movement always calling upon the workers for acts of violence and rebellion. He claimed to be their foremost champion. A few extracts from his *Popolo d'Italia* which appeared during the food scarcity and rising prices of 1919 will indicate the part he was playing in the difficult aftermath of war:

June 10, 1919: "Either the possessing classes must expropriate themselves, or we shall bring the mass of the ex-soldiers to overthrow them."

June 16, 1919: "I demand the executioner's bullet for the merchants who starve the people."

July, 1919: "In Romagna the people have rebelled. . . . It is not the Socialist Party which has provoked and directed these manifestations; it lacks the will to lead a movement which may disrupt the Parliamentary game. For our part we affirm the justice of the popular protest."

July 6, 1919: "I hope that in applying their sacred right, the mob will not content themselves with attacking the criminals through their goods, but they will begin to attack them in person. A few monopolists hung from the lamp-posts will serve as an example. The fascist central committee welcomes the movement of requisitioning and pledges the fascisti to promote and support the agitation."

How far Mussolini's incitements accentuated popular unrest it is impossible to say. Certainly they were not the basis of it; the cost of living was rising rapidly; the price index had risen from 100 in 1913 to 451 in June, 1919, and 844 in November, 1920. Food riots broke out; workers committees called "Soviets" were set up in imitation of the Russian model. Mussolini was correct in saying the Socialists had not provoked these manifestations; they were not the result of propaganda but of the hardships of the time; the local Chambers of Labour did not join him in demanding violence; they approached the shopkeepers and induced them to sell at reasonable prices and attempted to calm the people and maintain order. The arm-band of representatives of the Chamber of Labour was respected by the people and the vendors; they were an influence in pacifying turbulent crowds and in mediation.

Mussolini Calls for Land Seizures

While the food scarcity and rising prices produced general hardship, demobilised soldiers were workless and destitute. No steps had been taken to fulfil the war-time promise of providing them with land. Simultaneously with the food riots, arose a movement for occupying and cultivating the large estates of absentee landlords which had long been a source of grievance in Italy. Mussolini, in his ceaseless quest for popularity, gave vehement support to land seizures. His *Popolo d'Italia* fulminated, "We are for the land for the peasant. The State is a thing the peasant does not know. The peasant wants the land and must have it."

Italy's demobilised soldiers were not provided with the gratuities and pensions supplied by richer countries. The Liberal Prime Minister, Francesco Nitti, however, made an effort to alleviate their misery by giving them the promised land to cultivate. He established ex-servicemen's institutes ("Opera dei Combattenti") and gave them the right to demand the compulsory expropriation of uncultivated lands on behalf of ex-servicemen who were peasants living in the locality; this measure contributed gradually to the dwindling of unrest. In Sicily especially it had beneficent results for the local population and for the country as a whole, but in a few years' time the triumph of Fascism was to sweep away everything for the good of the people effected by the governments which had preceded it.

While perpetually calling for a workers' revolution, as he had done in his Socialist days, Mussolini was now declaring that the supreme test of the true revolutionary was support for Italy's intervention in the World War. This question he declared to be superior to all others; whether a man was a monarchist or a republican, a socialist or an individualist was secondary.

He was not alone in talking of revolutions in those early post-war days. The revolutions in Russia, Germany and Hungary had made a profound impression in Europe, causing fear and consternation on the one hand —and on the other hope and belief that world-wide revolution would sweep away the old order of war, oppression and extremes of poverty and would establish a new and better system.

As the food-riots were abating in Italy, later in the

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year 1919, the Socialist Party received an invitation to join the Third International, established by the Russian Communists to replace the Second Socialist International which had collapsed at the outbreak of the World War. The acceptance of a thesis cast in revolutionary terms was a condition of membership, but Italy being deficient in coal, iron and other essential raw materials of war, would not be expected to implement the revolution until the revolution had been successful in the rest of Europe; every man could therefore vote for the resolution and when it was carried could go back, as usual, to his office or his workshop.

The elder pioneers of the party were, however, not persuaded to adopt the Russian thesis; the veteran Filippo Turati argued, as he had done since the first foundation of the party, that "revolutionary illusions" must be dismissed and by legal means the workers must be helped and encouraged to build their trade unions and co-operative societies, and to increase their Parliamentary representation.*

The Party Conference which discussed the Russian thesis was held in beautiful Bologna, centre of ancient art and learning, in the fertile plain at the foot of the Appenines. Even the scene-shifters going home from their work at the Theatre would pause to draw your attention to the leaning towers of Asinelli and Garisenda and would explain to you just the position from which Dante regarded them when he wrote his immortal lines.

In these historic surroundings the Italian Socialists took a decision which may have been great with consequences for their future, though the die was perhaps already cast for their destruction in either case.

The moderating counsels of the old leaders were swept aside; the Russian thesis was adopted; the old leaders retired from the executive. The veteran Turati, Anna Kuliscioff, a Russian refugee who had come to Italy in the 'eighties and had been active in forming and building the Party, Treves, Modigliani and others who had opposed the Bolshevist thesis wandered sadly around, having perhaps a prevision of what was to follow. As it proved later, the internal conflict had been abortive, the Italian Party was not admitted to the Third International because it refused to expel the old leaders who had opposed the Russian thesis

The Party was still united; its policy remained unchanged. No step was to be taken toward preparing for a revolution which even the Russian theoreticians themselves declared was not to happen in Italy till the rest of Europe had accepted Communism. All members instead prepared for the elections in which the leaders would inevitably be the old leaders who had endeared themselves to the people by long service. The Party was high in popular applause.

Mussolini's position appeared precarious. He also was in Bologna, but he went about only at night. At his prompting, the Arditi attacked the Socialist delegates as they were entering a reception at the Town Hall, held by the Mayor. Some wounded delegates were already carried to hospital before the Mayor could procure the recall of the Arditi to barracks. It was a mild foretaste of more serious events to come.

D'Annunzio Seizes Fiume

Typical of the disorders of the period was the seizure of Fiume by the poet D'Annunzio, on September 12, 1919, in order to secure it for Italy. The Peace Conference had made it a free city, in order that its Italian population and its Yugoslav hinterland on which it must depend for its prosperity might both receive adequate consideration. Professor Salvemini* declares D'Annunzio seized the town "at the head of a regiment of the regular army." The poet of tragi-comedy was accompanied by Arditi, Facists and Nationalists seeking adventure. Among the two latter contingents many were unemployed and eager to obtain both pay and excitement.

The event was, in fact, promoted by an Army revolt against Government policy. All was in order for the march when D'Annunzio was invited to lead the expedition. He was chosen, no doubt, to shield the officers responsible for the coup, in case the affair should lead to serious consequences for its authors. The Italian Government, however, took no action. "William Elwin," an Italian, writing in exile under a pseudonym, states: "The General Staff of the Italian Army refused to serve against the irresponsible elements who had infringed international law; the Government was thus helpless." This would appear incredible, but Elwin's book was published with a preface by Francesco Nitti who was Prime Minister of Italy at this very period. Nitti warmly commends the book of Elwin, saying the author is "personally known" to him and "the book is historically valuable." It may therefore be safely assumed that Nitti concurred in this statement, which vitally concerned the conduct of his own administration. The Fiume adventure indicates that there was already a state of incipient mutiny among some elements of the Italian Army, who were ready to defy the Government to forward Italian expansion.

D'Annunzio having seized Fiume for Italy, transformed it into a state of his own to enhance his own importance. He named it the State of Carnaro and developed there a theatrical system of challenges by himself, "the leader," and responses by the crowd kneeling before him. "Whose is Fiume?" Ours!", etc. The badges, banners and ritual of Fascism were first originated by D'Annunzio at Fiume. Even the "Corporations"

* The Socialist Party itself had now a membership of 200,000. The trade union, General Confederation of Labour numbered 2,300,000. There were 19,377 Co-operative Societies owning very substantial properties. In addition to these organisations founded early after Italy achieved unity, there were the later Roman Catholic Trade Unions, numbering 1,300,000 and Roman Catholic Co-operative Societies; both organisations being under Church influence, a type of organisation peculiar to Roman Catholic countries. Beside all these there was the "Italian Syndicalist Union" and the "Italian Union of Labour," the last had been formed after the world war by Rossoni, one of Mussolini's associates. The two last of these Trade Unions were relatively small organisations, Rossoni's being the smallest. They did not substantially affect labour conditions which were mainly worked out between the General Confederation of Labour and the Employers' Associations with occasional Government intervention.

* Gaetano Salvemini: **Prelude to World War II**, p. 47.

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were announced there; the people were to be organised into bodies of employers, merchants, and workers.

Mussolini Fails in Parliamentary Candidature

Mussolini promised his support to D'Annunzio and organised collections on behalf of the hospital and the babies of Fiume. Two of the editors of his newspaper having resigned on account of the use of these collections, the affair became the subject of arbitration and aroused much comment. Mussolini seems to have found it advisable to publish a report of the case in his *Popolo d'Italia* of February 3, 1920. He was there reported as stating the money collected amounted to "some dozens of thousand lire" and was used to pay the stipend, "from 20 to 30 francs a day," of legionaries from Fiume and other Italian towns who formed, he said "the so-called armed bands under my orders." He added the band from Fiume, "some hundreds in all" consisted of "some dozens of Arditi, some dozens of officers, some dozens of marines, in total some hundreds who were divided in sections, commanded by the officers, and who all obeyed me."*

These armed bands had come to Milan to provide an entourage for Mussolini during his Parliamentary candidature in the election of 1919. Despite his numerous bodyguard, he was heavily defeated. His list received only 4,000 votes out of a total of 350,000 for Milan. The old Socialist, Turati, had 180,000 votes. In the whole of the country the Fascists did not win a single seat. The Socialists had increased their representation to 154; though their numbers were not sufficient to enable them to form a Government, they had become the largest party in a Parliament of 508 members.

The utter failure of the Fascist Party to win popular support was a source of rage and bitterness to the future dictator. Cesare Rossi, his friend and close companion, wrote, in *Popolo d'Italia*, on January 20, 1920, "Hard facts compel us to realise that the workers and the Socialist Party form one integral unity; hence the uselessness of further adjurations and illusions."

Turns Anarchist for a Time

Mussolini's political utterances vacillated with the state of his fortunes. Their low ebb in the Spring of 1920 may be gathered from his tirade of April: "Down with the State in all its forms; nothing more remains for us, the last survivors of individualism, to carry us through the night of today and tomorrow save the religion of anarchy—an anachronism in our time, but now consoling!"

Roman Catholic Political Party Arrives

In that same Parliamentary Election of 1919 there appeared for the first time in Italy a Roman Catholic party called "Partito Popolare" (Popular Party). Its founder and leader was Don Sturzo, a Sicilian priest, who did not himself enter Parliament, but directed the Party from outside. The Vatican had previously discountenanced participation in Italian Elections by devout Catholics, the Holy See not being reconciled to the Italian State which had overthrown the temporal power of the Papacy in 1870. Pope Benedict XV, however, removed this ban and favoured the formation of Don Sturzo's party. Roman Catholics were encouraged to support it. Members of the Catholic religious, social and trade union organisations flocked into it. It secured at this first trial 99 seats, under the slogans, "sound religious principles," "a better future for our Italy," "small holdings and colonisation of unused estates, labour legislation, reorganisation of schools," "the political and moral programme of President Wilson."*

The strength of the party was mainly in the rural areas and among the peasants and lower middle class, but it had some members among devout Catholics of all classes. In its first election contest it received some support also from the richer Catholic landowners and industrialists which it lost in later years.

Elected by proportional representation, the Parliament of 1919 contained many small factions, the result of that system. No single party could form a Government; a coalition was inevitable. In the difficult post-war situation this coalition proved weak and unstable owing to its conflicting elements. The Socialists would not join it hoping in the near future to be able to form a government of their own.

The Roman Catholic "Popolari" joined the coalition which was formed by the Liberal, Francesco Nitti; who was again Prime Minister, but they soon forsook him, first withdrawing their members from the Cabinet and a little later causing it to fall by voting against it and thereby destroying its Parliamentary majority. According to Don Sturzo,† the Popolari wrecked the Nitti Government because of its concessions to the Socialists, their rivals, in seeking the votes of workers and peasants. In January, 1920, as he explains, "economic conditions had gone from bad to worse," strikes broke out among postal, telegraph and railway workers. The Roman Catholic trade unions, he says, acted as strike-breakers. When the Prime Minister intervened to settle the conflict, he negotiated with the unions whose members were on strike and made wage concessions to alleviate the hardship caused by the increased cost of living. Don Sturzo declares the Popolari, who had endeavoured to nullify the strike, were thereby "exposed to the contempt of the various Ministries." William Elwin probably expressed the opinion of Prime Minister Nitti in his comment: "The party as a whole was too intimately connected with the Church to have more than one objective; in reality it introduced the Italian counter revolution, later to be completed by Fascism."

It is, however, undoubtedly the old Liberal Democratic leader, Giovanni Giolitti, to whom the major responsibility for first helping the Fascists to power must be ascribed, as we shall presently see. The Popolari were soon to undergo Fascist persecution, along with many others, for they were declared to be "white

* Armando Borghi, **Mussolini en Chemise**, pp. 159-162.

* Luigi Sturzo: **Italy and Fascismo**, pp. 91-100, passim.

† Luigi Sturzo, ibid, pp. 54-5, 99.

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Bolshevists" though claiming to be the party of law and order. Don Sturzo had to flee into exile like Nitti himself.

Mussolini Champions Strikes in the Public Services

Strikes in the public services were now championed by Mussolini; in his newspaper he declared: "We want a fight to a finish for an increase of wages and overtime payments for night work and emergencies for railwaymen; and the right to increments for post and telegraph employees. We cry aloud our right in the face of pseudo-patriots and war profiteers!"

Nitti was replaced by Giovanni Giolitti, leader of the Democrats, long called "the master of Italian politics"; he became Prime Minister for the fifth time. It was now the turn of the metal workers, who had produced the munitions of war, to demand increased wages to meet the huge rise in the cost of living. The employers rejected their demands and declared a lock-out. The metal workers, under instructions of their union, remained in the factories and continued production. During the war committees of workers had been constituted in the munition factories with shop stewards to direct the work in order to reduce the cares of management under a large influx of unskilled workers brought in to increase production. The fact had largely given the cue to this new militant type of industrial "direct action" which responded to a widespread sentiment in the workshops at the time and not alone in Italy. The great upheaval of the war and the revolutions in which it had closed had created an ebullience among the people of which Mussolini claimed to be the author. Again he hoped to ride the storm of revolution to the seat of power. His small party hastened to seize one of the factories and hoisted the black flag the Fascists had chosen for themselves.

On August 30, 1920, an article appeared in the *Popolo d'Italia*, declaring the occupation of the factories would be a mistake unless it were to be used" as a means to greater ends. It ought to be the prelude to a social upheaval. This would be logical, but, he added, "Buozzi and Guanari have a mentality too restricted for that."

Nevertheless, knowing his party to be too small to achieve his ends, Mussolini approached the two officials of the metal workers he had thus condemned and offered his collaboration, provided the aim of the occupation was to be "revolutionary," and intended to produce "a profound transformation of the country."*

This offer was received with quiet reserve; the Metal Workers' Union adhered to the industrial aims concerning wages and working conditions which had led to the dispute.

Prime Minister Giolitti refused to allow any Government action to dislodge the workers from the factories, believing that the material difficulties they would inevitably encounter would soon exert an influence on the situation. Moreover the munitions manufacturers were widely unpopular owing to the belief that they had profited unduly by the war a belief shared by the Prime Minister himself. The rank and file of the Army were showing their sympathy with the workers. Only after some weeks of delay did Giolitti open negotiations to settle the dispute. The metal workers thereby secured a 20 per cent increase in wages, and a promise to adjust wages monthly in accordance with the cost of living, and six paid holidays a year At the suggestion of the Minister of Labour, Labriola, they were also promised a share in the technical administration. The agreement was embodied in an Act of Parliament.

Mussolini who had declared the occupation of the factories ought to be the prelude to revolution, nevertheless hailed the settlement as a great victory in his *Popolo d'Italia* as follows: "There is no doubt that if the Italian working class proceeds on this path and continues to give such proofs of its activity, it will be impossible to refuse it, more or less extended participation in the Government."

Nevertheless when after the conclusion of the agreement the workers quietly vacated the factories without any act of sabotage he seems to have become doubtful of the possibility of the revolution he desired. He paid a visit to Germany where he discovered the revolutionary ferment had subsided. A little later he wrote in his newspaper: "To agree that there is still a Bolshevist danger is to prefer fear and prejudice to truth," a remark which in view of his past words and deeds can only be described as tacking to the political wind, which was characteristic of his methods.

The time was almost ripe for him to adopt a new direction for his revolutionary proclivities. But in reviewing the events of the year in his newspaper he declared with apparent satisfaction that the land seizures had been useful in bringing the land problem before the country and the occupation of the factories had done the same for industry.

FASCIST DICTATOR

"Saviour from Bolshevism"

After the settlement of the metal workers dispute, the Roman Catholic Popolari withdrew their support from the Government of Giolitti, as they had done from that of Nitti, on the ground that he had negotiated with the General Confederation of Labour instead of with the Roman Catholic Trade Unions.

Italian writers of the period assert that at this time, Prime Minister Giolitti made a pact with Mussolini whereby Giolitti would include Fascist candidates in his electoral list to enable them to obtain the Parliamentary and Municipal representation they had failed to secure in the previous election a few months before. Whatever may have been the conditions Giolitti now included Fascist candidates in his list.

The existence of this pact is asserted by Don Sturzo, the Sicilian priest, by Pietro Nenni, the Socialist, and by several of the early Fascists; among these were Umberto Bianchelli, Adolfo Zerboglie and Giuseppe De Falco, a war-time friend of Mussolini who had managed *Popolo d'Italia* when its chief was at the war. De Falco asserts that on October 20, 1920, the Commander-in-Chief of

* B. Buozzi and V. Nitti: **Fascisme et Syndicalisme**, pp. 80-81.

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the Italian Army sent a circular to all military formations instructing them to assist and support the Fascist fighting squads. Giobetti, a Liberal Monachist, writes that time-expired Carabinieri, the Italian armed police, were drafted *en masse* into the Fascist squads.

Count Sforza,* Giolitti's apologist, says the old Prime Minister "welcomed Fascism as a counterpoise to Socialism. But he was firmly convinced it could be sobered into legality by Parliament." Even when Fascism had come to power, Sforza adds, Giolitti tried to persuade him from "taking an attitude of downright opposition." Sforza, who had long worked under Giolitti, describes him as a "great liberal statesman."

Don Sturzo† takes a harsher view, he declares Giolitti deliberately gave the Fascists electoral aid and promoted their acts of violence in order that he might make use of them and afterwards discard them when they had served his object. His purpose was, says Sturzo, to use Fascist violence and intimidation to reduce the poll of the Socialists and Popolari and to induce the Socialists to enter a Coalition Government formed by himself.

Having made his pact with Mussolini, Giolitti signed the Treaty of Rapallo, by which Fiume became a free city under Italian protection. It was consequently necessary to eject D'Annunzio from the miniature realm where he had established his theatrical regime. Giolitti accordingly despatched General Caviglia to do this. D'Annunzio protested he would fight to the death and sent a messenger to Mussolini, claiming the help he had promised, but the pact of the Duce of Fascism with Prime Minister Giolitti was now operative; Mussolini returned a cold refusal.

Giolitti having seen the violence of the Fascist squadristi at work in the Municipal elections toward the close of 1920, knew what to expect from it. He evidently approved their actions for he summoned a new Parliamentary General Election for May, 1921, with the Fascists in his electoral list. The electoral campaign was conducted under Fascist terror; several candidates and their supporters were murdered. The official journal of the Vatican *Osservatore Romano* stated that 40 people were murdered on polling day.

Mussolini Enters Parliament

When the poll was declared, it was found that the Fascists, with Giolitti's assistance, had secured 32 seats; the Popolari had increased their representation to 107; the Socialists, though they had suffered the main onslaught of Fascist intimidation, were again the largest party in Parliament, having retained 134 seats. They were still determined not to enter any coalition.

Giolitti had gambled on winning electoral success by the aid of Fascist violence, but again he lacked a majority; to maintain himself in power, he would have to induce a coalition of parties to support him. He would get no assistance from Mussolini, who had secured a seat in Parliament solely by his aid. Fascism had now obtained, not only military assistance, but also the aid of landowners and industrial employers, whom Mussolini had persuaded to supply him with funds to wreck the trade unions.

Nevertheless, tacking, as he always did to every political current which he conceived might advance him, the "Duce" made a final bid for a combination with the two largest parties. In an interview with the widely read newspaper, *Giornale d'Italia,* on May 22, 1920, he declared Fascism "differed from Nationalism by its Republican tendency" and that "the salvation of Italy" would be found in a coalition of Fascism, Socialism and the Roman Catholic Popolari. Had it been possible, this combination would have produced a Parliamentary majority, but the two parties he had mentioned naturally remained silent. There came, however, an immediate response on behalf of his military, land-owning and industrial backers. He was repudiated by his most militant supporters. After a show of blustering that he was "a leader who leads," he capitulated completely, protesting that he had only desired "to create a commotion to stir up a few frogs."

In order to "save face" by preserving an appearance of intransigeance and menace to the existing order of society he announced that he and his party would absent themselves during the reading of the King's speech, on the ground that the monarchy was "an excrescence, having no historic tradition and no roots in the heart of the people."

He entered the chamber with his 32 Fascists, all heavily armed. The lobbies and public galleries were thronged by his armed supporters. In an atmosphere of terror and foreboding he addressed the Chamber, declaring he did not intend to form a Parliamentary group, but "a platoon for action." He now professed himself a "Nationalist" and a "Catholic," an opponent of Giolitti who had promoted him, and of the Socialists, with whom he had so lately proposed an alliance.

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* Count Carlo Sforza: **Makers of Modern Italy,** pp. 245-6.

† Luigi Sturzo: **Italy and Fascismo,** pp. 102-3: "Fascism appears as Socialism disguised under a cloak of victory and national interests . . . Fascism made a noise, but did not increase the number of its adepts; it lacked an outlet. And the outlet for its forces was opened by the old Giolitti toward the end of 1920, when he had got over the dead point of the occupation of the factories, giving the country the impression that there was an understanding between him and the Socialists, he thought it would be well to have other forces in hand which he could bring into play against the latter without assuming direct responsibility for their actions. He could thus hope to bend the moderate section of Socialism towards collaboration as he had hoped to do for a long time. He could not lean on the Popolari, whom he knew to be hostile to him, because of his methods of Government and because of the distrust always shown him by the present writer, then political secretary of the Party. Therefore Giolitti thought to lean on the Fascisti, but his intention was to use them and at the opportune moment get rid of them after having gained the means of compromising their chiefs and neutralising their action should they rebel against him.

"With this plan, which corresponded to his well-known methods of Government, he organised the national blocs for the Municipal elections in the autumn of 1920, against the Socialist and against the Popolari who fought each for themselves; the fascisti in upper and central Italy took part not only with candidates and a very limited electoral contribution, but, and this was what counted, with armed bands which intimidated rural districts and towns. Part of their arms were those left over from Fiume, and part were recently taken from the military stores."

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Giolitti, who was still Prime Minister, faced a hostile Parliament; the Socialists and Popolari denounced him for his alliance with Fascist violence. The Nationalists assailed his foreign policy; his opposition to Italian intervention in the World War,* his removal of D'Annunzio from Fiume, his withdrawal of the Italian troops who had been fighting at Valona in Albania to establish an Italian protectorate,† his policy of peace with Yugoslavia, embodied in the Treaty of Rapallo, which he had lately signed. The Fascists he had brought into Parliament led the hue and cry against him.

Even Giolitti's own party had decided to withdraw its support; the action he had taken under pressure of Socialists and in part of Popolari, to deal with war profiteers was unpopular; the conversion of bearer into registered shares, high taxation of industrialists and rentiers, increased death duties by which he had endeavoured to make the richer classes pay for the war. Above all he had appointed a commission to enquire into illegal war profits and evasion of taxation, which had aroused indignation. Bereft of all support, Giolitti had to resign; it was his exit from public life.

Fascist Punitive Expeditions

Giolitti was succeeded by Ivanoe Bonomi, one of those former right-wing Socialists for whose expulsion from the Party, Mussolini had led the heresy-hunt in 1912, because of their congratulations to the King on his escape from assassination.

CIVIL WAR

Bonomi had been Minister of War in Giolitti's now defunct Government. As such, he had either shut his eyes to, or participated in the arming of the Fascist fighting squads of his old adversary. As Prime Minister he continued the same tolerance of lawless violence.‡

The events of that period are best described in Mussolini's own words: "The dominant feature of the years 1921 and 1922 was the succession of Fascist punitive expeditions, the assault on towns in armed masses."

He had begun by attacking the Socialists, the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies; he went on to launch his offensive against the Roman Catholic Popolari Party. Under Pope Pius XI this Party had lost the support of the Vatican it had enjoyed under Benedict XV. As time passed Mussolini was to turn his fighting squads against the Liberal and Democratic parties and finally against all non-Fascist organisations, all who did not pay lip-service at least to Fascism. For opponents of the regime there was eventually no respite from attack by his armed bands, save in exile or the grave. Even escape from the country was rendered difficult and deaths occurred among refugees passing the snow-covered Alps in winter.

This period was virtually a time of civil war. The assaults on towns of which Mussolini boasted, were launched when the Fascists had no more than thirty-two Members of Parliament—little more than a fifteenth of its membership. To precipitate the assault it was sufficient that the local population had elected a non-Fascist Municipal Council, as was usually the case, that it possessed a non-Fascist co-operative stores, a Chamber of Labour, or non-Fascist Trade Union branches, whether adhering to the General Confederation of Labour, or to the Roman Catholic organisation.

The Brief Truce

On July 21, 1921, at Sarzana the Regular Troops took the part of the people and resisted the assault of the Fascists. This caused consternation. On August 3 De Nicola, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, hastily arranged a truce between Fascists and Socialists, both sides being pledged to refrain from attacking each other. The truce was signed by Mussolini himself and by Captain C. M. De Veechi, commander of the Arditi, who were still on the Army payroll and were the backbone of the Fascist fighting squads. In fact, the truce was never observed by the Fascists and after protests against it by the bluff, bearded Dino Grandi, who later became Fascist Ambassador in London, Mussolini dismissed it as a mere "temporary expedient."

Professor Salvemini publishes extracts from a diary of Balbo, a Fascist leader, in which he describes the ravages committed at Ravenna by the armed gang under his command: "That night our storm troops proceeded to destroy the vast headquarters of the confederation of the Socialist Co-operatives* of the province . . . the old palace was completely destroyed. We undertook the task with the same spirit as we demolished the enemy's stores in war time* . . . we had to strike terror into the hearts of our opponents.

"I went to the Chief of Police and announced to him I would burn down all the houses of all the Socialists in Ravenna unless he gave us within half-an-hour the necessary means of transporting the Fascists elsewhere. I demanded a whole column of trucks. The police told us where we could find trucks supplied with gasoline. I asked for these trucks on the pretext that I wanted to take the Fascists from the city. In reality I was organising the 'column of fire,' as our opponents described it.

"The march of the trucks began at eleven o'clock yesterday morning, the 29th, and ended this morning,

* Giolitti had opposed Italian intervention on the side of Austria in 1914 and on the side of France in 1915 on the ground that the facilities for raising loans promised to Italy by the Treaty of London 1915, on the basis of which she joined the Allies would be insufficient to meet her war expenses.

† Albania had not been promised to Italy by the Treaty of London, nor could the Italians assert a racial claim to it, but during the World War, General Ferrero had proclaimed an Italian protectorate.

‡ Don Sturzo (page 104 **Italy and Fascismo**) expresses the opinion that Bonomi would have stopped the Fascist excesses had he been able to do so, but that he "lacked the co-operation of the higher branches of the bureaucracy, civil and military, which protected Fascism because it was useful to the agrarian and industrial reaction and was surrounded by a certain aura of patriotism made up of rhetoric and brag, enthusiasm and intimidation, pleasing to many."

* Gaetano Salvemini: **Under the Axe of Fascism**, pp. 18, 19, quoting L. Balbo: **Diario**, published in Fascist times by Mondadori, Milan, 1932.

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the 30th. We passed through towns and villages in the provinces of Forli and Ravenna, destroying and burning. It was a terrible night. Our passing was marked by mounting columns of fire . . . all the leaders were in flight."

Events were moving toward a crisis; the commission appointed by Giolitti in the previous Parliament to enquire into illegal profits and evasions of taxation by the munitions manufacturers during the war had already exacted the payment of £900,000 to the Government by some manufacturers, and other cases were pending. Anger and indignation seethed in these quarters.

The propaganda of the old-style Italian politicians that Italy had been robbed of her due by the peace conference had caused an unrest among Army officers which was kept at a high pitch by furious Nationalist and Fascist propaganda.

The latitude given to the Army by two successive Prime Ministers, Giolitti and Bonomi, to assist the Fascist punitive raids had produced among many officers a contempt for the constitutional Parliamentary methods of the past.

Mussolini Takes Power

Mussolini was cunningly preparing for the seizure of power. Just as on entering Parliament he had discarded his old pugnacious atheism as a handicap in his new rôle, he now renounced his Republicanism. In a speech at Udine, in September, 1922, he declared his support for the monarchy, thus removing the "difference" which, as he had said, divided him from many Nationalists. On October 22 the Fascist Party held its annual conference at Naples; he there declared: "Either the Government will be given to us, or we shall march on Rome." He then retired to Milan, not too far from the French frontier lest trouble should arise.

A so-called "quadrumvirate" was now appointed by the conference to lead the march on Rome. It consisted of Bianchi, secretary of the Fascist Party; Italo Balbo, commander of the fighting squads; De Bono (who was afterwards to prepare and to lead the invasion of Ethiopia) and De Vecchi, whom Mussolini was subsequently to appoint Governor of Italy's Somaliland colony, where he operated a sanguinary so-called "reconquest," lasting three tragic years.

Dino Grandi was chosen as adviser to the four who were to lead the march. Several of the Regular Army

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generals drilled the Fascist squads, and General Diaz, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, addressed them from a balcony in Florence. The King's cousin, the Duke of Aosta, reviewed them at Perujia.

General Badoglio, afterwards to lead the advance to Addis Aaba, declared the whole Fascist conspiracy could have been blown away by a few rounds of cannon. Nevertheless, the Government was in a state of panic. Bonomi had resigned the premiership owing to a banking crisis and the withdrawal of Popolari support on the question of the Roman Catholic schools. A proposal to call for Giolitti, in the hope that the rusé old politician might surmount the gathering storm, was vetoed by the Popolari. A supposed henchman of Giolitti, a veritable man of straw, Luigi Facta, was made Prime Minister with Popolari support. He became wholly dominated by the Fascists and when ordered by them to do so, placed the resignation of himself and the entire Cabinet in the hands of the King.

Though in view of this resignation they no longer existed as a Cabinet, the Ministers determined to issue a decree of martial law to prevent the Fascist advent to the capital. During the same night without waiting to present the decree for the King's assent in the morning they issued it to the Prefects who immediately commenced putting it into practice by placing the State-owned railway under military control and preventing the movement of armed bands and confiscating arms. Despite a turbulent minority, the forces of the country were still obedient to the Government.

To the consternation of the Ministers, the King, after reproaching them for allowing the Fascist movement to go so far, refused to sign the decree. It is said he was alarmed by the encouragement to the Fascists of his cousin, the Duke of Aosta, and anxious concerning the security of his own reign.

ASCENT TO POWER

After an interview with Captain De Vecchie of the quadrumvirate, King Victor Emmanuel III agreed to summon the old politician, Salandra, to form a Ministry of which Mussolini was to be a member. The Duce of Fascism, feeling his hour had struck, refused to serve under another and demanded the Government for himself. The King assented, requesting Mussolini to come from Milan to form the administration.

From that time forward, the King became a shadowy figure effaced in importance by Mussolini.

The Fascists, their numbers now greatly swollen, flocked by every train to Rome where they committed innumerable acts of violence and disorder, seizing men and women believed to be their opponents, shaving their heads, daubing their faces with the national colours, forcing them to drink huge doses of castor oil, beating them with cudgels, dragging them about the streets.

Mussolini employed some diplomacy and much terror. He formed a Government comprised of all the parties except the Socialists and Republicans. He chose from each party the member he thought suitable. Don Sturzo advised the Roman Catholic Popolari not to accept the responsibilities of serving under him. They, however, perhaps afraid to refuse, argued that his advent to power might coincide with a return to legality.

Parliament assembled on November 17, 1922, in an atmosphere of terror. Armed Fascists and Nationalists, who had now fused as "National Fascists" brandished their weapons and shouted their war cries. Mussolini declaimed: "I could have made this grey and gloomy hall a soldiers' bivouac. I could have shut up Parliament. The Chamber must realise this." He kept for himself the three most important offices: that of Prime Minister and the Ministries of Home and of Foreign Affairs. He obtained from the alarmed Members of Parliament a vote giving the Government plenary powers and the suspension of Parliament till 1924.

Intensified Terror: Destruction of Reforms

The violence of the squads was now intensified; town after town was subjected to terror; murderous assaults were committed with impunity. The commission on illegal war profits and tax evasion was disbanded. Nitti's Land Purchase Act, which had resulted from the agitation Mussolini had persistently incited, was now abolished; the land the peasants had been industriously cultivating reverted to the former absentee owners. Step by step all the recent laws for the amelioration of hardship were swept away. Laws for the protection of women and children against violence and assault were reduced to nullity. There were repeated amnesties for Fascist crime—"crimes committed with a national aim" as they were termed.

Step by step the democratic constitution was destroyed.

Crisis of the Regime

There was a period in 1924 when the regime appeared threatened by strong currents of public protest. The leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, Giacomi Matteotti, a young landowner of Polesine, the man of all others in the Italian Parliament with the courage to state plain truth, suddenly disappeared. He had been seized on emerging from his house, abducted and murdered by prominent Fascists. Two of Mussolini's closest associates and members of his Government, whom he forced to resign to divert suspicion from himself, feared he would make them the scapegoats for the crime. They went into hiding and published statements revealing that the murder had been committed by his orders and was part of a conspiracy to destroy all the opposition leaders who now comprised members of most parties. There had been many other Fascist murders, even including Members of Parliament, but Matteotti had won widespread respect and the threat to the other opposition leaders aroused consternation. Police discoveries confirmed the revelations of Mussolini's accomplices. The leaders of the opposition placed the documents in the hands of the King, hoping that he would use his constitutional power to dismiss the Government and appoint a cabinet of generals to restore order.

The King did not act. The moment of crisis passed.

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Mussolini strengthened his power by calling to Rome, armed forces from the provinces.

Matteotti's widow suffered long years of persecution; her children were not allowed to attend school bearing their father's name. Any who had the courage to visit here were interned on the penal islands.

"All Power to Fascism"

The "Most Fascist Laws" were introduced; the Fascist Militia was raised to the position of a State force and armed on the scale of the regular army. It took an oath of allegiance to the King, but acted under the direct orders of Mussolini. The press was placed under State control; all Italian newspapers became Fascist organs. Fascism was taught in the schools. The university professors, and all State officials had to take an oath of allegiance to Fascism; many preferred to retire into exile.

The Fascist Grand Council was made the Supreme State Authority under Mussolini. It had power to decide the succession to the Throne and the Crown Prince was made aware of the fact. Before Fascism came to power, the King had not been wholly subject to the advice of the Government; he was now obliged to act in obedience to Mussolini. All Treaties with foreign States were made by the Fascist Grand Council, where Mussolini was supreme.

For a time Parliament was still tolerated, but all Parliamentary candidates were nominated by the Fascist Grand Council; voters were permitted only to vote "yes" or "no". In 1933, Mussolini declared Parliament an anachronism, and in 1934 the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved.

The Corporative State

Much has been written of the "Corporations" and of the "Corporate State." Actually the Corporations were ostensibly formed of organisations of employers and employees. Under a so-called "law" of April 3, 1926, and subsequent regulations, the legally recognised organisations of employers and workers, which had to be fascist in aim and teaching and must provide guarantees to that effect, alone could represent "employers and workers, whether intellectual or manual workers, artists or artisans." Only guaranteed Fascists could be members of these organisations, but all employers and employees throughout Italy, whether allowed to be members of these organisations or not, were compelled to pay the membership fee, which amounted to the product of one day's work per annum. Only one organisation for each category of employers and workers was permitted, and that must be a fascist organisation. There were five Corporations for the various industries and one for agriculture. There was also one for the members of the liberal professions.

The officials of the employers' and workers' organisations were all chosen by the Fascist Party, and their highest officials by the Fascist Grand Council. The six Corporations had one representative between them on the Grand Council—the Speaker of the Corporative Chamber. The regulation of wages and conditions of employment was not done by the Corporations, but was undertaken direct by the Fascist Party. The Corporative structure was in fact an edifice mainly created for the amazement and admiration of foreign observers. The Corporative subscription, exacted from all employers and employees and members of the liberal professions throughout Italy, was a tax upon the whole active population. 10 per cent of this was paid to the State; the remainder was divided into compulsory and "facultative" expenditure. The former included payments to the "Ballila," the organisation for teaching Fascism to the children and for what was termed moral and religious instruction; otherwise Fascism for youth and adults.

The character of the regime is indicated by its manner of constructing the Fascist Trade Unions. Edmondo Rossoni, Mussolini's chief assistant in constructing the Corporations, had also been a revolutionary socialist before the war. An emigré to America, he was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Union of lumbermen and other casual workers. At the outbreak of war, he returned to Italy for war propaganda, but did not serve in the army. After the war in 1918, he formed the "Italian Union of Labour," with the programme of "war against the capitalist system and all the institutions upholding that system." This organisation endeavoured to attract members by adopting a policy more extreme than that of the General Confederation of Labour. It endeavoured to cater for the super-nationalist element and discharged soldiers, but it never achieved success, and in 1921 Rossoni threw in his lot with Mussolini. It has been said that Mussolini obtained a "genuine mass following" when Rossoni joined forces with him, but this is an error.

In 1921 Rossoni helped to form the Fascist trade unions called "Syndicates" which were to be combined in the "Corporations." The poor success of these organisations is demonstrated by statistics from many quarters. A quotation from the Fascist organ *Idea Sindicalista* of June 6, 1926, five years after the formation of the Syndicates will sufficiently describe the failure of these bodies to attract the confidence of those they professed to serve:

"If it is true the unions have such great membership, it is difficult to understand why they never have any funds. Concerning their numerical standing the head of the Government seems not to wish any discussion. We understand the political reasons for this and out of the respect we have always shown to the Duce we declare ourselves willing in our turn to accept these figures. But none the less there exists in the unions nothing but emptiness. The members may exist even to the number of two millions. But these two millions only exist when, in the secret voting inside the factories, they disapprove of the Fascist unions and give their votes to the non-Fascist parties."

This almost rebellious utterance probably arose from Rossoni's idea that the Fascist unions be given the monopoly of representing the workers' interests which was afterwards accepted by the Fascist Grand Council. A decree of January 24, 1924, provided that the funds of organisations maintained by the subscriptions of workers

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were to be placed under the Prefects, who by this time were all Fascists obedient to the regime. These organisations thus dispossessed of their funds included trade unions, mutual insurance societies and co-operatives, many of which had accumulated very substantial capital. Having taken over the assets of these free organisations, the Prefects transferred them to the Fascist groups. These facts have been compiled from the texts of Fascist "laws" and regulations reproduced in carefully documented works, such as those of Professor Salvemini, formerly of the University of Florence, who lectured on history on Italy at London University and later at Harvard in America. He devoted many years to recording the history of the Fascist period. "Fascism and Syndicalism" by B. Buozzi and J. Nitti, another fully documented study reproducing the "laws" and regulations of the time, has also been consulted. These facts were, of course, published in the Italian Fascist Press.

To satisfy the League of Nations that all was democratic the General Confederation of Labour was not abolished, but all its branches having been destroyed it had no real existence and its officials resigned publishing a statement to explain their decision. "De Facto" trade unions, independent of the Fascist Party were ostensibly permitted, but those who were bold enough to form them were seized and beaten and afterwards deported to other parts of Italy where they were prevented from obtaining employment. It was subsequently decreed that only members of Fascist unions would be employed.

The Lateran Treaty

In 1926 Mussolini began negotiations for the Lateran Treaty of 1929, in order to assure himself against opposition from the Vatican. This treaty established a small Vatican State and gave to the Roman Catholic Church control of marriages in Italy and religious teaching in the schools, elementary and secondary. It conveyed to the Church an indemnity of 750,000,000 lire in cash, and 1,000,000,000 lire in State Bonds carrying 5 per cent. interest along with other properties. Count Sforza,* a former Foreign Minister, reports that on the morrow of the Lateran Treaty, Pope Pius XI declared Mussolini "a man sent by Providence." The Church had, however, to accept many humiliations from Fascism after the signing of the Concordat and the Lateran Treaty.

Though he had stoked the fires of disorder to his utmost, Mussolini after the march on Rome soon succeeded in imposing himself on the credulity of some but by no means all British and European statesmen as "the man who had saved Italy from Bolshevism." Among those who believed this legend was Sir Austen Chamberlain; he and his lady wore the Fascist badges when in Italy. Mussolini appeared to them to be a man animated by sincere friendship for Great Britain, despite his many public utterances to the contrary. In November, 1925, Sir Austen, cruising the Mediterranean in his private yacht, stopped at Rapallo to renew his acquaintance with Mussolini previously begun in Rome. Sir Charles Petrie, in his "Life and Letters of Sir Austen Chamberlain," quotes him as expressing the opinion that the terrible "Duce" was "the simplest and sincerest of men" when "not posing as the dictator," and further:

"It is not my business as Foreign Secretary to appreciate his action in the domestic policies of Italy, but if ever I had to choose in my own country between anarchy and dictatorship I expect I should be on the side of the dictator . . . I believe him to be accused of crimes in which he had no share, and I suspect him to have connived unwillingly at other outrages he would have prevented if he could. But I am confident that he is a patriot and a sincere man; I trust his word when given, and I think we might easily go far before finding an Italian with whom it would be as easy for the British Government to work."

COVETOUS EYES ON ETHIOPIA

Events were soon to prove the futility of Sir Austen Chamberlain's confidence that Mussolini's word could be trusted. As for Sir Austen's belief that he would have prevented Fascist outrage "if he could," the answer is supplied by a remark of the Duce's old companion, Cesare Rossi: "There are times when Mussolini must have blood." Sir Austen's favourable impression of the dictator led to an agreement between himself and Mussolini concerning Ethiopia, which was embodied in an exchange of notes between Sir. R. Graham, British Ambassador in Rome, and Mussolini, as Foreign Minister of Italy. It was there recalled that in 1919 the Italian Government had offered their support to Great Britain in obtaining from the Ethiopian Government a concession to build a barrage on Lake Tana, and also a road from Lake Tana to the Sudan, on condition that the area to be traversed by the proposed road and the lake itself were recognised as being within the sphere of Italian interest in Ethiopia.

In return for this support by Italy, Great Britain was to support Italy in obtaining from the Ethiopian Government a concession to construct and exploit a railway from the frontier of Eritrea in the north, through Ethiopia and sweeping round west of Addis Ababa till it reached the Italian Colony of Somalia on the south coast, thus commanding the greater part of Ethiopia which was declared to be an Italian sphere. The railway was to have free passage across the proposed British road from Lake Tana to the Sudan. The British Government was also to support the Italian Government in all the demands they might make to the Ethiopians for concessions within the Italian sphere—virtually the whole of Ethiopia, with the exception of the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway zone.

Sir R. Graham's note stated the Italian offer had been rejected in 1919, owing to British Government reluctance to giving any foreign power control over waters so vital to the very existence of Egypt, "but by reason of the relations of friendly confidence now existing between our two Governments, His Britannic Majesty's Government desires to extend the principle of co-operation which has proved so precious in other

* Count Carlo Sforza: **Makers of Modern Europe**, p.335.

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fields." Thus Sir Austen was prepared to give to Mussolini, the Fascist dictator, what Lloyd George had refused to his predecessors.

It was added that instructions would be sent to the representatives of Britain and Italy in Ethiopia that they would agree together to make joint approach toward the Ethiopian Government to obtain the desired concessions. Sir R. Graham assured the Italians that the British Government would recognise the exclusive economic influence of Italy in the zone traversed by the proposed British road to the Sudan frontier and in the rest of Ethiopia, and would support Italy in any demands for economic concessions her Government might make to the Ethiopian Government, either there or in other parts of Ethiopia within the alleged Italian sphere. The Note from Mussolini followed the same line.

All this was, of course, based on the Anglo-Italian protocols of 1891 and 1894 and the new agreement itself; these were all totally alien to the Covenant of the League of Nations of which Ethiopia was now a member.

The Regent of Ethiopia (then known as Ras Tafari), the future Emperor Haile Sellassie, when the Notes were presented to him, protested to the Secretary General of the League of Nations that the two Powers were endeavouring to bring a pressure to bear on Ethiopia which was incompatible with her freedom to determine her own affairs as an independent State. He asked the other members of the League to state whether it was suitable to employ methods of pressure toward Ethiopia which undoubtedly they themselves would refuse to accept. He asked also whether the League members considered it compatible with the independence of Ethiopia for other Governments to declare that parts of Ethiopian territory would be reserved for the economic influence of a certain stated Power. "We cannot ignore the fact," he added, "that economic influence and political influence are two sisters, closely joined to each other, and we firmly protest against an agreement, which in our opinion, is not in accordance with the principles of the League of Nations."

The representatives of Sir Austen Chamberlain and of Mussolini replied to the Secretary-General of the League that there had been no attempt to exert pressure upon Ethiopia; the two Governments had merely decided not to compete against each other. There was nothing, they said, in their notes to suggest any sort of coercion. Sir Austen Chamberlain emphasised that the Anglo-Italian Notes had reserved no part of Ethiopia as a zone of influence for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, though they had recognised a zone of exclusive economic influence for Italy, "but this would not affect the rights of third parties."

Dino Grandi on Mussolini's behalf, deprecated what he termed the "inanity" of Ethiopia's anxiety. Nevertheless it was in that very year that Mussolini began to take action both in Eritrea and Somalia toward a future invasion of Ethiopia. He had bent Italy to his sway and had destroyed all democratic movement which might oppose him; he was now ready to satisfy the ambitions of his imperialist supporters, the strongest element backing his dictatorship. His agreement with Sir Austen Chamberlain being abortive—except for the evidence it provided of British Government willingness to support Italian predominence in Ethiopia and its tendency to draw the politically powerful Chamberlain family into connivance with his plans. He now instructed the Prince of Scalea to look to the efficiency of the Eritrean forces and sent the militant Captain De Vecchie to be Governor of the Italian Colony of Somalia. During the ruthless "reconquest" De Vecchie conducted there, he formed the Somali irregular soldiers, the "Banda" who were used for raiding into Ethiopia. From that time forward the "Duce" kept his thoughts busy in Africa.

He considered approaches of apparent friendship to Ethiopia would be useful. At his behest the Duke of the Abruzzi, one of King Victor Emmanuel's cousins, who had an estate in Italian Somaliland, visited Ethiopia and greetings were exchanged; the future Emperor Haile Sellassie was persuaded to visit Italy in the course of a European tour.

Following this visit, a Treaty of "Perpetual Friendship" between Italy and Ethiopia, to last twenty years, was proposed by the Italian Government and was signed on August 2, 1928. By Article V of this Treaty, the two Governments pledged themselves to submit to conciliation and arbitration "without resort to arms," any questions arising between them which could not be solved by diplomatic means. By an annex to this Treaty, Ethiopia was accorded a piece of land measuring 6,000 square metres in the Port of Assab and three kilometres from the port a further 30,000 square metres. Italy was to build a road from Assab to the frontier of Eritrea and Ethiopia was to continue the road to Dessie.

The Italians, however, did not make a start in building the road from Assab to the frontier. It was claimed the proposed route would pass through an unsuitable area. The real reason was that peaceful economic collaboration did not accord with Fascist modes of thought. The Italian attitude toward Ethiopia became more and more truculent. The Treaty of Perpetual Friendship and its annex was used now merely as a reason to complain that Ethiopia had not fulfilled her share of the contract by building the road from Eritrea to Dessie. Mussolini complained that having signed a Treaty of Friendship with Italy, Ethiopia "instead of trusting Italy" had engaged Belgian officers to train her military forces—a truly amazing protest. This complaint was, of course, unreasonable in view of the fact that Ethiopia had never accepted Italian claims to exercise a protectorate and Italy had herself formally renounced them in the Peace Treaty after Adowa in 1896.

Italy had long possessed a Legation in Addis Ababa and a Consulate at Dire Dawa. Mussolini established in 1932, four new Consulates, at Gondar, Adowa, Debre Markos and Dessie. The establishment of these Consulates in localities where they could have no commercial importance, aroused anxiety in Ethiopia, for it was evident that they had no commercial purpose. They were, in fact, centres of political intrigue and espionage.

The stage was now set for the war of conquest, the date of which was already decided by Mussolini, when the incident at Wal Wal astonished the world.

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The Ethiopian Patriots as Seen at the Time

(Extracts from "New Times and Ethiopia News," continued from last issue).

MORE ITALIANS REFUSING WORK IN ETHIOPIA

Dankalis Stubbornly Fighting

—From our Correspondent

Once more we draw the attention of our readers to the letters of our Jibuti correspondent, indicating how the Italians have failed to subdue Ethiopia.

Jibuti, June 4, 1937.

"My news of last week has all been confirmed by the new arrivals from Ethiopia. More Italians are refusing work every day and troops are being brought from all sides and concentrated on Addis Ababa.

"Beside the people in other parts of Ethiopia, the Dankalis are fighting stubbornly in the bush. The Italians played a trick on the Dankali chiefs. They called them for a parley and when they arrived they were at once shot.

"The Italians thought this would terrorise the Dankalis, but those brave warriors have taught the invaders a lesson they will not forget in a hurry. Sending their women and children with their old men and flocks into the jungle near the French border, they permitted the Italians to advance till they reached a place where there was no other water than the holes only known to the Dankalis themselves. When the Italian troops became thirsty and tired, the Dankalis kept harrassing them, keeping under cover and killing numbers of Italian white and black troops.

"For three days the Italian aeroplanes were searching for their troops but could not find them. At last the commander sent a wireless S.O.S. and the aeroplanes threw down some barrels of water to the soldiers who were on the point of death.

"The fight has again started; the Dankalis are said to be still masters of the situation, as there are only a few water holes in that part of the country which are only known to them. Every tribe has heard of the Italian defeat, and the tribesmen of Kharrayu, who live near Hawash, have also refused to submit and are fighting against the invaders.

"If the Dankalis begin to get the worst of it, they will leave the part of the country where they are now living, and will enter French territory, as a great part of their Dankali brothers are peacefully living under French rule. About 40,000 of the Ethiopian Dankalis are said to be near the French border ready to depart from Italian rule.

"The Italians have looted all the cattle, sheep and goats from the Dankali tribesmen, who have not fled. The Issa tribesmen are also being deprived of their cattle.

"Ethiopians who live and own landed property in Diredawa are kept in prison.

Villagers Robbed

"The poor cultivators who live in the villages and come to Diredawa or Harar to buy cloth for their family needs are oppressed and looted by the Italian Somali soldiers, called Banda or Dubat (white fire).

"After selling all the oxen with which the poor cultivators ploughed their fields, the Italians have passed a strict order that everyone must cultivate all his land; if he fails to comply with this order his land will be seized and given to others. This is how they deprive the owners, as without oxen it is impossible for them to cultivate all their land. Italian Somali task-masters are kept in every village to terrorise the cultivators.

Italians Steal Cattle of Gallas

"In Ethiopia the rains have started and the patriots are fighting everywhere. The Italians have been forcibly taking all the flocks and herds of the poor Gallas, who, being cultivators, are unable to leave their all to join the other warriors. Thus the Italians now possess hundreds of thousands of cattle, for which they have not paid one penny.

French Missionaries Expelled

"The French Catholic Missionaries of Harar have all been expelled, even the venerable old Bishop, who has worked all his life in Harar, and intended to end his days there.

"Half Jibuti has passed into the hands of the Italians—warehouses, garages and houses; they have thousands of lorries. Nearly all the hotels are engaged by them.

"Yet they treat French subjects in Ethiopia very badly; they forcibly took the electric installation of Diredawa from Monsieur de Monpried, and expelled him unceremoniously. They closed the business of Monsieur A. Besse, one of the biggest French traders, and fined him a million lire, on the pretence that he had sold arms to the Ethiopians before the war."

Jibuti, June 8, 1937.

Italians in Addis Ababa Raided

"I have further confirmation of my report that the Ethiopians have raided Addis Ababa at night, and I have now received an eye-witness's account of the fighting.

"Fifteen hundred of the soldiers of the doughty warrior, Ras Kassa, caring nothing for their lives, and swearing a solemn oath, came from the Entoto side and entered the town near the Gibbi (palace) of the deceased Ras Desta. They kept up the fight the whole night, neither giving nor asking for any quarter. They are said to have killed Colonel Princevalli, the Chief of Police, and two or three other Italians of importance. The coffins of these passed through Jibuti on their way to Italy. The Italians declared, however, that they died of natural causes!

"The brave warriors of Ras Kassa are said to have returned to the attack three nights and have inflicted heavy casualties, the more so as in the darkness the Italians fired on their own native troops.

"This should prove to the world of what stuff these Ethiopians are made. They have fearlessly attacked the headquarters of the Italians, where they know the odds are

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more than 50 to 1 against them, but nothing stops them when they remember how cruelly their chiefs have been murdered. They are utterly reckless of their lives.

Monks of Debra Libanos Murdered

"News has also been given to me that the Italians have assassinated all the Monks of Debra Libanos, who had retired from the world and devoted their lives to God.

"This morning the train was again full of non-Fascist Italians, who said there had been many fights between them and the Fascists, and so the non-Fascists had all determined to return to their country.

Italians Corner Meat and Bread

"A friend, newly arrived from Harar, tells me that by an order of the Governor, no one is allowed to buy wheat, flour or bread except the Italians. All others must eat gowari or dourah. No one can buy meat or vegetables till all the Italians have supplied their wants, so people are obliged to subsist only on gowari and a kind of vegetable the Italians do not eat. Many families are returning to Diredawa where this order is not yet in force.

Indians Persecuted

"The Indians have all been forced to vacate their houses in the European quarters of Diredawa; they have now to live in the native quarters

"The Indian library has also been closed, and no Indian dare enter any hotel or coffee shop.

"The French Government seem very active nowadays. The Dankali chiefs and the Commander of French troops in the Dankali country came to visit the Governor, and it seems the Dankalis wish to vacate Ethiopia under Italian rule and to transfer their homes to French territory."

"New Times and Ethiopia News" July 3, 1937.

ETHIOPIA UNCONQUERED: CONFIRMATION BY "DAILY HERALD"

Women Plot Against Graziani

The news we publish week by week from our own correspondents has received striking confirmation from a special correspondent of the "Daily Herald."

Details of the stubborn fight still being waged by the Italians and of a plot by Ethiopian women to overthrow "Victory" Graziani in Addis Ababa were revealed on Tuesday. Despite the censorship and the many precautions taken by Graziani to keep the troubles of the Italians from the world—perhaps even from Mussolini—the "Daily Herald" has received a comprehensive and authoritative report on the international situation of the still unconquered country.

It is there stated that fighting by bands of tribesmen, numbering up to 4,000, against Italian troops goes on continuously:

"Italian posts in many parts of the country are in constant difficulties. Food and ammunition have to be dropped from the air on the beleaguered men.

"In Addis Ababa and other towns, the inhabitants, despite threats, brutality and summary executions, refuse to co-operate with the invaders; they will buy nothing from them and sell them nothing. Attempts to win them over by raising the value of the Ethiopian thaler in terms of the lira are proving futile.

"An amazing feature of the campaign against the inhabitants of Addis Ababa is the number of women who have been persecuted. A large number of Ethiopian women of the more intellectual type began to plot against Graziani, following the attempt to assassinate him, in which only men were involved. More than 1,000 women have been exiled as a result, but before being sent out of the country they were made the playthings of the Italian soldiery. Others were shot at the city gates.

Pathetic Appeal

"Another extraordinary development in this forgotten country is the latest Italian manoeuvre to win over the tribal leaders. Unable to conquer them in open fight, Graziani is sending out, in Mussolini's name, almost pathetically-worded letters, appealing to the leaders to surrender:

"'We want to prove to you how generous we are,' says one letter, 'and we are holding out our open arms to you, like a true mother to her children.

"'If I may be allowed to write to you,' the appeal begins, 'I should like to say I have heard that you are a man of heroism and intelligence.

"'Take advantage, we beg you, of our charity, and I am sure you will be more than satisfied.'

Flattery

"The letter goes on to talk about the great civilising influence of Italy, and praises the Ethiopians for their courage and their determination to die in defence of their country. 'For an intelligent man, such as you,' the appeal goes on, 'an honourable surrender is the greatest act of heroism that you can perform, and you would be rendering a very great service to your country and to your people, who have been left in ignorance of the true facts of the case. In the hope of seeing you soon, and having the pleasure of getting to know you better, I ask you to accept my greetings.'

"Most Ethiopian leaders who have received the document have given the Italian commanders the 'pleasure of getting to know them better' by launching new attacks on Italian strongholds in the Provinces of Gojjam, Beguemedir, Tigré, Wollo and Galla-Azelo, where Italian lines of communication have been repeatedly cut."

In this issue also a protest of the Rev. Dr. D. H. C. Bartlett, of the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society, made in a speech at Coventry, was reported. Dr. Bartlett reported that on the previous Good Friday the missionaries of the Society had been expelled by the Italian authorities in Ethiopia after an Italian firing squad had shot three of their Ethiopian students, Worku, Bayenna and Tageni. "Fifty students," he added, "who happened to be in the compound have not been heard of since; we do not know what has happened to them." An appeal to the British Foreign Office had produced no practical results.

RECENT NEWS RECEIVED AT ETHIOPIAN LEGATION

June 2, 1937.

From a Correspondent in British Somaliland

"The Italians have decreed that only goods of Italian or German manufacture may be imported from the Somalilands into Jigjiga or Harar in Ethiopia unless they are imported through Italian Somaliland.

(continued overleaf)

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Ethiopian Record

September 18.—After a special meeting at the Palace, His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, ordered that more food, medicines and doctors should be despatched to an area of Tigré stricken by drought and the visitation of locusts.

September 22.—His Majesty received in audience delegates to the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa's workshop on Community Development, now meeting in Addis Ababa.

September 27.—It was announced that Eth.$160,000 for trachoma control in Ethiopia has been approved by the U.N. Children's Fund.

September 29.—A Press Conference of African statisticians opened in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa.

H.I.H. the Crown Prince, Prince Merid Azmatch Asfa Wossen and H.I.H. the Crown Princess, left Addis Ababa for a visit to the United States.

September 30.—It was announced that a loan of Eth.$7,250,000 was granted to the Ethiopian Government by the International Bank for Ethiopia's two-year telecommunications network expansion programme.

October 2.—Staff and students of University College, Addis Ababa, witnessed the eclipse of the sun at Shashemanne.

October 3.—It was announced that free vaccination against tuberculosis is being provided for residents of Addis Ababa at a new vaccination centre in an annexe of the Ras Desta Hospital.

Professor Efraim Spiro, of the Haifa Technical Institute, arrived in Addis Ababa to take up his post as Dean of the Engineering College of Addis Ababa.

October 4.—It was announced that Ethiopia has been elected to the Executive Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies.

It was announced that the Ethiopian Civil Aviation School has granted a scholarship to a Tanganyika student.

Ethiopian Airlines' profit in the first eight months of this year amounted to Eth.$1,018,000.

October 5.—Mr. Herman Kleine, ex-Director of Point IV in Ethiopia, left for the United States.

October 6.—Thirty six members of the U.A.R. Air Force left Ethiopia after a four-day courtesy visit.

H.I.H. The Crown Prince and H.I.H. The Crown Princess arrived in New York for a ten-week tour of the United States and Canada.

Ocober 7.—A ten-man economic delegation from the U.A.R. led by the Under-Secretary of Economic Affairs, Dr. Lauffi, arrived in Addis Ababa.

H.I.H. The Crown Prince paid a visit to U.N. Headquarters.

October 8.—His Majesty visited the new Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory at Akaki.

Ocober 9.—Prince Abdul Rahman, younger brother of the King of Yemen, visited Ethiopia on his way to Germany.

October 12.—Heads of West German Diplomatic and Consular Missions in Africa met for a conference in Addis Ababa.

October 14.—His Majesty visited the new Forestry Museum in Addis Ababa.

October 15.—H.I.H. The Crown Prince and H.I.H. The Crown Princess were received by President Eisenhower at the White House.

His Beatitude Abuna Mikael, Bishop of Begemder and Semien, died at the age of 74.

October 16.—His Majesty received in audience Mr. Trygvie Lie, former Secretary-General of the U.N., who arrived in the capital to take part in the arbitration of the border question between Ethiopia and Somalia under Italian Trusteeship.

October 20.—Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic signed a Trade Agreement.

October 23.—The Russian steamer, *Tom*, arrived in Massawa with a cargo of 2,000 tons of wheat, a gift for the stricken population of Tigré.

October 24.—Ethiopia celebrated United Nations Day.

Two twin-engined American transport 'planes, each valued at U.S.$120,000, have been received by the Imperial Air Force under the American Technical Assistance Programme.

October 30.—H.I.H. Prince Sahle Sellassie received the National Order of the Southern Cross, one of the highest Brazilian decorations.

November 3.—Ethiopia celebrated the 29th Coronation Anniversary of their Imperial Majesties. The Emperor opened Parliament and inaugurated the Prince Makonnen School, in the capital.

November 5.—A Czechoslovak Economic Mission arrived in Ethiopia.

November 6.—The German industrialist, Alfred Krupp, arrived in Addis Ababa in his private aeroplane, in the course of an African tour.

(continued from previous page)

Ethiopians Driven from their Homes

"All the Ethiopians, whether Moslems or Christians, have been driven from their houses in the modern section of Harar and their houses have been given to Italian officers and soldiers. No coloured person is allowed to buy and eat wheaten bread. The Italians have decreed that as all the coloured population can eat mashilla (durra bread), and there is not enough wheaten bread even for the Italians, the coloured population must eat nothing but "mashilla." Any coloured person found buying and eating wheaten bread is liable to three months imprisonment.

"Ten or eleven lorries arrive here in British Somaliland, from Ethiopia, every day. They are engaged in smuggling lire out of Ethiopia. They smuggle from 100,000 to 200,000 lire into British Somaliland every day. I myself saw yesterday 125,000 lire which had been smuggled in. This is done partly because many of the traders intend to leave Ethiopia, so are gradually taking away their money, and partly because other traders want to take the lire to Aden, to exchange them for rupees, and buy articles of trade.

"Many Italian soldiers coming from Ethiopia on leave have been given written orders in Harar to get their wages from the Italian Consul at Aden, but the Consul has not been able to give them any money."

"Forty lorry loads of Ethiopians were last week taken through Jigjiga which is not far from the British Somaliland frontier; they were on their way to Mogadishu in the Italian Somaliland Colony.

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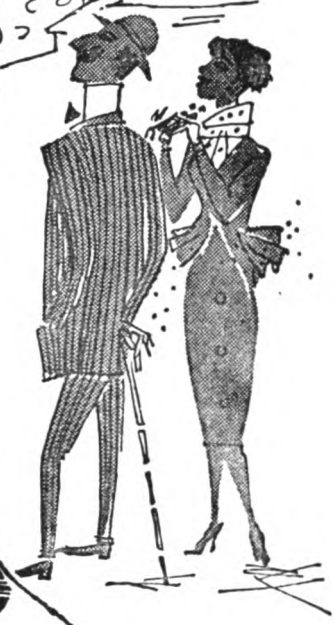

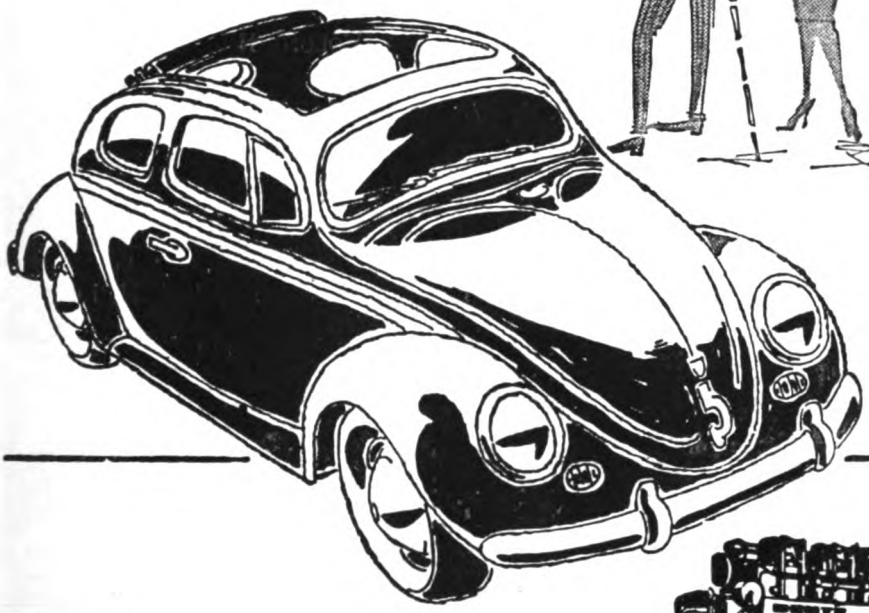

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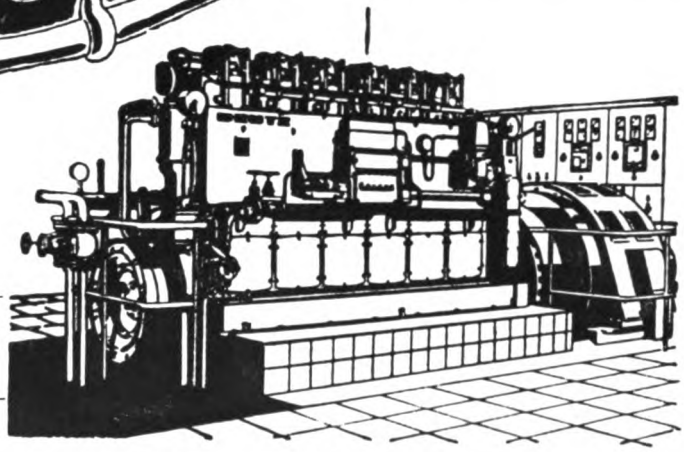

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Next Month's

ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

will contain articles on

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN ETHIOPIA

Some reviews of recent books and accounts of the work of missionaries in Ethiopia held over from this issue

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This Month's Cover Illustration

One of the children of the Ethiopian Child Centre maintained by American families; photograph taken on the occasion of the children receiving new waterproofs for the rainy season

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H.I.M. The Emperor Haile Sellassie in the German Harz Mountains

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Emperor Haile Sellassie on His World Tour

As has now been customary after his State visits to friendly nations, made within the past five years, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Haile Sellassie delivered the following broadcast on Radio Addis Ababa on August 28, 1959. The full text of His Majesty's speech made in Amharic and translated into English is here produced:

In the belief that it will help to create understanding and co-operation in the world, and out of particular consideration for the welfare and well-being of our beloved people and country, we have from time to time during the past five years journeyed to visit friendly countries in the Americas, the United Kingdom, Europe and the Far East.

After successfully completing our recent long journey on invitations extended to us by the U.A.R., the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Portugal and Yugoslavia, we are now happy and thankful to Almighty God to find ourselves in the midst of our beloved people.

On our return from our previous journeys, we had made known to you the impressions left with us by the reception extended to us in the countries which we then visited. Because we believe that the very admirable reception and sincere expression of friendship extended to us by the peoples and leaders of the countries we visited recently were also directed to you, we desire to share with you the sentiments of these visits. We shall presently make known our tasks regarding our future programmes for the socio-economic development of our country.

Our first stop in our long journey was the United Arab Republic. As we had accepted the invitation of H.E. President Gamal Abdel-Nasser to visit the U.A.R., we stayed in that country from the 24th to the 29th of June. During our stay we discussed with President Abdel-Nasser matters of mutual interest to our two countries and international affairs. We also visited various national centres and institutions of economic and social interest and importance.

From the start of our visit, the warm and cordial reception and the spontaneous expressions of friendship extended to us by President Gamal Abdel-Nasser and other leaders of the Government and people of the country wherever we went, created in us a feeling of great pleasure and satisfaction.

Millenia Friendship

As you know, the relations between Ethiopia and the U.A.R. had their beginnings thousands of years ago. The peoples of the two countries, apart from being neighbours, have common aspirations and ideals, and are also bound by a common link which is the Great Blue Nile. During our visit we discussed matters of mutual interest to our two countries, problems common to this region, as well as the general situation of the world. In particular, we are most satisfied that we were able to make personal acquaintance with President Gamal Abdel-Nasser and to hold frank and friendly discussion with him regarding matters of common interest to our two nations and to have been able to reach complete understanding.

What we witnessed during our brief stay in the U.A.R. regarding the progress of the industry and economy of the country was commendable. We were impressed by the hard work and struggle of the people to improve their standard of living.

From the many important achievements of our visit, one which has given us great satisfaction was the successful completion of the agreement regarding the relation of our two Churches. During our reign we have spared no efforts to attain the greatness that is due to the Ethiopian Church which has been an island of Christianity in the Continent of Africa. We are most thankful to Almighty God to have witnessed the fruits of our efforts during our reign by the elevation of an Ethiopian to the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Church.

After Egypt, we visited the Soviet Union. Although a few years have passed since we accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, for various reasons we had not been able to go there earlier. We are now happy to have been able to visit that great country, with which Ethiopia for a long time has maintained friendly relations.

One of the famous generals of the era of Peter the Great was Abraham Hannibal, who was an Ethiopian, and whose great-grandson was the celebrated poet, Alexander Pushkin. We can therefore say that we have had important relations with the Soviet Union in the military and cultural fields.

U.S.S.R. Did Not Recognise Italian Occupation

In addition to the medical aid which the Soviet Union provided for Ethiopia at the battle of Adowa and has given in our era, and, apart from the assistance we were able to obtain from that country from Russian Red Cross doctors during the Fascist invasion, the Soviet Union supported our stand at the League of Nations for the freedom of our country, and it was one of the few great Powers that did not recognise the occupation of our country by the Fascist aggressors.

From the moment of our arrival in the Soviet Union, the warm and great reception accorded to us by the peoples and their leaders, whose hospitality is well-known, was beyond our expectations. Although it takes a long time to visit the whole of the Soviet Union, during our fortnight's stay there we were most impressed to see how the peoples of the Soviet Union have been able to recover from the aftermath of a devastating war, carrying out full reconstruction within a short period of time

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and achieving remarkable progress in the economic, industrial, scientific, technical and social fields, and thus establishing themselves, within the span of forty years, as one of the greatest Powers of our time.

In the talks which we had with the leaders of the Soviet Union concerning our two countries in particular and world peace in general, we reached full understanding. Moreover, we were able to make personal acquaintance with Mr. Voroshilov, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Mr. Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and we had frank and friendly exchanges of views on various matters and reached full agreement on all of them. As the result of our talks, agreements have been signed between our two Governments for economic co-operation and the widening of the scope of our cultural and commercial relations. Apart from this, it is a measure of satisfaction to us all to have obtained a long-term loan of four hundred million (400,000,000) roubles at low interest to finance Ethiopia's Five-Year Plan and the various other projects designed for the economic development of the country and the raising of the standard of living of our people.

Ethiopia has abundant natural resources. However, because of lack of capital, it has not been possible to develop these natural resources for the benefit of the people. It is to exploit these natural resources and to carry out the Five-Year Plan for the benefit of our people that we have acquired credits from friendly countries such as the United States, Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

We believe the assistance we obtained from the Soviet Union will greatly expedite the exploitation of our natural resources and the development of our economy.

"A Friend in Need is A Friend Indeed"

After our sojourn in the U.S.S.R. came to an end, we visited Czechoslovakia from the 13th to the 17th of July. The relations between Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia are of long standing. It was from this country that Ethiopia was able to acquire most of the arms and munitions needed to defend her jealously guarded independence against the Fascist invaders. Czechoslovakia was among the very few nations that courageously raised their voices in denouncing the Fascist invasion and in giving us support in our plea to the League of Nations. It is often said that "a friend in need is a friend indeed." For this reason, among others, Ethio-Czech relations are based on a firm and proven foundation. In the early part of the post-war period, when our defence means were limited, we turned to Czechoslovakia for the purchase of modern arms and the establishment of a munitions factory. You are all aware of the credit advanced to our Government by the Czechoslovak Government for the purchase of equipment for our hospitals and other public health services.

The warm, cordial and great reception that was accorded us by the leaders and people of this friendly nation has once more proved to us the existence of genuine and sincere friendship between our two nations. During our sojourn in Czechoslovakia, we were able to visit great industrial establishments, agricultural centres, institutions of higher learning and other famous historical places. We were highly impressed by the tremendous progress achieved in the industrial as well as in the general economic field by the Czechoslovak people, especially in the post-war period.

Just as we have discussed and exchanged views with other leaders of the countries we have visited, we had a fruitful exchange of views with President Antonin Novotny on matters of common interest to our two nations, as well as on general matters that concern world peace. The discussions and exchanges of views were conducted in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and we were able to reach complete understanding. We have agreed to conclude economic and technical assistance agreements, as well as a cultural agreement, with a view to the further development and strengthening of the economic and cultural ties between our two countries. The Czechoslovak Government has expressed its willingness to help us in our effort to develop our nation's economy and to raise the standard of living of our people by making it possible for us to purchase from that country industrial and agricultural equipment by way of credit, which will greatly assist us in the implementation of our economic plans.

After our visit to Czechoslovakia came to an end, we visited for three days the Kingdom of Belgium with which Ethiopia has maintained friendly relations for a long time. The friendly reception that was accorded to us by His Majesty King Baudouin, the Government officials and the people of Belgium, was cordial. We are pleased to have had an opportunity to meet King Baudouin in person and to have been able to exchange views on various subjects. We were able to gather that the people of Belgium have reposed great hopes on the King and that King Baudouin is a kind and understanding person. During our short stay in Belgium we visited modern industrial establishments and various places of interest. By so doing, we were able to see the progress achieved in the economic as well as in other fields by Belgium since our first visit there thirty-five years ago. We believe our recent visit has further strengthened the relations between our two countries.

After the conclusion of our visit to Belgium, we stayed in Paris for two days. All of you are aware of the long and friendly relations that have existed between Ethiopia and France. The cordial welcome accorded to us by the people and Government of France, both recently and when we officially visited France four years ago, was a manifestation of the friendly feelings which the people of France entertain toward the people of Ethiopia.

Renew Friendship

Not only did we renew our friendship with General de Gaulle, President of the Republic of France, which we had cultivated during the time when our two countries were under hard trials, but we also conducted fruitful discussions concerning economic, commercial and cultural relations existing between Ethiopia and France. We also reached mutual understanding in broad discussion of matters of mutual concern to our two countries, and, in general, exchanged views concerning international peace. General de Gaulle, whose greatness is well known in Ethiopia, has a friendly regard toward our country.

On the invitation of the President of Portugal, we visited the Portuguese Republic from July 26 to July 31.

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Portugal is one of the countries with which Ethiopia has had contact since the end of the Fifteenth Century.

The spontaneous and friendly welcome accorded to us during our visit by the Government and people of Portugal has left a deep impression on us. We had discussions with President Admiral Amerigo Thomas and the well-known Prime Minister, Mr. Salazar, concerning relations between our two countries and international peace. A cultural agreement was signed between our two Governments in order to develop the cultural ties that were first established in the Sixteenth Century and to study and make known the history of the two countries.

During our short stay in the Federal Republic of Germany we were pleased to have had the opportunity to meet the President, Professor Huess, and to discuss with him matters of common interest.

Continuing our visit to friendly countries, on the invitation of our great friend, H.E. Marshal Tito, we visited the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia from the 15th to the 23rd of August.

Example of Co-operation

As you know, we have, during a period of five years, visited Yugoslavia twice, and His Excellency Marshal Tito has, in about the same period of time, visited Ethiopia twice. This is proof of the firm and friendly ties that exist between our two countries. Yugoslavia has not only granted Ethiopia a loan for the realisation of the programme initiated for the economic development of Ethiopia, but has also extended assistance in the form of experts in the field of medicine and various other technical matters. These aids have shown fruitful results to the greatest satisfaction of both sides. Even though the two countries have different economic and internal political systems, these dissimilarities have not been obstacles to mutual understanding and co-operation and to working together in a friendly spirit. This, we believe, is exemplary.

During our stay in Yugoslavia, while visiting various regions and industrial centres, we were highly impressed and touched by the true and friendly welcome and reception accorded us by our great friend Marshal Tito, his associates and the peoples of Yugoslavia. The development works and industrial centres which we visited were symbols of the amazing progress Yugoslavia has achieved in the socio-economic field in the last five years since we first visited the country. In the course of our recent stay we discussed with Marshal Tito matters concerning the relationship of our two countries and explored ways and means to strengthen further the economic and commercial ties between them. We also broadly discussed general international affairs. In the course of our discussions we reached, as in the past, full understanding and identity of views.

It is undeniable that we have gained great benefit and assistance for our country and have increased its prestige by our visits to friendly countries on various occasions during the past five years. Similarly, our recent visit, in addition to the fact that it has strengthened our relations with friendly countries, was followed by great political results and has enabled us to secure credit to permit us to implement economic development projects which will raise the standard of living of our beloved people.

Foreign Policy

You are all aware that Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as on the Bandung and Accra Declarations. These principles which we have long cherished and for which we have striven are, among others, collective security, peaceful and active co-existence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations and peaceful settlements of all disputes among nations.

Of the countries we visited during our recent trip, there are some whose economic and political systems are different from ours. We believe these are made to serve the particular needs of each country and are matters of domestic concern to each nation, and for this reason we do not believe such differences in political and economic systems should stand as a hindrance to understanding, collaboration and co-operation among nations on important matters of common concern. Therefore, the misinterpretation that was placed in certain circles upon the meetings and discussions we have had with the leaders of the countries we have visited, was not because they were not fully aware of the fact that Ethiopia's foreign policy is based upon the above-mentioned principles, but, rather, it seems this misinterpretation was intended to create an atmosphere that would serve their own particular interests.

Leaders' Responsibility

In this age when man, through his knowledge of science, has created dangerous weapons to destroy himself, the responsibility of the Great Powers for the maintenance of world peace is well known to everyone. We believe the exchange of visits by Statesmen to talk over matters on which their points of view differ will greatly help to remove the misunderstandings and mistrust prevailing among States. One of the aims of our visits to friendly countries was to implement and strengthen this belief of ours. After our visit to the Soviet Union, we were happy to hear of the forthcoming exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America. It is believed the meeting of the two leaders will remove the dangerous situation now prevailing in the world and create an atmosphere of peace. We have expressed our hope and best wishes and those of our people that the talks they will hold during their meeting will be fruitful.

In all the countries we visited we felt that all peoples are greatly concerned about the maintenance of world peace.

The peoples of the world today, as in the past, desire to work for the improvement of their standard of living and to live in peace. We do not agree with the view that the present unstable situation is the result of differences in political, economic and social systems among nations.

Even though it is not possible to cite in history an era in which all the peoples of the world were in com-

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plete agreement on all things, nevertheless they have not been prevented from working in co-operation for their mutual benefit.

Purpose of Visits

The purposes and aims of our visits are well known to all of you. We desire you to share with us the main objectives of our visits. These major objectives were to find ways and means of raising the standard of living of our people and the economic development of our country; to discuss with leaders of friendly countries and acquire aid in the implementation of the programme we have initiated for the progress of our country; to observe personally their development projects, and to choose from among them those projects that we believe will aid in raising the standard of living of our people, and which will not only give fruitful results within our time, but will also be a firm and unshakable foundation for generations to come. Thus all may work and struggle in a united effort for the welfare and prosperity of our nation. Desirous that all Ethiopians will faithfully follow and give full support to the development programmes initiated by us for the further progress of our nation, we would cite, as an example, some of the things which, during our former and recent visits, we have closely examined and personally witnessed and have chosen as being useful to the progress of our people. In all the countries we have toured we have observed that the great fine arts so far achieved were preceded by many thousands of years of fine art development attained by human effort. For example during our sojourn we have seen cathedrals, public buildings, and monuments finely constructed and ornate with gold, diamonds, marble and precious stones. We were also impressed by the collections of splendid works of the great masters of the past.

Call to the People

When we enquire into the origins of the attempt of man to utilise this knowledge and to extend the field of his enquiry without limit, we find the motive for all these is the desire of man to be diligent and to widen the horizon of his knowledge.

Although the beginnings of civilisation in each country vary in time, the fundamental factors which gave the impetus to each country to awaken and embark on the road of progress and to reach the present level of development lies in those qualities which are enshrined in the nature of man, namely, desire and fortitude.

The present high standard of development has been achieved through the accumulation of knowledge from time immemorial. We want our people to realise that this is not something that has been accomplished at one stage, or by coincidence, nor has this stage been reached in one generation; it is the result of the toil, fortitude and sacrifices of preceding generations. We have been prompted to refer briefly to the history of civilisation, because it is our constant endeavour that all Ethiopians, in their attempt to satisfy their material needs, to invigorate their energy, eradicate idleness and generate an unceasing desire for better and more things, shall elevate their standard of living to that of the peoples inhabiting other parts of the world and should be able to spare for others.

The knowledge and wealth we had inherited from our ancestors which has been plundered and lost, may be excavated and rediscovered. But what we possess today has been initiated and established in our lifetime.

Vibrant Policy

It is by the understanding of past difficulties that we can bequeath fundamental guidance which may be a pride to the coming generations. We therefore urge our people to struggle and to make sacrifices for those things which will enable them to ameliorate their conditions of life and to leave a richer heritage.

We wish to recall to our people what St. Paul said: "The night is far spent; the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as the day." The Ethiopian people are conscious of their destiny and can strive to achieve their ideals. In our study of various social systems during our extensive tour, we have found the reason for the successful progress of the nations we visited lies in the fact that they have accumulated enough capital to make it possible for them to carry out better farming, to finance mining projects to serve their industry, to harness their rivers, and in general to exploit their natural resources.

It is only through these achievements and not because of any difference in their innate ability nor in their numerical superiority that some countries have attained a high degree of progress, while those which have not fully developed and utilised their inborn abilities have lagged behind in tapping their natural resources and have been labelled "underdeveloped." The latter have become the dumping-ground of the expensive manufactured goods of the former.

Exert Greater Effort

The only way to safeguard Ethiopia's political and economic independence is for her to make progress and to stand on her own feet by exerting greater efforts. When we compare our country with others, we can say that the forests, the rivers, the mountains and the plains constitute wealth. We should all be proud of these fortunate blessings, with which Almighty God has endowed our country.

Brace yourselves for hard work and pool your resources to compete with others in the economic and commercial activities of your motherland. Let each one of us be conscious of his responsibilities and firmly discharge his obligations, thereby becoming master of his own destiny. It is better to till the land than to bicker on trivial matters. It is better to exploit effectively a small tract of land than to proclaim oneself the owner of vast idle land.

Our waterfalls are sources of immense power and energy when properly harnessed. Use these waters to irrigate your land and you will be able to have two harvests annually. The naked mountains and hills are as useful as the plains below. Plant them with fir trees, teakwoods, eucalyptus and other trees, and within a short time you will increase the forest resources of your country.

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Tend your livestock. Just as one cannot harvest unless he cultivates his land, so also one cannot expect good results from his livestock unless he tends them carefully.

You have a rich land that yields a variety of products. Do not be content with the satisfaction of your bare needs, but instead cultivate your land among others with oleaginous plants, the seeds of which you can export for your greater benefit. Use the forest woods to make furniture and implements and exchange them for money. Your workmanship will be a monument to your name.

Value of Thrift

One should realise that thriftiness is the basis for the accumulation of wealth and the economic growth of a nation. One seldom minimises the value of money earned by the sweat of the brow, however little it may be, but for the extravagant even a huge amount of money is worthless. Know how to use your money wisely and effectively. A habit once formed becomes an established second nature. Therefore utilise your wealth for worthwhile objects and avoid employing it for harmful purposes and for momentary pleasures.

What are the things you possess? What was your objective in acquiring them? Learn how to spend wisely and the increase of your wealth will eventually be your guide.

Use your savings where they will pay you most. The hoarding of money does not yield dividends! If you wish your savings to pay you higher dividends, join then with those of your fellow citizens. It is through hard work, "know-how" and patience that you will be able to increase your capital. The foundation and essential characteristics of a healthy society are mutual trust and confidence. Unless man undertakes the improvement of his society in co-operation with others, his striving for wealth becomes mere wishes. Do not be the victims of temporary contentment and petty satisfactions. Aspire for worthwhile aims that will be ideals for succeeding generations.

Individual and Nation

The prosperity of each individual constitutes the wealth of our nation which will eventually enable us to expand the schools and hospitals we have established for the welfare of our people. The expansion of public health services will decrease the mortality rate and increase our population.

Just as a farm that is not taken care of cannot be free of weeds, so is also the development of a society. It cannot be denied that there are some people who have scrupulously or unscrupulously attempted to acquire or have succeeded in acquiring wealth. If the wealth of a person is not for the general welfare, what will he gain for himself and his offspring but grudging and hatred? The fruits of one's sweat and mental labour are always rewarding, not only to oneself but also to succeeding generations. Be resolute in your work and attempt to complete whatever you undertake; if you face failure, try again and persist in your determination to attain your aim. Develop a healthy pursuit of life and do not limit your efforts to satisfying your selfish desires.

Our youth, in particular, must be steadfast and take advantage of the benefits of modern civilisation. Do not fall a prey to idleness, for it will be a curse to you and to succeeding generations. You must set yourselves up as examples of determination and hard work. Plan your time and use both your physical and mental powers purposefully and productively.

We must remember that man's achievements in the field of wireless communications, aviation, medical science and many other fields have been accomplished through the ages by patience and hard work, diligence, perseverance and tenacity. It is in the light of these facts that we urge our youth to struggle constantly and unceasingly to achieve their aims.

Capital and Labour

The fact that medical doctors, engineers, pilots, cadets in the various military academies, nurses, teachers and the many other professions, have been successfully trained in the various schools that we have established, will serve as an illustration of what we have stated above. Convinced that capital and labour are necessary ingredients of wealth and prosperity and that these two factors are absolute essentials for the economic development of our country, and believing that our beloved people will apply themselves to the task of its economic progress, we have acquired loans from friendly countries.

Henceforth, the next step for each Ethiopian, wherever he may be and whatever are his endeavours, is to follow our directions and to devote himself assiduously to the execution of our plan for the betterment of our country. If we fail to use profitably the credits we have acquired for the development of our communications system, port facilities, the establishment of industries and the improvement of agriculture, we shall have brought a heavy liability not only upon ourselves but upon succeeding generations.

Ethiopians, have courage and brace yourselves! Unless you improve your lot by the sweat of your brow, nobody will shoulder your responsibilities. Provided that you pursue your task with unswerving dedication, we, on our part, will do everything possible to assist you in your forward march.

Help Made Available

Just as we have done in the past, we will make available to you, through various experts, directives which will serve as your guide in your work.

We have instructed the municipalities to prepare and make available to you at little cost, various types of seedlings. We shall organise teams of experts who will give you advice and counsel in the fields of agriculture and public health. We shall also set up groups of experts who will give you advice and counsel in co-operative farming and trading.

For the purpose of cultivating oleaginous plants and to the end that you may have better marketing possibilities, we shall make experts available to you.

We shall organise for you a team of experts to study your needs and the ways and means of improving the quality of crops and trading systems in relation to present economic and marketing conditions.

As we hold our people in great affection so do they entertain great feelings of affection toward us. As a father should not only bequeath wealth to his children, but should also provide them with proper education, so that they may have a richer and fuller life, so it is

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Emperor's Further Broadcast on His World Tour

Pursuant to the broadcast message made by His Imperial Majesty on August 28, to his people, His Majesty the Emperor made the statement published hereunder in which specific socio-economic measures have been proclaimed to the Ethiopian people, broadcast over Radio Addis Ababa. His Imperial Majesty said :

The development programme outlined to you on our return from our recent visit to friendly countries, has received an enthusiastic response from you and we are happy to say we are satisfied with your support for our decisions on this matter. As you are anxiously waiting to see the implementation of these programmes, we want you to share our high hopes for these objectives.

We want you to recognise that unity is in itself strength. Form co-operative systems and work in unity with your fellow-men for the benefit of the common good.

Your eagerness to see the programmes implemented has given us great encouragement to carry out our development objectives for the benefit and welfare of our beloved people.

From the programmes that have been worked out to be executed during the course of the year, we have already selected those which should be given priority. The necessary arrangements have been completed for their realisation.

Capital is an essential prerequisite for initiating all undertakings, whatever their nature. We have, therefore, made credit available for you which, when properly used, will enable you to achieve your development objectives in the field of agriculture, forestry, stock breeding, health services, and other development programmes.

For those of you who possess land and labour but lack capital, we have made credit available at low interest. For those of you who have the necessary finance but do not possess land to work on, in accordance with our proclamation which entitled every Ethiopian to ownership of land, we have established offices in every province through which you may be able to acquire land. Those who have neither land nor money will be granted land and a financial loan at low interest. For those of you who possess land, who have financial resources and manpower—we have made experts available to furnish you with the necessary guidance and advice in your various undertakings. With the knowledge that unity and co-operation are in themselves strength, take advantage of the possibilities we have opened to you.

You have now to choose in your respective provinces, up to the end of Hidar, twelve people who are known for their integrity, loyalty and sense of responsibility, who will be charged to give out the financial loans and who will collect them as they mature. The procedure to be the basis of your selection of these officers will be sent to you through the governors of your respective provinces. We shall appoint three persons for each province to make preparation for the selection you are to make and to supervise the execution of this programme. The persons to be chosen by you will be provided with Development Bank regulations which they will use as a guide in their work. The interest on your loan will be 2½ per cent. and the loan is repayable in five years' time.

Therefore, we exhort you to follow the guidance of your Creator; not to waver from the goal we have designed for your progress and well-being and to labour diligently for the early realisation of that goal.

We want the year E.C. 1952 to be a year in which our nation, being aware of our readiness to promote its progress and advancement, appreciates the value of self-help through co-operative labour.

The abundant resources of our country, its fertile soil, its mighty rivers, its minerals—guarantee our nation a better and more prosperous life. These natural riches and the prospect of exploiting them should be the major driving forces in your endeavours. Aside from this national wealth, each of you is endowed with human energy and intelligence which you should employ for the achievement of these goals.

It is a natural obligation for man to live by the sweat of his brow. "He that laboureth not, neither let him eat." Labour and nourishment are equally essential for human well-being. Did not Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself give us the parables of the ten virgins and of the lazy man who buried his gold, just to teach us the fruits of diligent labour? "He called his servants and entrusted to them his property; to one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one, to each according to his ability. He who had received the five talents went at once and traded with them and made five talents more. So, too, he who had the two talents made two talents more. But he who had received the one talent went and dug in the ground and hid his master's money."

So use this available capital in the most profitable manner. Study your project; discuss it with specialists; and have the perseverance to see it accomplished. If, on the other hand, the capital remains unused; if laziness and indifference retard its employment; or if, through mischief, its employment is diverted to selfish and personal gain; do not forget that you will have brought upon yourself and upon your country a debt of the heaviest kind. There is no rose without thorns; there is no profit without labour.

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the duty of those for whom much has been done to show gratitude. Therefore, let us unite our efforts to show in deeds what we profess in words.

In conclusion, since the ideas we have conceived and the projects that have been planned for the development of the country can best materialise by the incessant efforts of our people and the application of every one's ability in harmonious co-operation, we call upon our people to be steadfast in this noble and challenging undertaking.

May Almighty God sustain us to realise these high ideals.

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Emperor Haile Sellassie's Speech to Parliament on 29th Anniversary

Today, on the third day of November, 1959, we declare open the Parliament of our Empire in this its third session following the general election held three years ago in accordance with our Revised Constitution.

Parliament is now commencing its legislative labours for the year 1959. It is therefore fitting that we should remind its Members of the important problems and programmes with which we and our Government generally have been concerned. With full knowledge and appreciation of these problems and programmes, you may be better enabled to take up your responsible functions as Members of the legislative branch of government.

We shall, therefore, treat of the responsibilities of the Ethiopian people generally, and, as their representatives, of your responsibilities in particular. We shall then comment upon the various problems and programmes now before the Government, as well as upon the advances achieved during the past year.

The long history of Ethiopia, as an independent State, has been one replete with struggles, hardships and self-denial in defence of her independence, territorial integrity and progress. Almighty God had called us to lead our Homeland through this period of world-wide trials—trials of special severity in our millennial history. Our beloved people never hesitated to follow our leadership and thus to ensure the preservation, strengthening and development of the broad and vital national traditions and institutions which define and characterise the Ethiopia of today.

All Ethiopians are the bearers of a long, rich and glorious heritage which has come down to them as the fruit of the unswerving idealism, discipline and sacrifice of their forefathers in defence of Ethiopia's independence and territorial integrity. This rich heritage of achievement and our centuries-old independence stand to Ethiopia as a great support and encouragement, but, far more, as an urgent challenge in these hours of swift change and evolution, which no Ethiopian—man, woman or child—can afford to ignore.

We are living in an era when events and achievements crowd upon each other at a pace which defies the passage of time. In the scientific field, less than two decades ago, the intercontinental traveller had to face the weariness and fatigues of transportation by ship and rail, yet today the attention of mankind is already being directed to interplanetary travel. Similarly, in the political field, Africa and Asia especially have made astounding advances during this same period. Less than one decade ago, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic, and Liberia were the only independent countries in Africa. Today, the number has nearly quadrupled, with others yet to come.

We, who, in this world of rapid and astounding progress, have the heavy responsibility of leading our people forward, and of anticipating their welfare and every need, have constantly directed our attention to the increasingly broad and complex rôle Ethiopia is called upon to play in Africa and in the world of today. It is these many complex and interacting factors and challenges that we would now pass in review, upon the opening of Parliament.

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We have promised you specialists and technicians to assist you in carrying out your projects. But the leadership and initiative must always come from you. Do not expect them to do for you more than you can do for yourself.

Every labourer is a father — his labour is his child. Choose your project carefully, and achieve it worthily, so that neither yourself nor your country may be ashamed on your account. You who have left your home towns and have entered the cities in search of work, now is the time to go back, for there is work waiting for you. We warn you in advance that those who are physically able shall not be allowed to loiter about the cities.

Let us follow the golden rule—"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Let the officials follow it closely; let them serve their people and their country with humility and diligence.

But diligence and humility and service to one's country are not the tasks of officials only—they are not the tasks of anyone alone. The present projects will demand close contact and co-operation between all of us. Officials to whom we have entrusted various degrees of responsibility, be guided by the example of Jesus Christ, who, having declared, "I came to serve you but not to be served by you," brought Himself low and washed the feet of His disciples! Render service to the people without charge for these services. As we repeated many times over in our last pronouncement, we want again to emphasise the value of time; we urge you to dedicate yourselves to hard work—and profitably to utilise your time.

There is no energy in the world, including that of the atom, that cannot be controlled. However, there is no scientist on earth who could control, even for a second, the flow of time. For this reason, never idle away your time, however briefly.

Is it not you, her children, that are referred to as Ethiopia? Our lasting hope has ever been, with the help of the Almighty, to promote the interest and well-being of our people—not to become disillusioned by remote hopes and wishful thinking.

May the Almighty God help us in the fulfilment of all our undertakings.

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In March of 1953, we ordered the codification of the civil, criminal, commercial, procedural and maritime laws. For this purpose, our Government has spent over one million dollars. Apart from the Criminal Code which was approved by Parliament in 1957, the civil, commercial and maritime laws have now been before Parliament for over four years. The delay in the approval of these laws, and the present absence of procedural law, which will soon be submitted to you, has had unfavourable judicial and economic consequences to the country. In order to implement these laws this year and thus avoid further grave consequences, it is most essential that you accelerate your deliberations on them. To the codification of these laws have been devoted the best legal minds in our Empire and abroad, with the intention that this will result in the enactment of legislation that will best serve and support the rapid economic and political development which is characterising our reign. You, Members of Parliament, are therefore, faced with the duty to devote your full attention and best abilities to the careful and diligent consideration of these drafts. Today's era of progress demands that you persevere in this endeavour. You should realise that Parliament, as one of the three branches of government, must serve to advance and to complete the broad programme which is being thrust forward under our constant guidance and urging.

In retrospect, the past year reveals the many fields in which we have been actively leading our people forward in full realisation of the challenges of the contemporary world and of our responsibilities as Sovereign of our beloved people.

Ethiopia's endeavours have resulted in broadening the bases of national education, and in increasing the number of our own technicians and experts, thereby assuring our intellectual and scientific independence. As we have repeatedly stated, education is the motivating force of our national life and the major safeguard for our future. Our efforts are bearing fruit, and the past year has marked a significant increase in the number of our own scientists, doctors, engineers, lawyers and technicians returning from advanced study abroad to take up their duties throughout the Empire. A growing number of technicians are being sent abroad to acquaint themselves with the latest technical developments. The same is true of our Army, Air and Naval officers.

We have also, during the year under review, opened numerous schools throughout the Empire—particularly in Eritrea and Ogaden—and we have additional plans, utilising the assistance of friendly Governments, to increase the number of our educational institutions. We will, on this day, inaugurate a school in our Capital, named after our beloved son, Prince Makonnen Haile Sellassie, the late Duke of Harar.

The increase in the number of our doctors has enabled us to open new clinics and to achieve advances in the execution of our public health programme. The successful pursuit, during the past year, of the anti-malarial campaign stands as a tribute to the devotion and co-operation of experts from the Ethiopian Government, the World Health Organisation, UNICEF, and the United States Operations Mission to Ethiopia. We have also, to this end, established within the Ministry of Public Health an autonomous agency under an order for the particular purpose of the eradication of malaria.

The past year has brought, also, a challenge to our energies and resourcefulness in meeting the severe conditions in Tigré, Eritrea and Ogaden, resulting from locust invasions and lack of rainfall. We, our Government, and our people, have contributed to relieve the suffering of our subjects in these regions. The United Nations, International Children's Fund has contributed powdered milk, the Government of the United States of America. the Soviet Red Cross and the Red Crescent, thousands of tons of cereals, and the people of Sweden, medicines and other medical aid. We, in this adversity, are deeply grateful for such exemplary manifestations of the brotherhood of man. It is to be hoped that greater and more efficient measures of control of the locust infestations in the Middle East may serve to remove a scourge which, from time to time has plagued our people. On our part, we have ordered the purchase of specially-equipped planes for the combating of this destructive pestilence.

The activities we have initiated and directed, in co-operation with the International Food and Agriculture Organisation during the past year, have considerably alleviated the problems of food production, through the introduction of improved seeds and breeding-stock.

We have pressed forward the development of land reclamation, irrigation and power-development programmes, such as those on the Zula and Awash rivers. These schemes will serve appreciably to augment the productivity of these areas and to raise the standard of living of the populations. We will soon inaugurate the hydro-electric installation and dam at Koka for supplying additional power to three of the most important population centres of our Empire. including our Capital of Addis Ababa. This construction will immortalise the memory of those who fell in defence of their country.

It is, further, a cause of great satisfaction to us that the Blue Nile hydrographic and geodetic survey is proceeding ahead of schedule. This survey will enable us to ascertain more precisely the extent of the areas available to be developed in accordance with the plans already devised for the region of the Blue Nile. As part of the development of this region, we have had plans drawn up for building a city at Bahardar. These plans include a school, a hospital, a textile factory and a hydro-electric plant, all of great importance to the prosperity of a city. We have also initiated the survey and study of the Webi Shebelli basin. It is gratifying to note that most of the research and study is being conducted by our own trained personnel. We hope the benefits of these projects will in the near future speak for themselves more eloquently than can be stated at present.

The encouraging progress achieved in these fields has led us, at this time, to initiate a bold and broad programme of land development. In our message of September 18, we proclaimed our programme of land and credit assistance, declaring:

" For those of you who possess land and labour but lack capital, we have made credit available at low interest. For those of you who have the necessary finance but do not possess land to work on, we have, in accordance with our Proclamation which entitled every Ethiopian to ownership of land, established offices in every province through which you may be able to acquire land. Those who have neither land nor money will be granted land and a financial loan at low interest. For those of you who possess land, who

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have financial resources and manpower—we have made experts available to furnish you with the necessary guidance and advice in your various undertakings."

Long before initiating this new programme, we had authorised our Central Treasury to advance, through the years, loans without interest amounting to $7,500,000, with a view to raising the standard of living of our beloved people. Realising that those who could avail themselves of this fund were few, we have now made it possible for all to acquire not only money but also land to develop. Even at this moment, throughout Ethiopia, experts whom we have sent to the provinces are, together with the Governors-General and Sub-Governors of every province, meeting at our orders, to explain to the inhabitants of our Empire the details of our message, so that they may proceed to benefit by these provisions.

In this momentous undertaking, we shall be assisted, it is to be hoped, by an increase in the capital structure of the Development Bank of Ethiopia. However, unless these new areas can be opened to exploitation and their products be transported at advantageous rates, much of the benefit will be lost.

An efficient system of communications is vital to the development of any country. In full awareness of this fact, a considerable amount of work has been done by our Government in the improvement of existing roads, in the construction of new highways, in expansion of our port facilities and in the general development of our communications. It is to be hoped that new measures of financial assistance may be forthcoming from abroad to permit yet further expansion of our highway system. The telecommunications network is being expanded and improved under a new loan agreement recently concluded with the International Bank. Harbour development is proceeding in a most gratifying manner at Assab. Concession agreements have also been concluded, during the past year, for fuller exploitation of our mineral wealth.

As we commented at the beginning of the year: ". . . capital and labour are necessary ingredients for wealth and prosperity and . . . these two factors are absolute essentials for the economic development of our country. . . ." Although Ethiopia possesses abundant natural resources, vast amounts of capital, far in excess of our present means, are needed to develop and exploit these resources for the good of our people. It was with this in mind that we acquired credits from friendly countries such as the United States of America, Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

For the purpose of implementing these credits and commercial agreements, numerous missions have been sent and received during the past year. It was with particular gratification, therefore, that, upon our return from our State visits to Europe, we were able to announce the granting to Ethiopia by the great and friendly Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of a four hundred million rouble loan. This form of assistance will be invaluable to our progress and should be deeply appreciated by our people. We should all realise that all such substantial contributions of capital represent years of untiring labour, of strict discipline, and of self-denial on the part of those nations which have thus come to our assistance. We must all recognise that these loans and credits call for those same attributes from us in yet greater measure.

In the field of commerce, an agreement has just been concluded with the United Arab Republic following the arrival of a special mission for that purpose. A mission from the Federal Republic of Germany has recently arrived to discuss the implementation of the credit agreement with that country, and missions are shortly expected from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Czechoslovakia to discuss projects and methods of implementing the credits so generously offered. Negotiations are at present being pursued with officials of the Development Loan Fund of the Government of the United States of America to permit the financing of yet other programmes. An economic mission from Italy is expected to arrive in our capital in the near future.

Our preoccupations, however, have not been concerned solely with the material welfare of our people. We have already mentioned our activities in the field of education. The development of the resources of intellignce which education draws forth from our people—vital as it is—without moral inspiration and guidance, can never of itself work for the good of all. Man, who is by nature selfish, must learn that only in serving others can he reach his full stature or attain the noble destinies for which God created him. We have, therefore, spared no effort to encourage and sustain the Church in its high mission of preserving and inculcating into the youth, those spiritual values and ideals which, for centuries, have guided the destinies of our beloved people. It was, in consequence, with deep gratification that, during the past year, we were able to bring about the full recognition of the Ethiopian Church as the autocephalous and national Church of the Empire. The Church which, through centuries of struggle and martyrdom, has pursued its task of evangelism and education, has our continued support.

In this age of rapidly evolving and interacting forces, it is important that Ethiopia remains strong both within and without. Ethiopia wishes only to see peace and order throughout the world, particularly in the region in which she is situated, and the inhabitants thereof joined together by ties of fraternal affection. The Ethiopian Armed Forces must, therefore, be strengthened as forces for the maintenance of peace.

In the past year, the Ethiopian Air Force has moved into the jet era. An increasing number of jet pilots have been qualified at our Air Force School, and many others are being sent to the United States of America to be trained in the latest techniques of jet operation.

Although satisfactory progress has been achieved by our Navy, much remains to be accomplished. It was a cause of particular satisfaction to us that in January of last year was graduated the first class of officers from our Naval Academy at Massawa. We are confident that the cadres of officers, petty-officers and ratings now being built up, will uphold the highest traditions of the Ethiopian Armed Forces.

The problems of the last decade which have been obstacles to unmarred relations between us and our brothers notwithstanding, it is confidently hoped that the frontier agreement between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory of Somaliland will soon be settled. To this end, we

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shall never cease to labour continuously; only recently, we discussed the matter thoroughly with Mr. Trygve Lie, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the adage, "It takes two to make an agreement", still applies.

Turning to the problems of our continent in general, Ethiopia, as the oldest independent State of Africa, has a duty toward her brethren in this continent who are still struggling for the light of freedom and independence—to do all on her part to aid them and to spare them the hardships which she herself has known. To this end, with mutual confidence and complete co-operation, we, together, must build the indestructible unity of African peoples. A significant step toward that objective was the convening of the first session of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa, its permanent headquarters. That historic first session served as a good augury and basis for its future labours which, we are confident, will serve greatly to advance the attainment of its goals. The Conference at Monrovia was also a recent manifestation of the growing unity and co-operation among the independent African States. However, it is obvious that more remains to be accomplished in this direction.

Our recent State visits to friendly countries have enabled us to press forward the pursuit of the ideals to which we have devoted our life. After our visits to the United Arab Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Republics of France, Portugal and Yugoslavia, we recounted to our people tokens of the friendship of these countries. It is well known that such visits between Heads of State serve to draw distant lands and peoples closer together. Such also was the purpose of our recent visits to important world capitals. Our ideals and our problems have thus been more readly appreciated abroad.

Since we believe that meetings among statemen serve the promotion of universal peace and international understanding, we are pleased to be informed that Premier Khrushchev has accepted the invitation of President de Gaulle and will be visiting France soon. As we, during the past year, received at our Court the visits of Marshal Tito and Madame Broz, and, subsequently, of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Greece, we now look forward to the return visits to Ethiopia of the Heads of State of the numerous countries which we visited during our tour. Such visits have already testified to the validity of the Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence, non-intervention, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations. It is our duty to promote mutual acquaintance between our country and others.

In all the countries we visited, we observed a sincere desire to live in peace. We have repeatedly stated that one of the principal guarantees of international peace is the reduction of armaments. We therefore believe the agreement in the United Nations to seek a method whereby Premier Khrushchev's recent proposal for the reduction of armaments can be implemented, in itself revives hope for the attainment of world peace.

Such have been problems and programmes with which we and our Government have been concerned during the past year, and such are also the achievements we have brought about during that same period. By word and deed, we have sought to inspire our beloved people to retain the past—to cleave to its faith, to preserve its tradition, to cherish its self-respect; and to acclaim the present—to recognise its challenges, to work diligently, to attain higher levels of achievement. We believe the past must be the foundation for the future, and the achievements we have just recounted must open new avenues for further progress.

This is the law of life, for nations as for individuals, the law of lasting happiness and welfare. As leader of our beloved people, it is a law which we gladly accept for ourselves, so that our people in following our leadership, may attain that full stature and happiness which we desire for them. Let us all remember the message of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "When I was a child I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child; now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things."

A nation without laws is a nation without discipline. Such a nation is not worthy of that name. We therefore exhort you, who are elected by the people and appointed by us, to labour even beyond the call of duty toward the early enactment of the draft laws which are before you. We also exhort you to assist us to convey to our people the plans and the programmes we have designed and initiated for their welfare.

In invoking the blessing of the Almighty upon our labours and upon those of our beloved people, we pray that He may spare us to lead them forward in peace, progress and happiness, and that they may advance in friendly co-operation and understanding with all the peoples of the Earth.

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Lessons in agriculture at Kolfé Rehabilitation Home (see article on Social Service Society)

Voluntary Social Work in Ethiopia

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

This issue of *Ethiopia Observer* is devoted to voluntary activities for social welfare by associations and residents, and by friends of Ethiopia abroad, apart from and in addition to the social services maintained by the Ethiopian Government. These voluntary activities are directed to education, public health, maternity and child care and welfare, the relief and rehabilitation of the destitute.

Our survey is by no means complete. Its omissions have occurred not from any intentional discrimination, but from lack of time or contact.

The British Council, for example, which, after an interim of several years, is now resuming its services in Ethiopia, has not been mentioned. This is purely because its work is not yet fully underway. Its much-appreciated teaching of English, lectures, films and so forth have barely begun; nor was our representative, who called at the office, able to obtain an advance programme. The library and reading room are open, but most of the literature to be placed there has not yet arrived. A very welcome gift of books for the National Library of Ethiopia was all, or nearly all, assembled in the city, but had not yet reached the library. The contribution made to the General Wingate School by the British Council is, of course, well-known and valuable, but this school has already been dealt with in our issue on Secondary Education.

The Bible Churchmen's Mission was not able to furnish even a brief report of its activities, owing to shortage of staff, although invited some time ago.

The English School has been omitted, with regret, for lack of time and space. We hope to return to it in a subsequent issue.

A number of missions, schools and societies, of a mixed social and welfare character, have been omitted for lack of time and contact; notably the Professional and Business Women's Club, which is a centre of social intercourse and also undertakes some charitable activities. The Rotary Club, which is also of the same character, has only been referred to in connection with the playground it has generously equipped.

The Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital Council in London, which still contributes equipment to the Hospital, has also been omitted, though the Hospital has been described in one of our earlier issues. The Swedish Paediatric Clinic, which is now part of Princess Tsahai Hospital, is not mentioned here because it is a Governmental institution, and this applies also

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Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association

This association of Ethiopian women was founded in August, 1935, by the late Princess Tsahai under the patronage of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Menen. Owing to the Italian invasion in October of that year the activity of the Association was mainly devoted to supplying mattresses, food, clothing and medical requirements and gas-masks for the Ethiopian troops at the front, in making gas-masks for the civilian population of Addis Ababa and in alleviating generally the distress and injury caused by the war.

During the Italian occupation the work of the Association was continued in England. Its main activities were in caring for the numerous Ethiopian refugees scattered in various countries and colonies.

On the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 the Association was immediately re-formed. Princess Tsahai, having qualified at a hospital nurse in England was able to take a leading part in the care of the sick and wounded. A school-home for war orphans, an imperative need, was opened in the same year and has been maintained ever since.

After the death of Princess Tsahai, a sore grief to the Association, its activities continued under the Presidency of her sister, Princess Tenagne Work.

With financial assistance raised among the people of England by the late Lady Barton, wife of a former British Minister in Ethiopia, a Princess Tsahai Memorial Infant and Maternity Clinic was established where ante- and pre-natal advice is given.

The clinic received financial support from England during its first three years, sufficient to cover the cost of a nurse and of medical and nursing equipment. Part of the cost is now found by the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health, but further funds are required to supply more beds and equipment.

In 1953 the Emperor Haile Sellassie granted the organisation an Imperial Charter, under the title, Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, as a non-profit making, charitable corporation.

The orphanage maintained by the Association in the Ruel district of Addis Ababa, is supported by the generous donations of the public. It provides a home for 94 boys and girls who receive schooling within the orphanage up to the fourth grade of the elementary school. Afterwards they are sent to the schools of the Ministry of Education. Many of them have done very well, having obtained secondary and higher education and good employment when old enough to set forth in life.

The Association appeals to friends of Ethiopia, at home and abroad, to help to make the orphanage a happy home for otherwise-homeless children by gifts of books, toys, clothing and funds.

One may venture to suggest that foreign officials who have held posts in Ethiopia on leaving for their home countries might do both the clinic and the orphanage a good turn by gifts of furniture, toys, books, etc., which they do not wish to transport.

In 1956 the Association organised a great fund-raising effort: open-air meetings and collections were held in the ten districts of Addis Ababa, where local committees were formed to assist the effort.

From this very fine initiative resulted the Princess Tenagne Work Women's Adult School, or Women's Vocational School which is maintained by the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and the American Point IV. The Women's Association provided the premises and contributes part of the staff.

This school is always full and its waiting list is long. It performs a valuable service in affording general education to women who for one reason or another were unable to attend school in their childhood. Training is given to housewives and domestic workers, dressmakers, embroideresses, clerks and secretaries. Instruction is also given in the care of children. An account of the school has already appeared in "Ethiopia Observer," Vol. II, No. 4.

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to many other beneficent institutions. Little has been said of the numerous non-Governmenal organisations in the Ethiopian provinces. In an earlier issue we have described the welfare centre at Mulu.

Many excellent organisations are doubtless unknown to us.

Though this survey is thus far from exhaustive, we hope it may interest our readers and encourage those who are able to take a share in helpful activities (helpful, but far from extensive enough to cope with the urgent needs) which have been organised in and for Ethiopia. The Ethiopian people have suffered gravely from the devastations of aggressive war. They were long shut out from the march of modern progress by the foreign occupation of the seaboard. This injury has laid upon the present generation of Ethiopians an enormous burden of accumulated works which could not earlier be undertaken.

The country, despite its many climatic advantages which render the highlands healthful and pleasant, is amazingly costly as a field of modern development. Its natural configuration, its huge altitudes, precipitous ascents and descents, its vast areas of semi-desert lowland, call for immense expenditure of capital, for the erection of dams and the creation of irrigation systems derived from its numerous rivers. While the Ethiopian Government is striving to accomplish these large-scale efforts to enhance the general prosperity of the country and people, there are many sufferers by the way, who sorely need the aid of the good Samaritan. There are problems of infancy, childhood, youth and age. There are widows and orphans, cripples and invalids to care for.

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When filled to capacity the school is only able to accommodate 200 full-time students. But it has been found possible to teach a literacy class of 150 students in the mornings. Evening classes are also held. There is always a long waiting list of would-be pupils.

When they have completed their course students desiring employment are qualified as cooks, housemaids, children's nurses, seamstresses, etc. They are able to speak English. The school therefore supplies much needed opportunities of employment for women, as well as assisting many mothers to care more efficiently for their families.

The support and enthusiasm engendered by the fund-raising drive of 1956 and the work of the district committees then formed has also resulted in the establishment of three schools situated in three districts of Addis Ababa: Entotto, Yekka and Mekakelegna. In these three schools altogether about 1,000 children receive morning instruction, while adult women are taught in the evening. For the children these are preparatory schools aiming at teaching up to the third grade of the elementary school course, after which their pupils will be better able to walk the required distance to Government schools than when commencing at about six years of age.

These schools are partially maintained by members in the districts where they are situated; each member pays a small annual subscription. The central funds of the Women's Welfare Association supply any deficit in the sum required to pay the rent of the school building, the salaries of the teachers and to provide books and materials. These schools are all three, as yet, in their initial stages and much is needed to complete their equipment, and effort is still required to render them such as the Women's Association and the subscribers to their maintenance would desire. The need for school accommodation, especially for children in the lower grades, is however so urgently pressing and these schools were so eagerly desired that their opening could not be postponed.

There is tremendous need in Ethiopia for schools of all sorts to satisfy the widespread desire for education and to serve the needs of the country for young people trained in modern agriculture and the use of machinery, as well as in other branches of modern knowledge and in the all important "know how" to make use of Ethiopia's potential resources.

It will be realised that the Women's Welfare Association has its hands very full in maintaining the schools, the clinic and the orphanage, in organising and supervising the work of these institutions and in the always difficult task of raising funds, a task all the more difficult in Ethiopia because only a relatively small number of people there have means to spare beyond the actual necessities of daily life.

The dauntless women of the Association never fail or flag in the great tasks they have undertaken. They have recently organised a festival to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their organisation which was held in the city on December 19 and 20 on the great Jan Hoy Meda (the Emperor's field). The purpose of the festival beside giving entertainment to the city population was, of course, to raise funds for the work the Association is accomplishing for the welfare of the citizens.

The function included a bazaar. A visit to the headquarters of the Association, in the same compound as the Tenagne Work Women's Adult School, revealed a veritable hive of activity. Stepping into the committee and reception room one saw at once a number of objects provided for sale at the bazaar: hand-woven fabrics from all the provinces, with richly blended colours and bold designs, scarves, rugs, skirts, towels and whatnot. Some of these were to be sold purely as fabrics; others were being made up for various purposes.

Dainty white home-spun Ethiopian dresses, with delicate hand-woven borders in divers colours, and white muslin coutas with similar borders were being prepared for women and girls of all ages. These find a ready sale on all such occasions.

The hand-spun and hand-loom woven heavy woollen blankets, wonderfully thick and warm, are traditionally made in attractive colours with or without patterns, large checks or stripes, in fawns, greys, browns, biege, reds and black. These were being made into coats with piping of brightly coloured, beautifully soft leather from Harar Province and silk lining to match.

The manager of the Singer Sewing Machine Company was co-operating by lending sewing machines and instructors, to assist the voluntary work of members of the Association. Students from the vocational school were helping with busy fingers. In the two small rooms opening from the main committee room, work was proceeding.

At eleven o'clock, Waizero Lule Tesfae, the General-Secretary of the Association, came forward with delicious tea, flavoured with cinnamon, instead of lemon or milk. She served it in elegant pyrex cups and saucers, gaily painted with a graceful design, including an appropriately conventionalised "takul", flowers and shrubs. Cups and saucers like these were being painted for the bazaar and we were assured the colour is permanent. The cups do not break if droped on the floor, thus rendering them a specially useful gift.

Attractive Guraghie three-legged stools, from the Jimma area, which are carved from a single piece of wood, had been ornamented with traditional designs.

The bazaar was well worth a visit. Handicrafts currently produced by the people in all the 12 provinces of Ethiopia, where handicraft is still a living art, were being collected for the bazaar and were of very great interest. There were traditional sports and games from the provincial areas: polo, "Guks," "Ganna" or Ethiopian hockey, and others, as well as the traditional songs and dances.

Strolling minstrels, such as were known in Elizabethan England and throughout Europe in former times, still flourish in Ethiopia and provide entertainment for marriages, christenings and other homely festivals. These were to have their place at Jan Hoy Meda on December 19 and 20. Imabet Seble, one of Princess Tenagne's daughters, who is active in the Women's Association, conducted us to an audition taking place in a circular house in the compound, with white walls, windows all round, a white domed ceiling, painted with a gay design, and a polished wooden floor. Here a group of minstrels had come to demonstrate their arts for inspection. All were clad in the traditional white, tight-legged riding breeches and white muslin couta. Two of them were trumpeters, three played the flute; all accompanied their music by dancing; one or more, at

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The International Christian Fellowship, Addis Ababa

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(Contributed by the Fellowship)

Some like-minded people with common interests, needs and purpose got together three years ago and decided to promote a continuing fellowship between themselves. Their common bond was Jesus. They were men of different nationalities and varying vocational interests. More were gradually brought into the Fellowship and they came to be known as The International Christian Fellowship or "YECHRISTIANOCH ANDINET MAHBER". During the past few years they have been meeting over lunch in borrowed places and discussing ways and means of meeting the needs of a larger group of like-minded people in Addis Ababa. This gave birth to the idea of having a permanent Fellowship House where they could meet, eat, think together and positivise the fellowship into social action.

Some members of this group already had connections with a similar body in other parts of the world known as the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP, which readily welcomed the formation of this group in Addis Ababa and promised to render such help as it could give. Thus did we get affiliated with Christians in other parts of the world with similar interests to those in Addis Ababa.

Almost from its inception, His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, took a keen interest in the efforts of this group, and patronised the Fellowship by the generous grant of a suitable piece of land near Aratkilo, a very central location in the city, for building the Fellowship House. But owing to the migrant nature of its member-

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times stilled their instruments to break into song. This was but one of many auditions before a choice of performers would be made.

On the tables in the round house other activity was also proceeding; big stockings for Christmas had been cut out of scarlet cloth and were being decorated with appliqué work in bright purple, orange, green, yellow and white.

Many organisations were helping the Women's Association to prepare their anniversary festival and would help them on the great days on Jan Meda: first and foremost the Palace Ministry, which can provide an abundance of desirable accessories. The Imperial Bodyguard had promised to erect the traditional house of the type used for wedding parties and other functions in Ethiopia—a huge structure, comprising a wooden framework, lined throughout with white muslin and decorated with green branches. Every family erects such a " house " for its festivities, particularly the many parties held when a son or daughter is married. The ground available at the rear or the side of the home is often almost, or entirely, covered by the temporary " house " erected for the festival.

The district committees attached to the Women's Welfare Association were, of course, helping toward the Anniversary Festival, with many other friendly organisations in the capital, the International Women's Association, the Professional and Business Women's Club and others. Many women of the European community were making a valuable contribution to the festival and had helped with many excellent ideas for raising funds.

The work of the Association is not wholly confined to Addis Ababa. Branches have been formed in Harar, Dessie and Gondar, each of which has its special character and merits.

The enterprising Gondar Branch is preparing a guidebook to the famous old city and its castles, to be published under the auspices of the Association. This will doubtless be found valuable by the numerous visitors, Ethiopian and foreign, who journey to the old capital, redolent with historic memories of the days of ancient chivalry. Here one can see the great Castle of Fasiladas, still used as the Court of Justice for the province; and the series of castles, each with its own significance: the Castles of Iyasu the Great, of Bakuffa and of the Empress Mentuab, the House of Nuptials, the House of Song, the Library of John the Saint, the House of the Lions, the poultry and so forth.

The Gondar Women's Association has a handicraft shop, where work produced by the members is sold for charitable purposes. The Association has presented teaching aids to the local schools, utility bags to the hospital, clothes for orphans born at the hospital, and money and clothes for needy patients whose wants have been brought to the notice of the Association by the social worker attached to the hospital.

Realising the need, the members decided at the commencement of the year, August 1958 to August 1959, to devote the major part of their efforts to establishing an orphanage. Accordingly, they made plans and budgets, which they discussed with the Governor-General of the province. Having found a suitable building they petitioned the Emperor to allow them to have the use of it for the orphanage. Their petition being granted they are now working to raise the necessary funds to equip and to maintain the institution. This is entirely a local effort by the Women's Welfare Association of the town with the co-operation of their fellow citizens.

E. S. P.

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ship the activities of the Fellowship waned and waxed, sometimes flaming, sometimes just smouldering, but never extinct. Toward the end of May 1959, the Fellowship adopted a Constitution and a new Executive Committee was elected with H.H. Commander Eskender Desta as its President. He and his Executive are anxious to revitalise the Fellowship and call upon all Christians in Addis Ababa to join the Fellowship. Let us now consider what we can do together when you join this Fellowship in large numbers.

This Organisation is meant to facilitate fellowship of Christian men and women, with an international and interdenominational outlook, with a desire to live Christ and apply His teachings to social and economic problems both in national and international spheres. The emphasis in this fellowship will be on the Christian layman. With the increase in opportunities for Ethiopian young men and women for higher studies, both in this country and abroad, the number of educated and thinking (hopefully!) young men and women is fast multiplying. The cross-currents of cultural, social and religious ideas are affecting their minds. There is danger of confusion and wavering in the "faith of our fathers". There is a live desire in them to serve their country, but in the medley of modern thought and competitive society, many are not always clear whether to serve the country or the self. Not infrequently do the interests of the self dominate over those of the group or the Nation. It is the faith of the Fellowship that a deeper understanding and practical application of the teachings of Christ, will strengthen us all for dedicated, unmotivated service to the nation.

It is our belief that all is not well around us in our society. The needs of the nation are many, but those who can meet the challenge are few. Many feel, and we believe rightly, that there is an urgent need to improve efficiency both in the Professions and in Administration. We must lay emphasis on the need for decisions to be taken on the basis of principles, policies and the needs of the nation as a whole and not on the basis of personal and group interests and profits. This tendency has in it the inherent danger of building an outer crust and letting corroding influences flourish at the centre. It is the faith of the Fellowship that Christian laymen devoted to living the teachings of Jesus Christ are the answer.

Many are there, who, in isolated situations are anxious to live above corruption and wish to give devoted service to the nation, but are weakened by lack of encouragement and the weight of the many who are otherwise inclined. It is hoped that the Fellowship will offer such an opportunity to seek strength in each other, and the moral courage that comes of united thinking and acting.

It is feared that the average Christian has mistaken formalism and rituals for Christian living. Christian Community has very often, and for too long, laid emphasis on formalism and rituals and has judged its members as good or bad Christians on these external trappings of religion. The divorce between preaching and practice has been the bane of our Community. The relation between the layman and the Priest is far too often one in which once a week, on Sundays, the Priest abuses the flock and the rest of the week the layman abuses the Priest.

Our life is compartmentalised into a Sunday life and "the rest-of-the-week" life, the two being mutually exclusive. Hence the lack of any relation between our work-life and religion; hence the obvious compatibility between the faithful observance of the externals of Christianity and an un-Christian working life.

This convenient philosophy makes us impervious to our social and economic obligations as Christian citizens. Ritualism and lip service to Christianity have dulled our conscience and made us walking mummies, but in white shrouds. We try for the personal salvation of our souls by our Sunday rituals and extend the philosophy of personal salvation to social and economic affairs during the rest of the week! And in the process we have no qualms of conscience in riding roughshod over the rights of our neighbours. The problems of the poor, the sick, of those who are a prey to social and economic injustices, have no relation to our Christian living for we have accepted a dual living. It is the faith of the Fellowship that it will afford an opportunity for those of us who are concerned with these problems, to find an answer in united social action.

It is the belief of the members of the Fellowship that these situations can be met and corrected, by individuals improving their personal lives by living Christ in our daily life and then extending the corporate influence generated by the Fellowship to national and international social and economic problems. If these objectives are to materialise we need to get together, think together and promote a positive social action.

What then is the PROGRAMME that can activise the Fellowship? The Executive Committee offers the following few suggestions for a beginning, and hopes that members will bring more suggestions and actively participate in it.

(1) Fortnightly meetings will be held where speakers will deal with subjects of topical interest. The members believe in acquiring information which will help more concrete thinking.

(2) Study groups will be organised. The educated youth for whom the Fellowship is primarily meant will want to exchange views on religious, social and economic problems facing society. But since views have to be based on accurate information it is hoped that the groups will apply themselves to a deeper study of the topics under discussion. This could be done by reading together selected books on topics under discussion or by members presenting summaries of books. If we agree that the Christian layman is interested in applying the teaching of Christ to social and economic problems, the Groups may wish to know first what those teachings are. It is hoped that these Study Groups will also go out and study the social and economic conditions around us. Since the Fellowship believes in action it is expected that these studies will result in suitable individual and corporate action within the means of the Fellowship.

(3) Since one of the ways of promoting action is to publicise problems and facts, the findings of these Study Groups should result in suitable publications, so that in course of time we create some literature on the Christian approach to current problems. Such findings should also be made available to all interested groups by sponsoring speakers from the Fellowship.

(4) It is hoped that the nerve centre of all these activities and more will be the contemplated Fellowship

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House. It is felt that the educated youth of this city have no common place to meet. The healthy utilisation of leisure has become a problem for them and it is feared that even educated youth being heir to the weakness of the flesh are in danger of dissipating the leisure hours. Hence it is hoped that such a Fellowship House will cater to the varied needs of its Members and their guests.

As planned at present, the Fellowship House will provide the following activities and facilities:

(a) It will provide rooms for limited periods of time for Members or intending Members visiting Addis Ababa from the Provinces or from abroad.

(b) It will provide facilities to organise social gatherings.

(c) The Fellowship House will run a Cafeteria. This will facilitate members' entertaining.

(d) Since one of the greatest needs in Addis Ababa is facilities for recreation, the Fellowship House plans to organise indoor and outdoor facilities for recreation.

(e) If some of the activities suggested earlier are to materialise the Fellowship House will need to provide a Library and a Reading Room.

(f) Cultural activities have to be promoted. The Fellowship House will provide facilities to organise dramas and practise vocal and instrumental music.

(g) Organise Film shows for Members and their guests.

(5) It is hoped that the lectures, studies and discussions will result in Social Action and that the Fellowship will undertake to sponsor special projects to meet the needs of the city. The Executive Committee refrains from suggesting possible special projects in this pamphlet, for they believe that these should grow out of the studies to be undertaken by the Study Group.

(6) The Fellowship will not live in exclusion, but will make every effort to co-operate with similar social organisations in all fields of its activities.

The International Christian Fellowship of Addis Ababa will be what its Members will make of it. All those who believe there is need for corporate living, thinking and acting, who have faith in the vitality of Christian values to overcome racial, national and international problems, who are interested in promoting a world community of like-minded people, and those who believe in living a more abundant life through Christian Fellowship are invited to join the International Christian Fellowship.

Mr. Merlin A. Bishop and two members of the Y.M.C.A. staff

The Ethiopian Red Cross

Patrons: Their Imperial Majesties The Emperor Haile Sellassie I and The Empress Menen
President: H.I.H. The Crown Prince
Vice President: H.E. Tsehafe Taezaz Tafara Worq
Board of Directors: H.E. Blatta Mersie Hazan Wolde Kirkos, H.E. Blatta Ketaw Yetatakou (Hon. Treasurer), H.E. Lij Endalkatchew Makonen, Weizero Senedou Gabrou, H.E. Qebede Abozen, Dr. Hylander, Brig. General Wolde Selassie Baraka, Lij Hailou Desta, Ato Fantaye Wolde Yohanes, Ato Girmame Wondafrash, Ato Hailou Sebsibe and Major D. Niskanin (Secretary General)

The Ethiopian Red Cross has maintained a free ambulance service for the past eight years, which is available wherever required at the call of hospitals and other institutions or individuals. The Red Cross also maintains two free beds for emergency cases in the Haile Sellassie I Hospital. Probably its most important post-war work has been the training of thirty-two hospital nurses each year, who, when their training is completed, are available for hospitals in the capital and provinces. The three-year course takes place at the Haile Sellassie I Hospital. An equally essential work is about to be inaugurated by a free clinic open to all patients requiring treatment, without payment or formalities. This clinic will be situated next to the premises of the Red Cross organisation itself, in Churchill Road, Addis Ababa. The equipment is on order and the work is to commence within six months time.

The regular staff of the clinic will consist of fully trained hospital nurses and "dressers," who have experience and some training to assist the nurses. Visiting physicians and surgeons will attend at certain hours on a part-time basis.

This clinic will be a highly important innovation, as facilities for free treatment of illness and accident have hitherto been insufficient. The Ethiopian Red Cross is a purely voluntary organisation; its work is entirely maintained by subscriptions and donations from members of the general public.

It is in contact with Red Cross organisations in other countries from whom gift parcels are received principally at Christmas; these parcels are passed on to various Ethiopian hospitals for presentation to poor patients.

During the emergency which recently arose in the Tigré Province of Ethiopia, owing to the ravages of an infestation of locusts, the Ethiopian Red Cross has furnished medical and nursing assistance and supplies of every sort.

In the past year the Red Cross was able to raise upwards of 180,000 Ethiopian dollars (about £25,714). A bazaar and fête on Jan Hoy-Meda, accounted for a considerable share of this sum. All the communities of Addis Ababa had booths at the festival, where the respective national foods and national products were on sale; Ethiopian, American, Armenian, Austrian, Belgian, British, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Indian, Japanese, Norwegian, Russian, Swedish, Swiss, United Arab Republic and Yugoslav. The festival committee consisted of the Board of Governors and representatives of all these nationalities. The Red Cross festival is an annual event.

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The Young Men's Christian Association of Addis Ababa

(Contributed by the Association)

Patron: H.I.M. HAILE SELLASSIE I.
President: H.E. Balambaras Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Maskal.
Vice-President: H.E. Blatta Marsie Hazan.
Vice-President: Ato Emmanual Gabre Sellassie.
Treasurer: Mr. Elias Djerrahian.
General Secretary: Mr. Merlin A. Bishop.
Members: H.B. Abouna Theophilos, H.E. Ato Menassie Lemma, H.E. Dejazmatch Zewdie Gabre Sellassie, H.E. Ato Abdulahi Mume, H.E. Ato Getahun Tessema, Mr. Berdj Babayan, Mr. Constantin N. Makris, Col. Mebratou Fesseha, Dr. David Talbot, Mr. Abdulla Baagil, Mr I. Menezes.

The Y.M.C.A. in Addis Ababa was introduced nine years ago in a small and inadequate building. The American Y.M.C.A. contributed leadership and the Ethiopian Y.M.C.A. Board of Managers undertook to raise money for its operation. Our new building was completed debit free in 1955. More than 3,400 friends in Ethiopia made this building possible.

Because of our rapid growth and the normal increase in the cost of operations we need help from all nationalities. More and more the Ethiopian community is taking a greater share in financing and leadership.

DID YOU KNOW?

Our members are of all faiths and creeds.

During 1958 1,574,625 young people participated in the programmes of the Addis Ababa Y.M.C.A.

The Addis Ababa Y.M.C.A. has members representing 14 nationalities.

The accounts of the Y.M.C.A. are audited annually by Price, Waterhouse, Peat and Co. Our financial statements are made public.

The annual adult membership fee is only Eth.$15.00. Membership fees provide 6½% of the operating costs. The remainder must come from those who want to share in giving young people a chance to develop into responsible citizens.

The Y.M.C.A. serves thousands who cannot pay but need the training we are prepared to give.

The Y.M.C.A. welcomes into its membership both boys and girls, men and women.

There are thousands participating in our Adult Education Programme where we emphasise Health, Hygiene, and Nutrition.

We have an attractive programme for underprivileged boys.

Our budget for 1959 is Eth. $81,677.00.

You become our partner in developing world-mindedness in youth when you become a member of the Y.M.C.A. and contributed toward its support.

PARTICIPATION REPORT
Jan. 1, 1958—Dec. 31, 1958

Total Participation During the Year 1958 1,574,625

This includes participation in events within the Y.M.C.A. premises and compound and under Y.M.C.A. auspices in various schools.

	No. of Meetings	*Number Participated*
Organised Groups	13,878	242,928
Groups without definite enrolment ...	2,301	1,332,124
Committees	798	6,182
Leadership Training	812	7,257
Major Participation Categories		
Clubs	559	13,985
Lectures and Debates	37	9,583
Handicraft Classes	1,674	48,324
Athletic Classes	10,248	157,350
Educational Classes	306	8,371
Athletic Events	1,112	381,959
Adult Education	366	664,799
Future Citizens	439	30,089
Religious Programmes	278	113,773
Drama	122	39,638
Special Programmes	823	285,366

(Continued on next page)

Y.M.C.A. PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLASS SCHEDULE

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
5 p.m. Gym.	Trampoline (Class B) Ato Zegeye	Trampoline (Class A) Ato Zegeye	Bodybuilding (Class B) Ato Zegeye	Wrestling Mr. Ludwig	Ping Pong (Class B) Ato Zegeye	9—12 a.m. Field Basketball Trampoline Volleyball Tetherball Softball Football
5 p.m. Field	Rockets BB Ato Taye Football Tetherball Volleyball	Basketball B Ato Taye Softball Tetherball Volleyball	Rockets BB Ato Taye Football Tetherball Volleyball	Open Basketball Softball Tetherball Volleyball	Rockets BB Football Tetherball Volleyball	9—12 a.m. Gym
6 p.m. Gym	Boxing Dr. D. Cox Ato Zegeye	Tumbling Ato Zegeye	Bodybuilding (Class A) Mr. Ludwig	Boxing Ato Taye	Ping Pong (Class A) Ato Zegeye	Ping Pong Open Play Lunch
6 p.m. Field	Rockets BB Ato Taye Football Tetherball Volleyball	Basketball A Mr. Ludwig Softball Tetherball Volleyball	Rockets BB Ato Taye Football Tetherball Volleyball	Open Basketball Softball Tetherball Volleyball	Rockets BB Football Tetherball Volleyball	3—5 p.m Field Y.M.C.A. Basketball Softball Tetherball Volleyball Football
7 p.m. Gym	Businessmen Ato Taye	Women and Girls Mr. Ludwig	Businessmen Ato Taye	Businessmen Ato Taye	Women and Girls Mr. Ludwig	4.30 p.m. Businessmen Basketball
7 p.m. Field	Y's Men's Basketball	Y.M.C.A. Basketball 8-30 p.m. Basketball	Y's Men's Basketball	Y.M.C.A. Basketball 8-30 p.m. Basketball	Y's Men's Basketball	3—6 p.m. Gym Open Play Ping Pong

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The Social Service Society

By Sylvia Pankhurst

SOCIAL SERVICE—THE CITIZEN'S OBLIGATION

The Social Service Society, of Addis Ababa, was founded in 1959 with the hope of rendering useful service to the citizens in helping to cope with the many social problems of the city.

His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Haile Sellassie, graciously consented to be the patron of the Society. His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince Meridazmatch Asfa Wosen most kindly agreed to be the Honorary President. The Kantiba, or Lord Mayor, of Addis Ababa, accepted the office of president of the executive committee and from its inception has been very generous in welcoming the Society and has consistently given to it his valuable co-operation and support.

The other office bearers are:—

Vice-Presidents: Waizero Senedu Gabru; Kenyazmatch Abdul Semad.

Honorary Secretary: Ato Johannes Wolde Gerima, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Addis Ababa Municipality.

Honorary Associate Secretary: Dr. Aklilu, University College.

Honorary Treasurer: Ato Germame Wondafrash.

Honorary Associate Treasurer: Mr. A. A. Mehta.

Members of the Executive Committee: Imabet Seble Desta; Ato Emmanual Gabre Sellassie; Ato Getahun Ayele; Ato Hailu Sebsibe; Mr. Herman Klein; Ato Lishan Desta; Mr. Percy Richards; Mr. Robert Scott; Ato Tekle Mariam Kassahun; Waizero Lule Tesfae; Waizero Yewinishet Beshahoored; Mr. John Barnabas; Mr. Makherjee; Mrs. Rita Pankhurst; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst; Mr. David Talbot; Mr. Paul Verghes.

The funds of the Social Service Society consist of the membership subscriptions and voluntary donations. These funds are deposited in the society's account at the State Bank of Ethiopia. They can only be drawn upon by cheques signed jointly by the Honorary Treasurer and either the Executive President or the Honorary Secretary.

The Society is managed by the Executive Committee, consisting of the office bearers and the other members, all of whom are elected at the annual general meeting of the Society, where all members have each one vote.

Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of the Society are:

(1) To undertake, promote and develop the study of social problems.

(2) To disseminate knowledge and information so gathered and to educate public opinion on social problems.

(3) To serve as an information exchange in respect of social work and social service organisations.

(4) To promote organised charity.

(5) To deal with social problems; (a) as a voluntary effort; (b) in co-operation with the Municipality; (c) in co-operation with the Government.

(6) To promote and organise voluntary social work and to train a cadre of Volunteer Social Workers.

(7) To bring about closer co-operation and collaboration between social service agencies, institutions and organisations.

RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND TRAINING FOR THE DESTITUTE

The first effort undertaken by the society was to co-operate with the Kantiba in dealing with

(Continued from preceding page)

Message from the President of the Y.M.C.A.

Balambaras Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Maskal

"One of the most important aspects of Y.M.C.A. activities in Ethiopia, the good spirit which is being created among boys and young men, is difficult to show in words and pictures. This spirit should encourage membership on a continuing and growing basis year by year. This spirit not only manifests itself in the younger groups but also among the individual members of the Board of Directors.

"All the Y.M.C.A.s around the world have local autonomy, in other words control by its own members. Because of this, there are some Associations more alert and progressive, more active and more given to service than others, but all are dependent on their members because each Association is as good as its members make it.

"I look forward to even greater help and enthusiasm in the coming years."

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what has been described as "the beggar problem" but in reality is fundamentally a question of destitution.

The Municipality had previously maintained two centres of refuge for the destitute, one at Takla Haimanot and the other at Kolfé; both on the outskirts of Addis Ababa. Takla Haimanot is the older of these settlements. Some of its inmates are pensioners and otherwise partially self-supporting. In both the settlements men, women and children were living in thatched cottages, some circular, some rectangular, built by themselves in the traditional Ethiopian style, of earthy plaster applied to a wooden framework. Though some of the residents raised a few chickens and grew a small supply of vegetables, they were all supplied with rations by the Municipality. At Takla Haimanot there were 451 inmates, 298 of them adults, few of whom were able-bodied and many old and crippled, and 53 children, of whom 44 were under five years and the remainder between six and 14. These children were growing up with the poorest prospects for their future life. There was little hope that any of the adults would at any time become self supporting. Conditions at Kolfé were similar; as there is considerably more space there a number of new inmates were being drafted there and large dormitories were being erected to receive them.

The two settlements together were far from coping with the problem of the destitute whose numbers were and are continually being increased by newcomers to the city.

Women at Kolfé begin spinning in traditional Ethiopian style as soon as cotton is supplied

Raising vegetables at Kolfé rehabilitation centre

The Kantiba, who had taken the question to heart, consulted with the Social Service Society as to how the money already being expended by the Municipality on relieving destitution might be put to more fruitful use. The result of this consultation is the rehabilitation programme at Kolfé jointly conducted by the Social Service Society and the Municipality.

Case Histories

A detailed investigation into the personal histories of the destitute men, women and children taken from the city streets to Kolfé has been efficiently made by the teachers and students of University College, Addis Ababa. A few of these case histories will reveal to the reader that the destitution which drove these people to become beggars arose from a number of different misfortunes and difficulties:

One of the old women now at Kolfé came to Addis Ababa from a distant province as a young girl during the reign of the Emperor Menelik II. She was brought to the capital by the family by whom she was employed. She never married, but remained a faithful servant to the family. One by one, they died; she had outlived them all. Now, old and feeble, suffering from rheumatism, she has no means of support. She has lost all contact with her native village.

At the other end of the age scale is a young boy from Gamu Gofa, only eleven years of age. His father is a weaver and in his far-away village the boy had learnt to help him. He might have continued doing so, but a

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Fibre work at Kolfé rehabilitation centre

visitor came from Addis Ababa who led him to believe there was high pay for weavers in the capital and that he would be able to go to evening school there and learn to read and write. So the boy asked the visitor to take him along with him when he returned to Addis Ababa. When he reached the city he could find no one willing to employ a child so young and small. He was homeless and destitute and had no means of getting back to his village.

Eager For Education

A boy of 16 had attended school for five years in his village. He was eager for higher education and believed that in Addis Ababa he would be able to reach the 8th grade and proceed to a Secondary School. After much effort he succeeded in getting there, only to find that all the schools were full.

The small means he had brought with him were soon spent in searching for a school. He then got work as a coolie till he fell ill while working and was carried to St. Paul's Hospital for the Poor. The Hospital was full, like the schools. A policeman found him at the Hospital gate and removed him to Kolfé. He is still eager for education.

There are many boys at Kolfé who came from distant parts hoping for education. Some have come from remote areas where no school yet exists; some have already had some elementary instruction.

Haven For Many

There are able-bodied people at Kolfé who lost their work for some reason and have not been able to find other employment. There are people who came to Addis Ababa for medical treatment and either failed to obtain it or were treated without being cured; they spent all they had on the journey and afterwards in the city, lacked means to return.

There are numerous cripples; some could be cured, others could be trained for work they could do despite their disability

Many of the men have been farmers and have land in some distant province. Many of the women are widows. One of the old widows earned a small sustenance by carrying on her back great bundles of firewood until she became too frail to bear the heavy burdens.

A young woman, recently widowed, has three very young children. She is anxious to work to support them, but no employer has been willing to allow her to bring three little helpless babies with her and they are too young to be left alone. If her children could be taken care of, she would gladly work for them. The University College investigators who heard all her struggles were deeply impressed by her courage.

Rehabilitation

Since the students talked with the young widow, prospects have brightened at Kolfé. The Rehabilitation programme, the steps to be taken to deal with destitution, case by case, have been developed.

The plan is to provide medical treatment if required and training for future self-supporting life. Men and women who are ready for work are either to be re-settled as farmers in their former homes, if they have land there or established in some type of home-craft or other employment.

If the person concerned is a farmer, seed and livestock, fodder and other requirements will be provided to help him to start farming again. If he is a weaver, a carpenter or other craftsman, he will need the tools of his trade and probably other assistance for a time. The governor

Mat making at Kolfé rehabilitation centre

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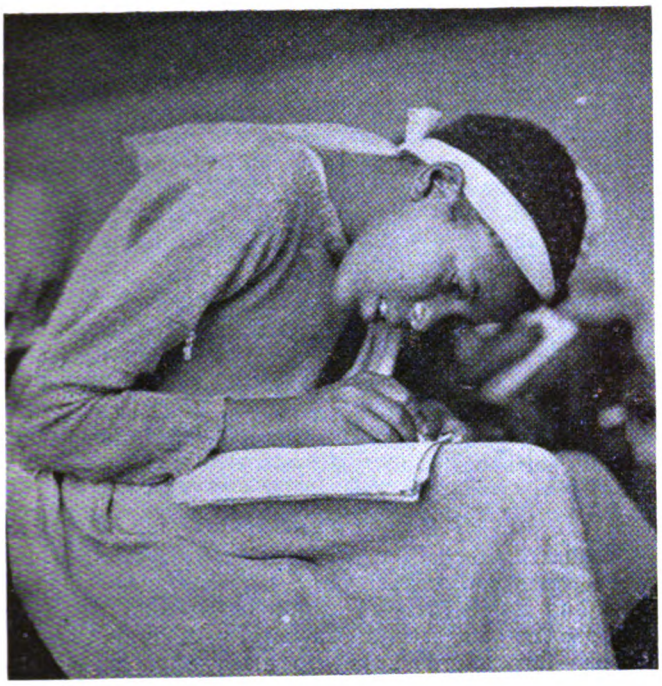

Learning to write at Kolfé rehabilitation centre

of his home village will be approached in every case; friends and relatives will be informed.

Facilities

The Kolfé home comprises at present a number of Tukuls for families. For single men and women there are large dormitories and a large dining room and common-room. There is also a school and administration building. There is an ample water supply. Lavatories, showers, a laundry and kitchen have been erected.

UNICEF provides milk for the children, who range from infancy to school age and over. A Sister from the Lazarist Mission and two lady students from University College spend an afternoon a week in giving medical treatment to supplement the regular medical care given by a municipal doctor.

Training

The Municipality supplies the houses and workshops and the initial clothing, with mattress, blankets etc., and the food. The Social Service Society provides teachers and teaching equipment.

The superintendent, Ato Tarera Erano, and his wife Waizero Galai (Ethiopian women retain their maiden names after marriage) were both trained at the joint Ethiopian Government and United Nations community centre at Majetti. Under the supervision of Ato Tarera, the men and boys have constructed beds for the dormitories from the swift-growing eucalyptus poles which have spread during the past century throughout Ethiopia. This has been a useful experience which will serve them well when setting up house when they leave Kolfé.

Under Waizero Galai the women prepare the meals of the 800 inmates. Waizero Galai also gives them instruction in child care and washing; they wash all the clothes for the institution.

Agriculture

The Ministry of Agriculture has supplied an extension worker to teach agriculture to the able-bodied men and boys. Under this instruction ground has been levelled and vegetable crops grown for use in the kitchen, and the surplus for sale.

Shoe and Garment Making

A shoemaker teaches shoemaking. Singer Sewing Machine Company, established in Ethiopia for many years, is making a generous contribution to the training scheme by supplying gratuitously, three teachers of sewing-machining, dress-making and machine embroidery, who attend twice a week. They began with a class of eleven girls aged from 12 to 15 years. These first pupils are doing exceedingly well. At the end of the first month's instruction, each of them had made a dress for herself. Meanwhile a second class of eleven had commenced learning to work the sewing machines. The teachers and the manager of Singer's are greatly pleased with the progress of these young pupils, who will surely find employment when their training is finished, if not in Addis Ababa in some other locality; skilled workers are in demand in Ethiopia.

Elementary Education

Like the other young inmates the girls in the sewing machine class are also receiving instruction in reading, writing and other elementary school subjects. Elementary education is proceeding, and will be further developed.

Mid-morning milk for children at Kolfé

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The Ministry of Education has been requested to open a school in the locality where the bigger children of the rehabilitation centre may attend with other children of the neighbourhood.

Women's Traditional Crafts

The elder women at Kolfé are busily occupied in the fine basketwork, mat-making and hand-spinning of cotton traditional in Ethiopia.

Sewing with needle and thread is not so commonly known to the women here as spinning. In the ancient division of labour all women could spin, weaving was done by men, and the making up of the garments was a somewhat specialised work. Waizero Galai is teaching hand-sewing to the women and girls; it will be useful to them all.

The Hand-Loom Weavers

A number of men and boys are engaged in hand-loom weaving, including the little boy from Gamu Gofa who immediately on arrival asked to be put to his trade. He erected his own wide Ethiopian-style loom and dug the pit in which the Ethiopian weaver puts his feet in the age-old fashion.

One of the weavers tells a sad story; his eldest daughter was married. In a drunken rage her husband killed her. The murderer was acquitted by the local court for "lack of proof" though he had told her father he had killed his wife. The father considered himself in duty bound to his daughter's memory to bring her murderer to execution. He journeyed with his wife and children from his village to the Divisional Court at Dessie. His son-in-law being again acquitted there, he proceeded with his family to Addis Ababa to lay his case before the High Court. By the time he reached the city he was penniless; his wife and children were starving. He commenced begging to maintain them; the police brought them all to Kolfé.

As he works with tireless energy at his loom, emaciated and hollow-cheeked, his mind is constantly fixed on the bitter hope that some day he will be able to take the murderer before the High Court; some day he will avenge his daughter.

Much happier is the young fibre worker from Harar. He came to Addis Ababa for medical treatment and found himself stranded. He is teaching his trade to a group of fellow inmates; has married one of the women and is contented, though he hopes in the not too distant future to set up business for himself in his own trade.

A Hive of Activity

Kolfé is in fact a hive of activity; it is remarkable, and indeed very touching to find these poor folk who had fallen on evil days and were reduced to begging by the roadside, taking eagerly and industriously to their former work as soon as material is provided, and applying themselves readily to anything new they are taught.

The blind, deaf-mutes and cripples require special training at work they will be able to do despite their handicap. There is a great work to be accomplished by an orthopaedic specialist. Some of the cripples were injured in some accident, a fall down the rocky hillside or from a scaffolding, a motor car collision or whatnot; some were injured at birth; quite a number are old leprosy cases, cured of the disease, but mutilated by it.

Some of the poor lepers, though they have lost a number of fingers manage to work. At the Harar Leprosarium I saw some sadly mutilated women produce quite beautiful basketry. Nevertheless many of the handicapped, especially the blind, must be specially trained. There is a widespread need of training for the handicapped in Ethiopia.

A shop has been opened where a few of the goods made at Kolfé are on view on the road between the Abuna Petros memorial and the market. Much of the produce is, however, as yet, consumed at the rehabilitation centre.

Films are shown weekly at Kolfé with emphasis on educational subjects.

All Help Needed

Volunteer teachers would be greatly welcomed as many useful subjects are not yet covered. An English class and English reading would be welcome; English being Ethiopia's second language. A knowledge of English thus affords a key to many opportunities of education and employment.

Garments for infants are greatly needed; the Addis Ababa climate, though hot in full sunlight, inclines to be chilly in the shade and rather cold after sundown, at night and in early mornings, at most seasons of the year; warm clothing for infants is therefore a necessity. There is great need for accommodation for little orphans; a number will be received at Kolfé as soon as circumstances allow.

Donations and subscriptions should be addressed to:
The Executive President, H.E. The Kantiba,
The Addis Ababa Municipality, Menelik II Square,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

RECREATION FOR THE PEOPLE

Another important effort in which the Social Service Society is co-operating with the Municipality, is in recreation for the people of Addis Ababa. During the long rainy season, films, many of them educational, are shown in the Municipal Hall on Wednesday evenings, free of charge.

The Society has been able to assist a local community effort to provide recreation, by a gift of sports equipment and also to provide maintenance for a group of students being trained for Social Welfare work.

The Social Service Society is endeavouring to assist the Kantiba to establish, in Addis Ababa, a number of parks and playgrounds for the free use of anyone who has time and inclination to spend an hour or so there, joining in the games or sitting there to rest. It is widely recognised that every urban area needs facilities for open-air recreation for its population; the larger the city, the greater the need. Planners of new towns today invariably make provision for open spaces to be reserved for parks and playgrounds, as an essential necessity of healthy community life. If land was not reserved for this purpose when the town was founded, the longer

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the need is neglected, the more urgent the problem of providing it becomes. The land of cities grows progressively more costly and to find space without disturbing existing public or private property, is increasingly difficult. Yet as opportunities of healthy outdoor recreation are necessary, especially, but not exclusively for childhood and youth, every city must provide open spaces for this purpose.

Addis Ababa was originally planned on spacious lines. There were numerous open spaces in all parts of the city. So much was this the case, that even a very few years ago the late Sir Patrick Abercrombie, when he arrived to make a town-plan, called it "The Forest City." Building is, however, proceeding rapidly; unless sufficient open spaces for popular recreation are reserved without much delay, it will be impossible to do so except by pulling down some existing buildings. The Kantiba's effort to provide five open spaces for parks and playgrounds in various parts of the city is, therefore, very wise and timely.

Games are an ancient tradition in Ethiopia. In rural areas the children, the youth and the adults enjoy all sorts of games; some of them take place at the time of certain religious festivals, some are associated with weddings, others may be played at any season. One of the most ancient and popular is "Guks," in which horsemen hurl slender wooden wands at each other and parry them with their shields, as they gallop across the field. "Gannat" is a sort of golf played at Christmas, with clubs curved at the end and a wooden ball, both shaped from branches cut from the hedge. Innumerable merry songs and dances enliven the countryside. But in a built-up town, active popular recreation is impossible, unless space has been reserved for it; as the city expands, the distance to the open country around it becomes quite a long journey, which consumes the time available for amusement.

The Ethiopian Ministry of Education has taken good care to provide grounds and equipment for sports and games for the schools and colleges, whether in town or in open country; the Emperor Haile Sellassie has always emphasised the need for open air sports in the upbringing of childhood and youth.

In Addis Ababa, now a city upwards of half a million people, there is real need for the facilities provided for the schools to be extended to the public at large. The city is not bereft of open-air amusements. There are the weekend races on Jan Hoy Meda, the golf course, the tennis club, the recently opened warm-water swimming pool at Ghion Hotel; the Y.M.C.A. is providing sports for a large number of young people, as the report of its activities printed in this issue clearly indicates.

Nevertheless, the Kantiba rightly considers a number of free parks and playgrounds for children, youth and adults, are a necessity of the city. The Social Service Society aims to assist the Kantiba in supplying this need, and addresses an appeal to all residents of Addis Ababa, all friends and well-wishers to co-operate.

Rotary Club Equips a Playground

The Rotary Club of Addis Ababa has generously responded to this appeal by providing the means to level and equip one playground, which will shortly be opened to the public. A shelter from sun and rain is being erected on the site, with lavatories and storeroom, garden seats, digging boxes, crafts-tables, a climbing stone with pipes for the children to crawl through—an idea borrowed from the "adventure playgrounds," which have become popular in London.

It is hoped that other organisations will follow the fine example of the Rotarians. Land in Addis Ababa has already become rather costly; in a few years to come it will probably become still more expensive. Compensation to site owners has already become quite a heavy charge when new public and private buildings are erected. The same is true of sites for playgrounds. The Social Service Society, however, ventures to hope that some public-spirited landowners who can afford to be generous, will come forward to present land for parks and playgrounds, to be legally held in trust for popular recreation, and that others will give the means to purchase sites, while others will help in collecting the means to acquire sites for this purpose.

It may be argued that land which has become costly could be put to better use than as open space for boys and girls to play on, as a patch of green where mothers may take their little ones to bask in the sunshine, or where elderly folk may go to rest a while in their declining years. But are not such pleasant outlets the really precious necessities in the life of the community?

How greatly an open space, where families and friends can congregate, not too far away, is appreciated by the people of Addis Ababa was seen on the occasion of the recent annual exhibition of Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School. After the crowds of visitors had viewed the exhibition, they remained in the extensive compound—mothers and fathers with their children, people of all ages, taking tea at moderate prices, strolling around in the sun, meeting their friends. Had there been games, the youth and the children would have been even more pleased. On a small scale, it was a pleasant foretaste of what a park can do for the general public of Addis Ababa.

The city has been divided for the purposes of raising funds for Social Service into 10 districts. Committees of the various communities, Ethiopian and foreign, have been formed. Individual organisations and business firms have been approached. Some have already made generous donations, but for the many great tasks waiting to be accomplished much further effort is required.

SOCIAL WELFARE IS AN OBLIGATION OF THE MODERN STATE IN THE MODERN WORLD

Playgrounds

One of these sites is to be developed as a Children's Playground; swings, probably a sandpit, and other suitable equipment for the recreation and health-giving exercise of young children will be furnished. One or more qualified teachers, experienced in organising recreation for children will be engaged to ensure that the small citizens who come to the playground will be helped to make good use of it and will come to no harm.

The other four sites will be laid out for the enjoyment of youth and for adults. There will be courts for volley-

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ball, basket-ball, tennis and other games for people of all ages who desire to play.

A part of the ground will be arranged as a park for those who prefer to rest, to talk, or to read, or perhaps to watch the games.

Better Citizens

Games instructors will attend at each of the sites for adult recreation. 35 ninth grade students from the Teacher Training Section of the Haile Sellassie I Day School have been trained as playground supervisors. These students were addressed at the commencement of their course by Dejazmatch Zewde Gabre Sellassie and by Ato Abebe Retta, Minister of Health and Social Welfare who impressed upon them the importance of the duties for which they were to be prepared. The Kantiba emphasised that physical exercise and enjoyable relaxation are not only needed by children; everyone needs relaxation and recreation. Children will grow up to be better and happier citizens if they are provided with playgrounds and learn to take an active part in healthy games. The Minister of Health also emphasised the importance of recreation for body and mind and the need for co-operation between teacher and pupil and the satisfaction which can be derived from voluntary and unselfish service.

Popular Recreation

There is in fact a great opportunity for voluntary service in organising popular recreation. Parks for the people with organised games for those who desire them will meet a long-felt need in Addis Ababa. Many of the residents are eagerly looking forward to this excellent innovation.

The project has aroused the enthusiasm of willing helpers who are determined to do their part in all possible ways to secure, for this fine initiative, the success it will deserve. Parks and games will add to the happiness of the citizens. They will provide for the children and youth pleasant sparetime occupation, particularly on Saturday afternoon and Sunday and will make the week-end a really happy time for them to anticipate. These activities will conduce to the order of the city. When one children's playground has been made successfully, others will certainly be called for. The Social Service Society will remain active in developing the programme and will help any other agency which desires to establish playgrounds; we believe there will be many, once the initiative has been taken and the good work is manifested.

Co-operation Necessary

The citizens of Addis Ababa must be co-operative. All agree that parks and playgrounds are needed in this city as in every other, but active help and co-operation by the citizens is needed. They must help the Social Service Society to equip and maintain the parks and playgrounds; everyone should be ready to contribute financially what he or she can afford.

Financial help from friends abroad would be much appreciated.

All Help Needed

All who are willing to assist the Social Service Society should write to the Secretary, Ato Yohannes Wolde Gerima, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Municipality of Addis Ababa, Post Box 356, Telephone No. 1882.

Copies of the Constitution of the Social Service Society may be obtained from the Secretary, Ato Yohannes Wolde Gerima.

The minimum membership subscription is Eth. $5 per annum. Juniors under eighteen years may join for a minimum payment of a dollar a year. Life Membership is a minimum of 300 dollars; corporate memberships by Societies and business firms is a minimum of 100 dollars. Donations are welcomed with or without membership. The work indeed calls for substantial funds.

Women's International Club

The Women's International Club was formed in 1949 with the two-fold purpose of bringing women of various nationalities together in social meetings and to undertake some welfare work. There are now upwards of 90 members of 18 nationalities. Mrs. Shaefer is this year's President and Mrs. Yilma Deressa is the Adviser.

Monthly members' meetings are held with music and lectures. Trips are organised to Ethiopian churches and monuments of historic interest in order that the members may gain some knowledge of Ethiopian culture and history.

On the welfare side, the club, during the ten years of its existence, has educated 20 girls. It is at present maintaining four girls at school and four orphan babies whose mothers died at their birth and who remained unclaimed at the hospitals where they were born.

The sewing group is at work in making goods for sale, to raise funds to maintain the eight children, to make clothes for them and to make gifts of clothing for needy patients in hospital and in the Leprosarium. X-ray equipment was obtained for the Leprosarium.

Fund-raising projects are also organised; for example, a games evening was held at the Racing Club on Janhoy Meda; rummage sales are organised.

The club is open to any woman who cares to join it for a subscription of Eth.$10 per annum. Gifts of all sorts from jewellery to clothing are welcomed by the club, whose members can turn them to account in raising funds for welfare work.

Among the active members of the club, to whom enquirers may apply for further information are: Mrs. Yilma Deressa, the Adviser; Mrs. Shaefer, this year's President; Mrs. Barnes; Mrs. Bishop; Mrs. Paradis, who organises the sewing group; and Mrs. Eric Thorsen, one of the early members of the club.

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The United States Information Service. What is it?

What does it do for Ethiopia? Why is it here?
(Contributed by U.S.I.S.)

Let's take these questions one by one. First, what is the United States Information Service? It would be simple to say that it is the information service of the United States, but that does not really answer our question. In fact, it adds little to what we already know.

Perhaps the best way to define U.S.I.S. would be to describe its world-wide mission. President Eisenhower did that very capably when he said: "The purpose of the United States Information Service shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations . . . that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace."

How does U.S.I.S. go about fulfilling this mission? For one thing there is the Voice of America. This global radio network broadcasts in 37 languages, ranging from Albanian to Urdu. It presents news, music, and special feature programmes in these languages and beams them to all parts of the world.

With studios in Washington, and transmitters in Tangiers, Ceylon, Salonika, Manila, and Okinawa, the Voice of America plays an integral role in the overall mission of U.S.I.S. This effort is being boosted with the installation of new transmitter facilities in the eastern United States.

U.S.I.S. maintains offices in 81 countries around the world. Many of these, such as the one in Tokyo, act as headquarters for branch U.S.I.S. posts. There are 13 U.S.I.S. posts in Japan, all of them reporting to Tokyo. In France, U.S.I.S. maintains a principal post in Paris with branch posts in Algiers, Bordeaux, Lille, Lyons, Marseille, Strasbourg, Tours, and Toulouse. Here in Ethiopia, the main office is in Addis Ababa with a branch office in Eritrea.

These widely-scattered offices rely on Washington to assist them in their programmes. For that reason, Washington maintains support activities, such as the broadcast service, the motion picture service, the information centre service, and the press service.

The broadcast service of U.S.I.S. assists the overseas posts in preparing radio programmes for local use. These programmes may be in the language of the country, or they may be in English. Here in Ethiopia, many of the programmes are in Amharic. But rather than duplicate expensive recording facilities around the world, U.S.I.S. maintains a centralised studio building in Washington, records the programmes there, and sends them out to the overseas U.S.I.S. posts.

In many cases, the U.S.I.S. offices prepare weekly news commentaries which are sent to Washington. These commentaries are edited to fit into the regularly scheduled Voice of America news broadcasts, and they are then beamed around the world. Thus, a commentary on Ethiopian Air Lines was heard in countries throughout Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia.

The U.S.I.S. motion picture service in Washington operates on the same general system. They prepare motion pictures for use overseas, in many cases adding the sound track in the language of the country in which the picture is to be shown. Each U.S.I.S. post maintains a library of these films.

As is the case with the radio commentaries, many of the U.S.I.S. posts take their own motion pictures and forward the film to Washington. This film is then processed and used in special newsreels which are shown around the world. One of these newreels is "Africa Today," which is shown in Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and the Sudan. Motion picture coverage of such events as the recent graduation at the public health college in Gondar will be shown in many African countries. "Africa Today" is the only newsreel of its type in Africa, and, as such, it affords an interesting example of the type of service provided by U.S.I.S.

The information centre service of U.S.I.S. in Washington is the department directly concerned with the maintenance of U.S.I.S. libraries abroad. This department orders the books for the libraries, arranges for lecture materials, and also assists the U.S.I.S. posts in planning their exhibits.

The last Washington support activity of U.S.I.S. is the press service. This organisation is similar to any world-wide news service; it maintains a central news desk in Washington with wire service facilities from the world's leading news organisations: Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, Agence France Presse, etc.

The press service also maintains a staff of Washington reporters who cover such activities as presidential news conferences, the visits of foreign dignitaries, United Nations sessions, and so forth. The stories written by these reporters are turned overto the central news desk where they are edited and sent out by radio teletype to U.S.I.S posts overseas.

Every night some 5,000 words are sent by radio-teletype from Washington to Addis Ababa and other U.S.I.S. posts around the world. As these are received, they are turned over to local newspapers and radio stations, and incorporated in a daily news bulletin. At the same time, the U.S.I.S. posts often act as correspondents for the U.S.I.S. press service in Washington.

During the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa's inaugural meeting in Addis Ababa, U.S.I.S. was the only world-wide news service cabling daily coverage

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of the sessions. These reports were received in Washington and sent out by radioteletype to U.S.I.S. posts around the world. They were also given to American press service representatives in Washington for use in the United States.

These examples of U.S.I.S. world-wide activity illustrate the point that U.S.I.S is designed to perform what is basically a service to the countries in which it is represented. This service is intended to complement and assist those news activities already existing in the host country.

Let us now look at U.S.I.S. Addis Ababa and see how it is equipped to provide the service that is implicit in its mission, and just what that service is.

The U.S.I.S. offices in Addis Ababa are located in Haile Selassie I Square in the same building that houses the Ethiopian Air Lines offices and ticket counters. The U.S.I.S. are on the second floor and consist of the library, the film and radio section, the information section, the distribution centre, and the director's office.

Let us first consider the library. From a statistical point of view it contains nearly 4,000 books on all subjects. It receives over 50 periodicals on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis. It maintains a reference service on Africa and the United States. But the statistics do not reflect the library service entirely. The U.S.I.S. Library is equipped to provide research facilities to serious readers on almost any subject, and it does so daily. More than that, it has assisted other Ethiopian libraries in extending their services. The U.S.I.S. library makes a continual effort to find out what books are needed in Ethiopia and to make these books available as gifts to Ethiopia from the United States. Nearly a thousand books were recently given to the University College Library. More have been ordered. A special set of books on journalism has been ordered for the Ministry of Information. These are just random examples.

The film and radio section is next on our tour of the U.S.I.S. offices. In its film library, U.S.I.S. maintains nearly 1,000 motion pictures and 20, 16-millimetre motion picture projectors. The films, like the books in the library, cover every conceivable subject, and they are available on a loan basis with the projectors. Some of the projectors are out on more or less permanent loans to schools and colleges in the provinces of Ethiopia. Others are kept available for schools and organisations in and around Addis Ababa.

Part of the film library service is the mobile unit programme. U.S.I.S. Addis Ababa has a special Willys panel truck which generates its own electricity and carries an extra fuel supply and foam-rubber lined lockers for projectors and film. This truck has been all over Ethiopia; recently it completed a trip which included showings in Debra Marcos, Gondar, Axum, Makale and Dessie. Because it can generate its own electricity, the mobile unit can show films in open fields where thousands of people can congregate. And because it carries an extra reserve of 120 litres of fuel, the mobile unit, with its four-wheel drive, can reach areas normally inaccessible by automobile.

The U.S.I.S. radio section is located near the film library, and they both share the same maintenance section. In the radio section is a small studio with facilities for recording, and for making multiple recordings from discs or tapes. As the U.S.I.S. broadcast service send programmes to Radio Addis Ababa they are re-recorded so that there will be several copies of the programmes. These copies are sent to schools and other organisations which might not be able to hear the broadcast by Radio Addis Ababa.

The radio section also maintains a small library of Ethiopian and American songs. These are often loaned to Radio Addis Ababa and to the other interested parties through the library.

From time to time the radio section advises Radio Addis Ababa on particular problems. Recently, aware of the shortage of skilled Ethiopian broadcasting personnel, U.S.I.S. sent four Radio Addis Ababa announcers to the United States for intensive training. More are scheduled to go in the near future.

Down the exhibit hall from the radio and film section is the distribution section. This is where the duplicating machines for the daily NEWS BULLETIN are located, and it is here that the various U.S.I.S. publications are addressed and sent out to their readers. Every day some 3,500 copies of the NEWS BULLETIN are received throughout Ethiopia.

The distribution section also sends out the PICTORIAL REVIEW, POINT FOUR NEWS, NEWS REVIEW, and other U.S.I.S.-published magazines and posters. These are distributed throughout the Ethiopian Empire along with complimentary copies of such American magazines as *Time, Newsweek, Reader's Digest,* and *U.S. News and World Report.*

But let us look again at the U.S.I.S. NEWS BULLETIN. It is a product of the information section of U.S.I.S. Addis Ababa. This office handles the news function of U.S.I.S. Daily releases are made to the newspapers from the information section, articles are translated into Amharic, motion picture coverage is planned, and the editorial supervision of the NEWS BULLETIN, POINT FOUR NEWS and PICTORIAL REVIEW is done here. The information section is the focal point of U.S.I.S. news activity.

In the Director's office, Mr. Stephen W. Baldanza and his administrative staff supervise the overall operation of U.S.I.S. Addis Ababa. But more than that, they also carry out such functions as student exchanges, cultural presentations, specialist grants, and the many other day-to-day activities that do not come under the heading of news, library, or distribution. It was this office that recently brought the San Francisco Ballet to Addis Ababa, and, after that, Basketball Star, Bill Russell.

When interviewed by *Ethiopian Observer*, Mr. Baldanza stated: "I think I can best sum up the meaning of U.S.I.S. in Ethiopia by stressing the fact that the United States Information Service is precisely what the name implies—a service. We are here to help in whatever way we can. When we send radio announcers to the United States for advance training, we do so because we think it will help Ethiopia. When we bring people like Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics here, it is for the same reason. Our everyday activities—the NEWS BULLETIN, the library, the exhibits, the radio programmes—they are all built around the same objective: service. That is why we are here."

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Alliance Francaise in Ethiopia

The Alliance Francaise School in Addis Ababa

Founded in 1910 the school of the Alliance Francaise is by a few months the oldest modern school in Ethiopia.* From its foundation until the time of the Italian occupation the school was managed by the French Roman Catholic Order of "Frères de St. Gabriel." It functioned under a local committee elected annually. The president of the committee was always the representative of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company and other French residents of Ethiopia with some Ethiopians, Greeks, Armenians and Lebanese.

The school was attended by pupils of all nationalities, Ethiopian, Greek, Armenian and Lebanese. In the main it was of primary standard but it seems that at one time the studies were extended to the Bachelier es Lettres, the examination for which was held at the French Legation and was under its supervision. The archives have partially disappeared and it is therefore impossible to give precise information, but it appears that about 300 pupils attended the school. Certainly many Ethiopians, Greeks, Armenians and others, who speak impeccable French, are all, or nearly all, former pupils of the Alliance Francaise. Among high functionaries and officials, directors of public services, diplomatists, etc., the school counts many of its old pupils.

At the time of the Italian occupation the school was taken over by an Italian order; it became an ecclesiastical seminary for a period but was subsequently closed. When re-opened by the Free French from Jibuti after Ethiopia had been liberated, the school was in a sad condition. A committee of management was constituted and the institution passed into secular (Laique) hands.

In 1953 His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Haile Sellassie graciously consented to become Honorary President of the committee of the Alliance Francaise of Ethiopia.

Organisation: Material and Pedagogical

The school today includes ten classes. The scholastic equipment is old but comfortable and sufficient, with a library, sports field, recreation courses, gardens, etc. It includes the following classes:

1 infants
2 basic studies, primary course
2 elementary, first year
2 elementary, second year
1 middle
1 superior.

Staff

The director
3 schoolmasters from the French Ministry of Education
2 Ethiopian women pupil teachers
4 Ethiopian male pupil teachers

* The Emperor Menelik II founded the Lyceum which keeps his name in the same year. Previously all schools were maintained by the Ethiopian Christian Orthodox on traditional lines.

Curriculum:

The curriculum is that of a French primary school adapted to the needs of the country. The teaching is complete with a view to give children who have not the means to continue their studies an adequate education analogous to that of a little French boy or girl in similar circumstances.

Each year the school presents the best of its pupils for the entrance examination to the sixth class of the Franco-Ethiopian Lyceum and the municipal technical school.

Enrolment:

On December 1, 1958, 457 Ethiopian pupils were enrolled, two-thirds of them boys, one-third girls. The average attendance was 400. The school premises did not allow the number of pupils to be increased.

The age of the pupils ranges from four to 17 years; beginners are not received over 12 years of age, except in very rare cases.

The fee for each child is two Ethiopian dollars a month. Children of poor parents pay half fees, or are admitted wholly without charge.

School hours are from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. from Monday to Saturday. Two afternoons a week are devoted to physical education and dressmaking.

School Life and Results

The school of the Alliance Francaise of Addis Ababa, like that of Dire Dawa, is fully adapted to the needs of Ethiopia, a country where industry is in its infancy and administration is in process of construction.

Attended by children in modest circumstances, these schools aim at training subordinate officials, of whom all the administrations of the country are in immediate need, and to provide apprentices when apprenticeship is created.

The present openings available to pupils of the Alliance Francaise in Ethiopia are:

The Franco-Ethiopian Lyceum
The Ethiopian Government administration
The Franco-Ethiopian railway
The Pasteur Institute
Commercial companies.

The school has a family atmosphere well suited to this country where people are slow in giving their confidence and friendship but are ready to give you both unreservedly when they have weighed you and judged you. The pupils are very much attached to their school. Old students come frequently to make courtesy visits and to change their library books. Our relations with the Ethiopian Government are excellent. The school participates in the social life of the Ethiopian community. Their selection being exacting, our students hold the foremost place at the Ethiopian technical school and in the secondary classes of the Franco-Ethiopian Lyceum. Most of the Ethiopian bacheliers* are former pupils of the Alliance Francaise as the students actually in France are able to continue their studies.

(Continued on page 63)

* Bachelier = first French University degree.

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ST. ANTHONY'S LEPROSARIUM, HARAR
The veteran Father Andre Jarosseau (centre)—a pre-Italian war photograph

Missionaries and the Law

The legal status of foreign missionaries in Ethiopia is defined by Ethiopian Government decree No. 3 of 1944 which was published in the official journal Negarit Gazeta of August 27, 1944, as follows:

CONQUERING LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH

HAILE SELLASSIE I

Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia

Whereas it is necessary to define clearly the policy to be pursued towards Missions so as to effect the closest possible collaboration between this Government and Missions; and

Whereas it is the desire of this Government that Missions should not direct their activities towards converting Ethiopian nationals from their own form of Christianity which has existed from the beginning of the Christian era, but rather that they should concentrate on non-Christian elements of the population; and

Whereas it is desirable that the beneficient effects of Missionary enterprises should be as widespread as possible, while at the same time avoiding the overlapping in the same area by Missions of different denominations;

Therefore we publish and proclaim the attached regulations concerning Missionary activities in Our Empire.

Done at Addis Ababa this 27th day of August, 1944.
Tsahafe Tezaz Welde Guiorguis,
Minister of the Pen.

1. The present regulations shall apply to all foreign missions, whether or not already established in Ethiopia at the date of these regulations.

2. A Committee on Missions is hereby established under the presidency of the Minister of Education and consisting of the Ministers of Education, Interior and Foreign Affairs or their duly designated representatives. The Minister of Education shall be guided in the execution of the present regulations by the afore-mentioned committee.

3. Every application on behalf of a Missionary Society for permission to enter Ethiopia for the purpose of establishing Missions should be sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who shall refer such application for decision to the Ministry of Education.

4. (a) The Minister of Education shall consider every such application which he may in his entire discretion

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allow or refuse. When the Minister of Education allows an application he shall specify the area or the areas to which the applicant Missionary Society shall confine its activities.

(b) In granting or refusing such applications, the Minister of Education will consider whether or not any such applicant is a recognised or an established Missionary Society.

(c) For the purposes of the present regulations a recognised Missionary Society is one enjoying an acquired experience and reputation in various parts of the world as well as adequate financial means and staff.

(d) An established Missionary Society is one established in Ethiopia before 1935 or subsequent to June 1, 1941. However, a Missionary Society which, although admitted to work in Ethiopia before 1935, acquired property during the period September 1, 1935, to June 1, 1941, shall not be considered established.

5. Within 30 days of the date of the present decree, every Missionary Society which already has Missions established in Ethiopia shall transmit to the Minister of Education full particulars of such Missions including the number of Missionaries employed, together with their names, ages and nationalities, the area or areas in which their Missions operate and the nature of their activities.

6. The Committee on Missions shall establish regulations defining the areas in which Missions may operate or from which they are debarred. Such areas will be known as "open areas" and "Ethiopian Church Areas."

7. In establishing regulations under the preceding article, the committee will be guided by the following considerations:

(a). Ethiopian Church Areas consist of those areas in which the inhabitants adhere predominantly to the Ethiopian Church Faith.

(b). Open areas consist of those areas of Ethiopia in which the inhabitants are predominantly non-Christian.

(c). Where the nature of the population makes it desirable to do so, the committee may establish Ethiopian Church Areas within Open Areas and Open Areas within Ethiopian Church Areas.

8. Missions may not be established in an Ethiopian Church Area for the purpose of proselytising, although they may be permitted to establish hospitals or non-denominational schools therein.

9. Religious instruction in a Mission school or hospital in an Ethiopian Church Area shall be confined to the principles of Christianity common to all Christian churches. Such school or hospital may be required by the Minister of Education to admit teachers qualified to teach Christianity according to the principles of the Ethiopian Church for such hours and at such times as the Minister may think fit, if in his opinion such teachers are necessary.

10. Missionaries whose Missions have adherents in an Ethiopian Church Area have the right of entering such area for the purpose of teaching and preaching the Christian Faith of their own denomination to such adherents, but may not engage in proselytising.

11. In Open Areas, Missions may teach and preach the Christian Faith of their own denomination without restriction.

12. Addis Ababa is declared to be an Open Area in which Missionary Societies may open denominational schools.

13. The general language of instruction throughout Ethiopia shall be the Amharic language, which language all missionaries will be expected to learn.

14. In Open Areas missionaries may use oraly local languages in the early stage of missionary work, until such time as pupils and missionaries in Open Areas shall have a working knowledge of the Amharic language. The local languages may be used in the course of ordinary contacts with the local population.

15. The Minister of Education shall have authority in regard to each school in either Open or Ethiopian Church Areas concerning:

(a). The use and teaching of foreign languages;

(b). The age of admission and the leaving age of pupils;

(c). Syllabuses and organisation;

(d). The treatment and disposition of properties of Missions acquired during the period Maskaram 1, 1928 (September 11, 1935) to Maskaram 1, 1933 (September 11, 1941).

16. In the event that a missionary contravenes the provisions of the present regulations he may, in the discretion of the Minister of Education, be subject to deportation under the provisions of the Immigration Proclamation 1943, and the Missionary Society of which he is a member excluded from further work in Ethiopia.

Tsahafe Tezaz Welde Guiorguis,
Minister of the Pen.

(Continued from page 61)

Pupils of the Alliance Francaise are eligible for a diploma at the close of the school course which is awarded by the local committee.

Financial Resources

The director and the three French schoolmasters belong to the French University Mission in Ethiopia under the French Ambassador and are employed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, this Ministry allows an annual subsidy to the school. Some French commercial concerns make annual donations to it.

Up to 1958 the Alliance Francaise maintained in Ethiopia two primary schools.

1 One in Addis Ababa situated in Wavell Street educating about 450 Ethiopian children.

2 One in Dire Dawa educating about 300 children.

In 1958, under the dynamic influence of the French Consul in Asmara, M. Tronc, a French committee was established there. This committee has hitherto confined itself to founding a library and to holding a number of cultural reunions and conferences. For the future it envisages establishing courses in French and a complete French cultural institute

A series of articles on the work of Foreign Missionaries will appear next month

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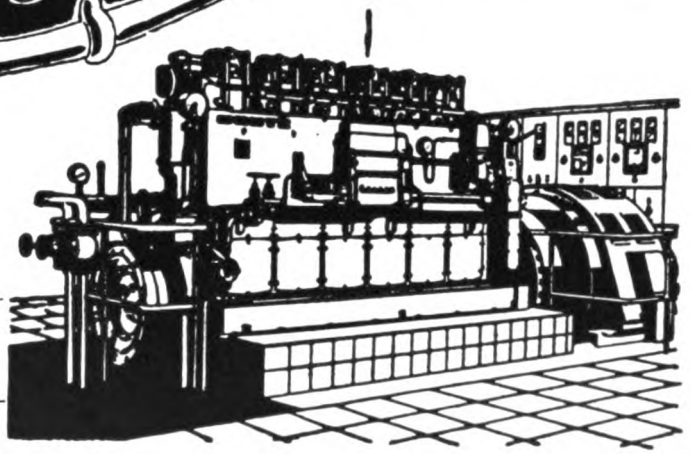

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This Month's Cover Illustration

Woman's statue from Haoulti, northern Ethiopia, believed to date from the second or third century, A.D., after repair. *Photo, Haile Mezemghe.*

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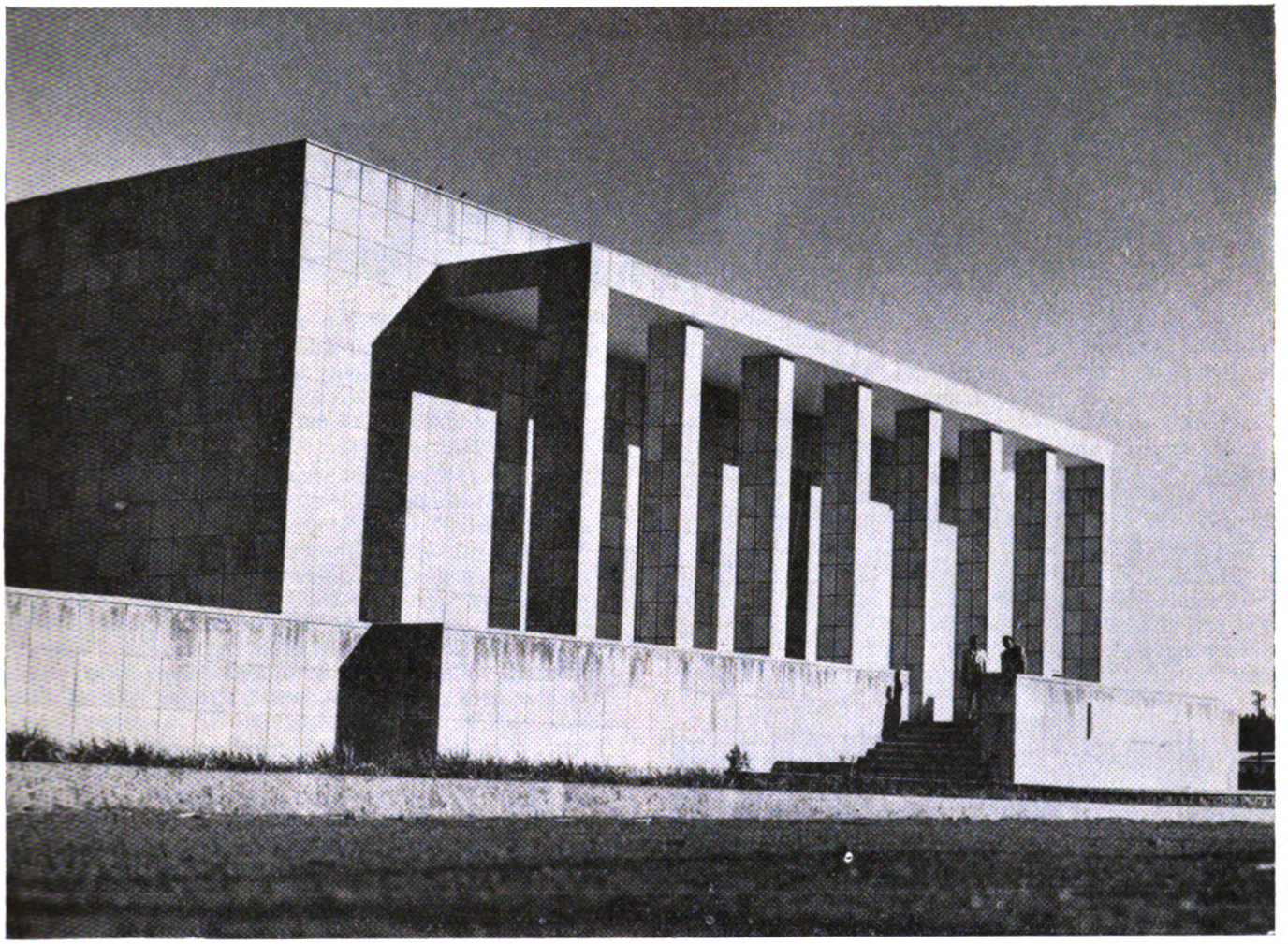

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

The Museum of Archaeology and History, Addis Ababa

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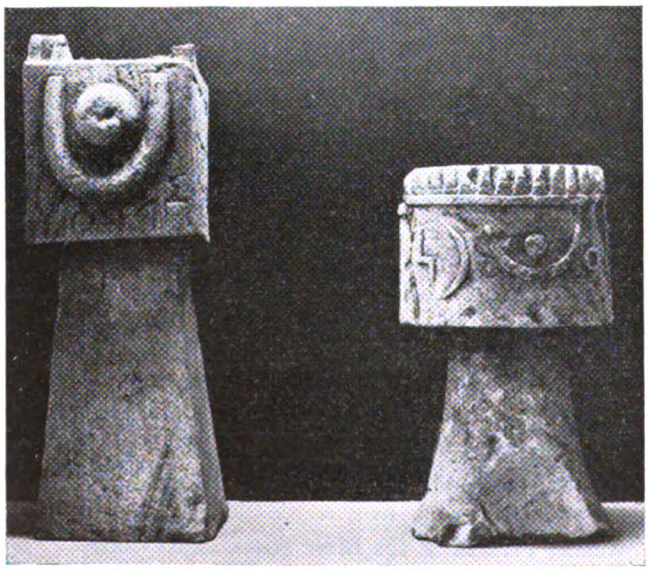
Inscription in South Arabian characters found at Yeha, ascribed by Professor. D. H. Müller to the 6th or 7th century B.C.

Archaeological Discoveries in Ethiopia

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

Ethiopia is fortunate in having, by the wisdom of his Imperial Majesty, a group of French scientists and young Ethiopians continuously at work in researches into the relics of her ancient past. The cities which flourished in Aksumite and and pre-Aksumite times before the Christian era have left a rich harvest for the archæologist and only a relatively small portion of this vast field has yet been explored. The remains of majestic temples and palaces, are still buried under the debris of many centuries, awaiting discovery.

Earlier still are the cave paintings of prehistoric hunters and herdsmen. Early Christian churches follow the period of the great pre-Christian temples. Though the ancient temples and palaces, also many of the medæval edifices with their wealth of manuscripts, mural decoration and gold and silverwork, perished in the ravages of war, a rich field of study still remains among the treasures of the ancient and middle ages; and the Ethiopian Ge'ez scholar reinforces the foreign expert in the study and care of ancient buildings, manuscripts and paintings.



Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Two pyres bearing symbols of the sun and the moon, one of them inscribed with South Arabian characters, found at Melazo

Wonderful work was accomplished by the German-Aksum expedition, under the late Enno Littmann in the reign of Menelik II. The report of that five years' study (1905-10) with its multitude of photographs and able drawings, remains a precious document. Unfortunately, a regrettably high proportion of the material excavated and found above-ground by the German expedition, and illustrated in the valuable report, has since disappeared. The vandals of modern times have passed over the precious sites of Adulis, Yeha and Aksum. The losses which thus resulted are to a large extent irreparable. Some of the ancient treasures have found their way into Italian and other museums; some have been lost by careless souvenir hunters; one great monument is still in Rome. Demands for its return in accordance with the Peace Treaty have not been complied with thus far.

It may be confidently hoped that the maintenance of a permanent team of archæologists, working continuously in the country, will ensure that all the ancient treasures which henceforth come to light will be carefully preserved.

The archæological section of permanent Ethiopian research has been established in Addis Ababa, as the centre from which research is conducted in all parts of Ethiopia.

The Archæological and Historical Section is a branch of the National Library. Its central office is adjacent to the Library. The new archæological and historical museum, which has been recently erected to house the growing collections, is situated nearby.

The National Library contains Public and Research sections. The former includes a Lending Library, Reading Room and Newspaper Room. The Research Library contains Ethiopian manuscripts, mainly on

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Stone fragment, probably an altar, bearing a mutilated inscription in South Arabian characters, found at Melazo. The architectonic ornament depicting a row of windows is typical of ancient South Arabian and ancient Ethiopian decoration and was further developed at Aksum

Ge'eze, and a large and rapidly growing collection of Ethiopian printed literature, mainly in Amharic. The National library and the library of the University College probably comprise together the largest collection of Amharic literature in the world. They are visited by Ethiopic scholars from abroad on that account. The National Library also includes, as far as possible, all books about Ethiopia published at all times, and, of course, all books published in Ethiopia. In the Research and Public Sections of the Library there is also a wide selection of general literature, constantly increased by wise purchases. The young Ethiopian who frequents the reading room, or is a member of the library able to borrow books to take home, can gain thereby a broadly comprehensive knowledge of the main branches of literature and history and the various branches of science, and can learn also something of the fine and applied arts.

The Archæological and Historical Museum building has been specially designed for its purpose. Constructed of pleasant, pale cream-coloured limestone, slightly golden in hue, it glows in the resplendant sunshine. A severely designed modern building, its only ornament is the row of rectangular piers in front. The archæological section is in the basement. Here are to be found facsimiles of the rock paintings in Harar province; the striatious in the brownish basalt of the cave, here reproduced, seem to suggest the folds and furrows on the Ethiopian plains. The colour of the stone walls of the cave resembles the burnt, scanty grass of bare, uncultivated lands in the dry season. The primitive herdsmen, with their bows and arrows, their families, their sheep and cattle and an occasional great carnivore, against which they have to guard their children, and animals, are depicted here, as in the actual cave, in bold and spirited lines, with red, black and white pigments. The timeless efforts of primitive artists here reproduced by modern archæologists, recall others of their kind in Libya and in Europe.

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Little bronze bull found by a peasant when digging in a village near Aksum

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Altar dedicated to the lunar God, Almaqah, found at Melazo in northern Ethiopia

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Passing from this primitive art, we come to architectural fragments and inscriptions unearthed at numerous sites; terra-cotta figurines, masks, domestic utensils and vessels, bulls and other animals, modelled in clay, carved in stone and alabaster, and cast in bronze. There are specimens of jewellery in gold and silver cloisonné.

Specimens of terra-cotta pottery, many of substantial size, bronze or other metal ornaments, beads of semi-precious stone, have been excavated at the ancient city of Sabraea, probably so named by immigrants from the famous Sabraean realm. From Melazo, there are also many notable finds: altars, pyres and architectural fragments, several of them inscribed.

By far the most important and interesting of recent finds are the sculptures. Formerly it was an oft-repeated cliché that ancient Ethiopia had produced no sculpture—certainly no statuary. The delightfully carved wooden ceiling at Debra Damo and a multitude of other ornamental carvings in wood and stone were dismissed as minor works. A bas-relief of horsemen slaying a dragon

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Altar inscribed in South Arabian characters with architectural ornament similar to that carved on the monolithic stelae of Aksum

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Statue found by peasants at Azbi Dera in the Tigré. The inscription reads: LWKB YMNT WLDM: That he grants a child to YMT

had been long known to exist on the porch of the monolithic rock church of St. Mary, at Roha, usually called Lalibela. Though the style lent no colour to the hypothesis and though the Portuguese did not arrive in Ethiopia for several hundred years after the Monolithic churches were hewn, it was suggested that one of them might have carved this bas-relief on the existing church.

The figures of Saints, larger than life-size, carved in high relief, which stand in niches in the Golgotha Chapel at Roha, were usually ignored, despite photographs of them being published by several authors.

The inscription of Ezana erected at Aksum in the fourth century A.D., stating that he had set up five statues, one of gold, one of silver and three of copper, and the discovery of the base of one of these statues,

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Photo, Department of Archaeology

The hill at Haoulti where the archaeologists excavated the statues and the throne

in which holes carved to the shape of colossal feet had been cut, to enable the feet of the statue to be fitted in, did not convince the sceptics.

A small seated statue found at Azbi-Dera in northern Ethiopia, believed to be the effigy of a divinity, was supposed by the archæologist, on the basis of inscriptions and other objects found in the same cache, to date from the fifth century B.C. On the pedestal of the throne is inscribed: LWB YMNT WLDM, "'That he grants a child to YMNT."

In the same cache were found bronze bowls, such as were made at Meroe, beautifully chased. An altar bearing the following inscription was also discovered: HMLKN of the family of SR'N of the YG'D MKRB of DMT and SB, descendant of the tribe of W'RN of the region of RYDN, has dedicated this altar to 'MQHY, Lord of QD(.)R. When they were revived . . . and when (?) they had possessed themselves of the booty of D'MT both of the east and the west . . . and they had consecrated (?) themselves and their allies and their wives and their house."

The statue and the inscription are judged by the archæologists who have studied them to be of the fourth or fifth century B.C. The inscription has diverged from other South Arabian languages, and though it has not yet developed the vowel formations which are characteristic, it is nevertheless regarded as Ge'ez or Ethiopic. The inscription is "Boustrophon," or "plough-wise," the lines being written from right to left and from left to right alternately. This was an ancient forme, long since discarded Ethiopic languages being written left to right.

The archæologists, A. Caqhot and A. J. Drewes have written concerning this inscription: "The text is important for the ancient history of Ethiopia. It reveals the existence of an independent Ethiopian realm, anti-dating the known documents of Aksum. The language is of a South Arabian dialect, like the Sabaean and Minnaean, but it does not exist in Arabia. It can, therefore, be considered actually Ethiopian. The name of the prince who has dedicated the monument is partly destroyed. His genealogy, as given in the inscription, probably connects him with the Ge'ez people, of whom this is the most ancient mention. He was Mukareb (or King) of Daamet and Saba. The last named is probably not the Saba celebrated in Arabia; it should be located in

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Ethiopia. Ethiopian traditions relative to the Queen of Sheba receive here very important confirmation.

In the cache was also found a knife of jet, with an inscription dedicating it to JDR (Jeder), King of Aksum.

Another Altar, at Azbidera bears the names Tsarane and the Igazyan, who were among the early colonisers from Arabia and from whose name is drawn that of the language Ge'ez, which became the language of the Ethiopian people.

Though small in size, this statue afforded evidence that sculpture in the round was produced in ancient Ethiopia, but doubtful critics suggested that it might easily have been imported from Arabia. A number of fragments of sculpture dug up from time to time indicated that the discovery at Azbi Dera was not the only example of statuary which had existed in Ethiopia, but these were ignored.

Photo, Haile Mezemghe

The statue of a woman found at Haoult after repair

The recent discoveries now exhibited in the museum have finally disposed of all such doubts.

At Haoulti, some ten kilometres form Aksum, in the midst of a fertile plain, rises a hill of basalt where the team of archæologists, under M. Henri Contenson observed some twenty rude limestone stelæ. Here M. Contenson decided to excavate. Work commenced there in January, 1959, and was continued till the end of March. The site proved to be that of an ancient pre-Christian temple, believed to date from the second or third century A.D. Being in use before the establishment of Christianity as the State religion of Ethiopia at the end of the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., it must certainly ante-date that period. The archæologists found no indication of the identity of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. It was however clear to them that the devotees of the locality went thither to invoke assistance to ensure the fertility of their crops, their domestic animals and their families.

Numerous small, roughly modelled terra-cotta figurines, representing seated women, domestic animals, utensils and implements, a miniature temple, a bronze bulb, finely shaped and of greatly superior workmanship, were brought to light.

Then to their delighted astonishment and excitement, the archæologists came upon two large sculptured figures and a votive throne, carved in low relief—all three are highly accomplished works of ancient art.

The two statues are seated separately. They obviously represent important personages. Both are dressed in long gowns of some thin, clinging material, the folds of which conform to the shape of the figure. It would seem to represent the fine homespun and hand-woven cotton muslin, anciently, and still produced in Ethiopia. Both have a slightly longer under-robe of thicker material. The figures appear to represent a man and a woman; the former is much the larger of the two. The woman, as seated, is 80 centimetres high. The man's figure was found headless and otherwise much damaged; it is in poor condition. The woman's statue was broken into several pieces, but except for the nose and the chair on which she had been seated, nothing is missing. The pieces have been assembled and the statue repaired.

Though the face of the woman has been injured, it has retained a remarkable charm. Seen at a distance, as it should be viewed, it appears the image of a young, smiling woman, joyous and serene. The hands are finely carved and are resting open and palm downward on either knee, an attitude frequently found in ancient statuary to denote hierarchic dignity. One sees it frequently in ancient Egyptian figures—but there is nothing of Egypt in the Haoulti figures. The bare feet of the woman's statue are also finely sculptured. In the temples of old, as in the Ethiopian Church today, shoes were removed. The feet and hands of the man are broken.

The face is obviously Ethiopian; there is a rounded quality in the cheeks which is characteristic of the young women of the country, as seen today, and as depicted in the manuscripts. The large almond eyes are also characteristic. The sculptor has known how to carve

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them boldly in accordance with sculptural necessities, to ensure that they might be well seen at a distance, as the figure should be viewed. The hair is short as Ethiopian women frequently wear it today—there is nothing of the Greek in this treatment. The sculptor, in endeavouring to represent the hair in hard stone, has either intended to suggest the frizziness of Ethiopian hair, or, even more probably, the tiny plaits covering the entire scalp from the forehead to the nape of the neck, in which style both the men and women of northern Ethiopia wore their hair in former times. It can be seen, for example, in portraits of the Emperor John IV. Some of the older women of Tigré and Eritrea still wear this hair style today.

The figures of the man and of the woman are both wearing a similar ornament around the neck with a pendant on the breast.

The throne is also of limestone, but when found was darker in colour than the statues, which were originally white. It consists of a seat with high back and sides which is covered by a roof. The seat is mounted on a stone base, with four legs, each of which terminates in the feet and ankles of an animal, probably a bull.

The interior of the throne is not ornamented. The top, or roof, of the throne is slightly arched in front and it slopes a trifle downward from the front to the back. The roof is edged by a narrow cornice carved in low relief to represent a row of reclining ibexes (the wild mountain goat) with large curving horns. These animals all face toward the front of the throne, where they meet, facing each other, and to separate them a tiny conventional tree is carved. The edges of the two sides of the throne facing the spectators are divided (as seen in the photographs) into tiers of squares, in each of which reclines an ibex.

While the interior of the throne is vacant and unornamented, the sides are carved. On each side appear two figures—a man and a child. These figures are similar on either side but not identical. On the right side of the throne appears an inscription—a word of five characters in ancient script—Sabaean or ancient Ethiopic . It is without vowel indications— a sure sign of its great antiquity.

The figures on either side of the throne are wielding implements still used in European agriculture.

The treatment of the hair and the faces does not differ in these bas-reliefs from that of the statues. They appear to belong to the same period and might have been executed by the same sculptor, though the hands of the woman's statue are of superior artistry.

There has been discussion about the implement the men are wielding. It resembles very closely the wooden implement used for throwing up the grain in order that the chaff may be carried away with the wind, the corn being winnowed thus in the oldest way in the world.

The man on the left of the throne has only this one large implement. The man on the right has also a second tool, which is used to assist the process of cleaning the grain. A stick such as the child is holding is greatly used in agricultural work in Ethiopia for breaking up clods of earth; making holes in the ground—all sorts of purposes.

This was the shrine of an agricultural people and the things which were a part of their daily life are portrayed on this throne.

Photo, Department of Archaeology

Statue of a woman found at Haoulti, broken, as first discovered

It is curious to find the farmer of those ancient times dressed not altogther differently from the Ethiopian farmer of today, though, as depicted on the throne, he is wearing a long cloak in place of the white muslin "couta" now used. He was not a mere labourer for he is wearing shoes—not common in those remote times, or even in later times.

Mounting from the basement, devoted to archæology, to the historical museum above, the most remarkable object which greets the eye is a large and lovely wall-painting from Roha. The museum is indebted for this beautiful exhibit to Mrs. Bidder, wife of a former German Ambassador to Addis Ababa. On visiting the rock churches of Roha, Mrs. Bidder found this painting torn; the monks had difficulty in dealing with so large a painting. Mrs. Bidder had it repaired and framed in Germany.

Thrones, crowns, costumes of various periods, embroidered silks and velvets, are included in this varied collection which is rapidly growing.

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Photo, Haile Mezemghe

Right side of the votive throne excavated at Haoulti after repair. The inscription in South Arabian characters is probably the name of the donor of the throne

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Photo, Department of Archaeology

Votive throne excavated from the ruins of a pagan temple at Haoulti, its broken pieces roughly assembled (left side)

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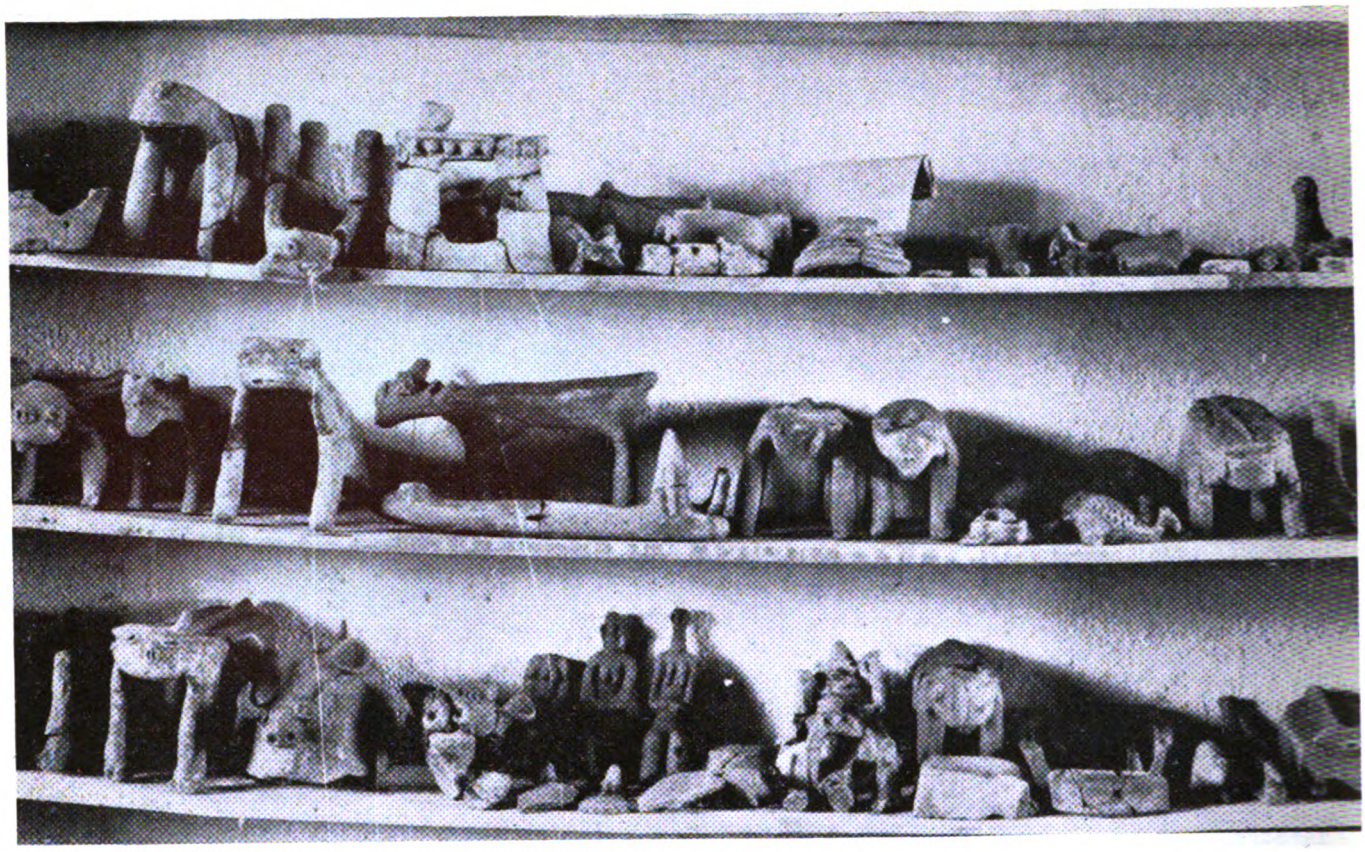

Photo, Department of Archaeology

Rude terra-cotta figurines representing domestic animals and utensils and some women. These objects were found in the ruins of the pagan temple at Haoulti. They were offerings made to the shrine of the deity to invoke the fertility of the family and the livestock

Au Musée Archéologique d'Addis Abeba

J. Le Roi

Les fouilles archéologiques favourisées par sa Majesty Imperiale qui viennent de se terminer dans la région d'Axoum sous la conduite de Monsieur Henri de Contenson assisté dans les derniers temps, par Monsieur Francis Anfray, ont permis de faire entrer au Musée des pièces qui attireront certainment sur l'Ethiopie l'attention du monde entier.

Parmi les trouvailles nombreuses, deux monuments méritent une mention particulière à cause de leur importance à la fois historique et artistique.

Sur le site de Haoulti, à environ 10 km. d'Axoum, au milieu d'une plaine fertile, s'élève une colline basaltique au sommet de laquelle apparaissaient une vingtaine de stéles en calcaire. C'est là que M. de Contenson a mené son travail de Janvier à mars 1959. Ses recherches lui ont permis de déterminer la nature des constructions qui s'élevérent en cet endroit avant le christianisation de l'Ethiopie. Il s'agit certainement d'un temple païen dont la divinité n'est pas connue. Les fidéles venaient l'invoquer pour la fécondité de leurs champs, de leurs animaux ou des membres de leur famille. On y a en effet trouvé une multitude de figurines en terre cuite, assez grossièrement traitées, représentant surtout des animaux domestiques, des objets de culture, des statuettes assises de femmes enceintes.

Dépassant en beauté tous des objets d'art populaire, on a mis à jour également deux grandes statues en calcaire blanc: l'une sans tête, est en mauvais état; par bonheur l'autre, quoique brisée, est compléte.

C'est une pièce unique dans l'art ancien d'Ethiopie. Haute de 80 cm., présentée de face, cette statue nous donne le portrait d'une femme de haute naissance encore jeune, aux traits souriants, assise, et posant à plat ses mains sur ses genoux, en un geste hiératique fréquent dans la statuaire antique orientale. Tout en elle respire la sérénité; mais ce qui attire l'admiration, c'est l'art

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Photo, Haile Mezemghe

The votive throne found at Haoulti, as seen from the front after repair

avec lequel l'auteur s'est acquitté de sa tâche, la finesse des mains et des pieds, l'harmonie des plis du vêtement, qui descendent en traits paralléles tout le long du corps, la richesse du collier, orné, sur la poitrine et dans le dos, d'un bijou, la manière simple de figurer la chevelure coupée at frisée, selon une mode qui est encore en usage chez certaines femmes d'Ethiopie.

Le deuxième monument que nous choisissons à l'intention des lecteurs de ce journal n'est pas moins beau ni moins instructif.

Il s'agit d'un trône, probablement votif, en calcaire assez tendre mais d'une couleur tirant sur le rose, tandis que la statue de la femme est tout à fait blanche. Comme celle ci, il est actuellement en morceaux, mais il est trés facile de les rassembler. Alors apparait une oeuvre de trés haute qualité. Le trône, comme ceux qu'on voit encore à Axoum, se compose d'un dossier sans ornement et les montants, de chaque côté, reposent sur des pieds d'animal, probablement de boeuf. Un grand panneau sculpté en bas-relief remplit tout le champ dominé par une frise de bouquetins couchés. Il représente un homme de la hauteur du panneau agitant un chasse-mouche; devant lui un enfant tient un bâton. Les deux montants se ressemblent. Sur celui de droite, on lit un nom en écriture sabéenne. C'est sans doute le nom de celui qui a offert le trône. Le modelé des personnages est d'une extraordinaire perfection. Techniquement le bas-relief ne différe guére de la statue. Qu'on examine par exemple la façon de traiter la chevelure des personnages. C'est exactement la même dans les deux monuments.

L'art du royaumes Sud-arabiques offre des monuments qui se rapprochent de ceux d'Haoulti. Aucun n'est aussi parfait. La direction du Musée s'occupe actuellement de les faire réparer afin qu'ils obtiennent dans la grande salle la place qu'ils méritent. Il faut souhaiter que ce travail nécessaire soit vite accompli afin que le public éthiopien puisse se rendre compte des merveilleuses trouvailles qui couronnent le travail des archéologues.

This Ethiopian agriculturalist is handling a tool like that carved on the throne, with which he throws up the corn in order that the chaff may be carried away by the wind, whilst the grain, being relatively heavy, falls to the ground at his feet. This tool is still in current use in Ethiopia.

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THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Important Exchange of Letters

The Imperial Palace,
Addis Ababa.
November 12, 1959.

Dear Mr. Noel-Baker,

It was a great pleasure for us to learn that the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament has decided to bestow on you that Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1959.

When we remember the assistance you rendered to our cause during our exile, your struggle for peace and justice in the dark days of facist supremacy and your subsequent struggle for peace and disarmament in the post-war period, we believe that you rightfully deserved this distinction.

On this momentous occasion, we extend to you our sincere congratulations and pray that the cause for which you and humanity in general have for so long struggled for will in the end triumph.

With the expression of our good wishes,
HAILE SELLASSIE I,
Emperor.

The Right Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Westminster, S.W.1,
England.

From: The Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker, M.P.
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.
December 5, 1959.

Your Imperial Majesty,

I have just received Your Majesty's most gracious letter about the Nobel Prize, and I write at once to express my deep appreciation of what Your Majesty was good enough to say.

When I think of the gallant struggle of Ethiopia in 1935-6, the non-violent but magnificent resistance until 1940, Your Majesty's courageous return, and the wonderful way in which the Ethiopian people regained their freedom without inflicting any reprisals on the Italians who had behaved so badly, I think it one of the most inspiring pieces of modern history.

I find no less inspiring the way in which Your Majesty has reconstructed the country, and is building up its social system, its economic strength and its spiritual power.

I do everything I can to make known to my compatriots and others what a wonderful example Your Majesty and Your Majesty's people have given to the world.

With my gratitude again, and my humble duty and devotion,

Your Majesty's obedient servant,
PHILIP NOEL-BAKER.

H.I.M. Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia.

Ethiopian Record

(continued from page 96)

H.I.M. the Emperor inaugurated a new National Airlines Training Project.

December 25.—H.I.H. Prince Sahle Sellassie left Addis Ababa to attend the celebrations in Liberia to mark the inauguration of President Tubman's fourth term of office.

December 26.— H.E. Ato Goytom Petros was designated to attend the Cameroons Independence celebrations on January 1.

December 31.—H.I.M. The Emperor left Addis Ababa for a State visit to the Sudan, where he received a great welcome and was greeted by General Abud.

January 3.—His Majesty visited Wad Medani in the Sudan. Later in the day he delivered an important speech on Ethiopian-Sudanese friendship.

January 6.—A Joint Sudanese-Ethiopian Communique issued in Khartoum announced that a Trade and Commercial Agreement and an Agreement for the promotion of Cultural Co-operation between the two countries had been signed.

H.I.H. the Empress Menen and other members of the Imperial Family left for Asmara to meet the Emperor at the end of his State visit to the Sudan.

The Haile Sellassie Theatre, Addis Ababa, presented a Christmas play.

January 9—His Imperial Majesty arrived in Riyadh on a State visit to Saudi Arabia where he was welcomed by King Saud.

December 11.—An East, West and Central African Study Seminar opened in Addis Ababa under the joint organisation of the Co-operating Secretariat of the National Union of Students and the Ethiopian Students' Council. At the opening session an address from the Emperor was read and the Vice-Minister of Education, H.E. Endalkatchew Makonnen, delivered a speech of welcome.

December 12.—His Majesty left Dahran for Asmara at the end of his visit to Saudi Arabia.

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Missionary Work in Ethiopia

THE SWEDISH EVANGELICAL MISSION IN ETHIOPIA

By the Rev. PER STJARNE

The Swedish Evangelical Mission (Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen or The Evangelical Fatherland Association) was founded in 1856.

On the basis of the Lutheran Confession, the Society aimed at the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ by preaching the Gospel and spreading Christian literature. At first the activities of the Society were limited to the homeland, but before long it was challenged by the Lord's command: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations."

Thus the work was commenced in Ethiopia. The first Swedish missionaries arrived at Massawa in the spring of 1886. Being aware of the fact that an honourable Christian Church had existed in Ethiopia since the fourth century A.D., the mission's endeavour was not the establishing of a new church, but rather the teaching and preaching of the Holy Word of God to the people in their mother-tongue, in order to bring pagans and Moslems to Christ, to minister to the sick, and to disseminate Christian literature.

The foremost goal of the Mission was to reach the Galla tribes living to the south of the Blue Nile. The political situation in the country at that time, however, did not make it possible to proceed to the south from Massawa. The missionaries therefore started work among the pagan tribes in Kunama, near the border of the Sudan. There, not being acquainted with the climate, many of the missionaries died of malaria and other tropical diseases, and two of them became martyrs.

The missionaries worked hard to learn the language of the people and to put it down in writing. By helping the poor and sick, they soon gained the confidence of the people.

At Massawa, a school was established, and right from its start it had to take care of a group of Gallas who had been rescued from the hands of Arab slave-traders. Nesib was one of them. This intelligent boy made great progress, and was also taught the Christian faith. He was baptised on Easter Day, 1872, and given the name "Onesimus," which means the useful. Indeed, he became very useful to his own people. Having attended the Mission school for some years, he was sent to Sweden for further education, which prepared him for the great task of a Bible translator.

Soon, the Mission settled down at Moncullo, a suburb of Massawa, where a school and a hospital were opened. The tribes living in the lowlands on the coast of the Red Sea had once been Christians, but had become Moslem. The missionaries immediately concentrated their efforts on trying to lead them back to Christ. Today there is a congregation of about five hundred members, who practically all originate from the former Moslem tribes. Their vernacular was Tigré, a language which at that time did not exist in writing. The written Tigré language was created by the missionaries, as was the Tigrinya language of the highland Hamazen and the Tigrai provinces. The Mission set up a printing press, and the New Testament was translated by them into Tigrinya, Tigré and Kunama, and printed. Hymnals and a great number of various textbooks for use in the schools were likewise printed.

The missionary doctor, Carl Winquist, who came to the field in 1883, though overwhelmed by his duties as physician, felt the need of giving the people the Word of God in their mother tongue so urgently, that he gave himself the tremendous task of translating the New Testament into Tigrinya. The printing was just completed when he died in 1909. His widow, Mrs. Winquist, felt it to be the Lord's calling for her to continue the translation of the Old Testament. After having worked on this translation for nearly half-a-century, she had the great reward of seeing the whole Tigrinya Bible printed and beginning to circulate among the people before she died in 1957, at the age of 93.

Several expeditions were sent by the missionaries from Massawa in the effort to take the Gospel to the Gallas. The first was sent in 1877 and reached Jimma after two years. The local governor, Abba Djifar, though he and his people were Moslems, understood the benefit of education and wanted to obtain missionaries as teachers.

In 1881, Onesimus joined an expedition headed by a young and enthusiastic Swedish missionary, a university graduate. Proceeding from Massawa via Khartoum, they succeeded in reaching as far as the border of Ethiopia, at a place called Famaka. Abba Djifar had sent his messengers to receive them, but being cheated by a foreign official, they had already returned when the expedition arrived. Thus the exhausted members of the expedition were compelled to return the way they had come. The young missionary died at Khartoum, but before his death he wrote to the Home Board triumphantly: "However many may be the obstacles to the springtide, it will always reach its goal. I feel assured that the living stream of the Gospel will find its way to the Gallas."

Onesimus joined another expedition to the Gallas in 1885. Having obtained permission from the Emperor Menelik II to proceed through Shoa to Jimma, the missionaries entered by Tajura on the Gulf of Aden. Although encountering tremendous difficulties, hardships and even dangers, they succeeded in arriving at a place near Ankober. There they spent the rainy season ministering to the sick and distributing portions of the Holy Scriptures. But instead of proceeding to Jimma, they were compelled to return to Massawa.

Since it seemed impossible for the time being for

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Onesimus to return to his home country, he was entrusted with the translation of the whole Bible into his mother-tongue, Gallinya, a task which took him 13 years. A most interesting fact may be mentioned in this connection; some years earlier, a Galla girl was purchased at a slave market in Egypt and set free. Her benefactor took her to Vienna, where she was educated. Through reading the German New Testament, she felt the call to go to her own people as a missionary, and for that purpose she was sent to train at the Mission Institute at Chrichona in Switzerland. There she fell ill. When she understood that she would not herself be able to go to her people, it was her earnest prayer that God would raise up someone who would translate this wonderful book, the Bible, into her mother-tongue. True, she did not live to see her prayer fulfilled, but it is a remarkable fact that the Galla Bible was printed just at that very place.

In 1893 we find two young missionaries, a married couple, entering Ethiopia by Zeila and arriving at Harar. There they settled, nursing the sick and teaching. But the Italo-Ethiopian war which was brought to an end by the battle of Adua in 1896 made the Ethiopians suspicious, and though Ras Makonnen was a friend of the missionaries and helped them in every possible way, they were expelled after three years' work at Harar. Some decades later, however, they had the joy of sending their son to Harar, where he built a hospital. This former missionary doctor is today the Principal Advisor to the Ministry of Public Health.

In 1897 a missionary, by name Carl Cederqvist, came to Somaliland hoping to reach the Gallas from that direction. Penetrating to the home of the Borana Gallas, he was welcomed by the chiefs, who offered him all facilities if he would stay with them, heal their wounds and teach their children. Again it was through the intrigues of a foreign official that the Lord's messenger was hindered on his way with the good tidings.

At the close of the last century the stream of the Gospel finally reached the Galla tribes living to the south of the Blue Nile, not by foreign missionaries but by Ethiopian Evangelical Christian workers who had obeyed the Lord's call.

In 1904 Onesimus was able to return to his home country where he had been captured as a boy. There he worked faithfully for about a quarter of a century till his death. On his tombstone he wanted the following words from the Scriptures to be inscribed: "O earth, earth, earth, hear the Word of the Lord!" Jer. 22, 29.

Other Evangelical Christian workers came from Eritrea to join in the Gospel work among the Gallas. The son of one of them is today the President of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church, Mekane Jesus. A fulfilment of the prophecy: "One generation shall praise Thy works to another, and shall declare Thy mighty acts."

Though the mission has founded an Evangelical Christian Church in Ethiopia workers trained by the mission who find it possible to remain members of the Ethiopian Christian Orthodox Church are encouraged to do so.

In the year 1904 we find Cederqvist in Addis Ababa. Having arrived by way of Jibuti, it was necessary to go by mule from Dire-Dawa. Within a year after his arrival at the new capital, he made extensive journeys to Wollega and Arussie. As soon as he was able to rent a house in the capital, he began to treat the sick, and day by day he had an increasing number of patients who totalled several thousand a year. His medical activities were soon appreciated by the Emperor Menelik II. About this, Cederqvist writes: "I am very grateful that I have never met any obstacles on the part of the Emperor."

Cederqvist opened a school in Addis Ababa which was called the English school, because it was the first in which English was taught. At first many were reluctant to come to the school, but one day the following Imperial proclamation was read in Addis Ababa: "Learning is now despised in Ethiopia. But if there is no teaching, the churches will be shut. And if the churches are shut we shall no longer find any Christians. Now let your sons and daughters, who are more than seven years old, attend the new school I have established. I shall give the food and pay the teacher."

Because of this proclamation the number of students increased in Cederqvist's school as well as in that opened by the Emperor.

Many former students of Cederqvist's school and of other mission schools have risen to high positions in Ethiopia and have rendered their country great service.

When influenza raged in Addis Ababa after the first World War and killed, among others, five doctors and caused many to leave the city for a safer place, Cederqvist went about from home to home, nursing and helping everyone. Then both homes and hearts were opened to him. When Cederqvist fell at his post, he had been standing alone as missionary in the country for 15 years without ever returning to his homeland.

As these glimpses may indicate, there has been a good deal of suffering among those who were faithful to their heavenly vision. But their labour has not been in vain. The spring-tide of the Gospel has not only reached the Galla tribes living south of the Blue Nile, but like a living stream it has flooded over vast areas of this great land. For more than 20 years a mighty revival has been proceeding in the country, and it cannot be stopped, because it is from God.

This spiritual awakening has coincided with the dynamic development which has taken place during the reign of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I. It is amazing to observe the tremendous change which has come to pass in Ethiopia during these decades. I have had the privilege of watching the progress which has taken place during the past 38 years, since I first came to this country. Half a century ago, the Emperor Menelik II had to complain that learning was despised in Ethiopia. Today the benefit of knowledge is evident to all Ethiopian citizens; a deep and real thirst for knowledge is to be found among people of all ages throughout the land.

The great reform programme which His Imperial Majesty set up at the beginning of his reign has been carried out in a most amazing way; education for the whole people was point number one.

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The mission has always enjoyed the gracious benevolence of H.I.M. the Emperor; this has been a most inspiring challenge to us all. We feel it to be our privilege and duty to do our utmost to deserve the confidence shown to us.

The proclamation by H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Sellassie I at his Silver Jubilee that basic schools should be opened in every village may in a few years time show forth great results. There is a cry for teachers all over the country. The Ethiopian Evangelical Church is trying to share in the tremendous task of spreading literacy to every citizen of the Empire. The mission, considering its foremost task today to be the training of Ethiopian leadership, encourages the Church to start as many village schools as possible and especially to concentrate her efforts on remote places, which may not be reached by Government schools in the near future.

Medical Activities

At Leokemte, in the Wollega province, the Swedish Evangelical Mission has a hospital with 60 beds and two doctors, three Swedish and two Ethiopian nurses and five dressers. During 1958 there were 1,048 inpatients and 24,964 outpatients. There is also a clinic for lepers and accommodation for a few inpatients. A nursing school is attached to the hospital. Eight probationer nurses graduated in March this year. At present there are 19 students and a new class will be admitted this autumn. The hospital is subsidised by the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health.

At Baco, in the Shoa province. is a clinic and a small hospital with accommodation for 10 patients and a staff of two Swedish nurses and two dressers. During 1958 346 inpatients and 12,575 outpatients.

At Nedjo, Wollega, is a clinic and a small hospital for 15 patients, with a staff of one Swedish nurse and two dressers. Inpatients number 780 and outpatients 10,260. Attached is a clinic at Bodji with one dresser.

At Mendi, Wollega, is a clinic and a small hospital for ten patients and with a staff of one Swedish nurse and one dresser. Inpatients 385 and outpatients 9,150.

In Eritrea are clinics at Zazega, Gheleb, Culluco and Aussa Konoma. A fifth clinic is about to be opened. At Asmara, deaconesses have been trained.

Educational Activities During 1958

At Adua in Tigrai is a teachers' training school with a staff of four Swedish teachers and one Ethiopian. Fourteen graduated last year, and at present there are 18 students. There is also an elementary school with 124 students.

In Addis Ababa is a complete elementary school with a staff of two Swedish and 13 Ethiopian teachers. There are 362 students, of whom 82 are boarders. There is also a blind school with 18 students who all are boarders.

At Lekemte is an elementary school, grades 1-6. On the staff are one Swedish and eight Ethiopian teachers. The students number 264. There is boarding for 18 girls and a home for 24 children. Twenty children whose parents are lepers are entrusted to the care of the mission by the Ministry of Public Health, which gives a yearly grant for their support.

At Nedjo is a complete elementary school with 316 students. The staff consists of one Swedish and 13 Ethiopian teachers.

At Mendi is an elementary school, grades 1-4. with 150 students, and a Bible school with 18 students. On the staff are one Swedish and five Ethiopian teachers.

Around the mission stations in Wollega province there are a number of village schools run by the Swedish Evangelical Church.

The Ethiopian Evangelical College is situated at Debre Zeit and is run by the Swedish Evangelical Mission together with three other Lutheran missions. The students number 95, of whom 90 are boarders. The staff comprises five foreign and one Ethiopian teacher.

In Eritrea the mission has 20 elementary schools with about 2,000 pupils. Of these 700 attend the complete elementary school at Asmara, which is run by the Evangelical Church. Of the other schools two have grades 1-6 and the rest grades 1-4.

At Bellesa is a two-year training school for youth with 34 students, and a Bible school with eight students.

At Keren is a school for the deaf and dumb with 12 students. A class for 12 students was held in Asmara during the past school year.

At Adi Ugri is a domestic school with 15 students, all boarders. There is also boarding accommodation for students at four of the mission stations.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission has 65 missionaries in Ethiopia.

THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSION

By LESTER RASMUSSEN

The Seventh-day Adventist, as you may know, belongs to a very large family, with brothers and sisters all around the world. It is part of a world-wide movement that reaches out to the five continents and the seven seas and uses over 200 languages to conduct its work in 185 different countries.

The work of the Adventist Mission * began in Eritrea in 1907 and in Addis Ababa in 1921. One of the pioneers of the work being V. E. Toppenberg who spent many years in devoted service before his retirement in 1952. The three-point programme that Mr. Toppenberg and other Adventist pioneers sponsored is the development and training of the heart, the hand and the mind.

Upon this foundation the work of Seventh-day Adventists has developed through the years in Ethiopia, so that today there is a network of mission stations, with schools and hospitals spread over many parts of this great empire.

Perhaps best known of our medical institutions is

* See "Ethiopia Observer," No. 4, Vol. 1, for article on the Zauditu Maternity Hospital of the Adventist Mission in Addis Ababa.

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the Empress Zauditu Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa. For many years this hospital has helped to serve the people of the capital city with efficient, qualified medical care. A first-class school of nursing is operated in connection with the hospital from which many fine nurses have graduated. Ethiopia can be proud of these fine Christian nurses who have learned to give loving service to God and their fellow men. They have learned to put Christianity into action. The hospitals in Gimbie, Debre Tabor, and Dessie are also filling very real needs.

Mr. Herbert Hanson has been a great leader and guide in the development of Adventist schools in Ethiopia. Mr. Hanson's faith in Ethiopian young people has helped to set many of the talented youth on the way to success in service for their God and country. The mission school at Akaki holds treasured memories for hundreds of alumni from that institution.

One of the mission's newer educational institutions is the Adventist Training School near Shashamane in Arussi. This school is a modern, well-equipped institution that lives up to the Adventists' requirement for the development of the mental and physical as well as the spiritual powers of the students. This school affords secondary education to a large number of Ethiopian students. It is planned that this school shall in the near future be raised to college level and be made to serve as the advanced school for the graduates from the network of Adventist preparatory schools.

The Adventist Training School is located in a beautiful place where the students can be close to nature and also where they have opportunity to learn to do profitable work with their hands. A large farm is operated in connection with the school through which the students can help provide the cereals and vegetables needed for food. At the same time excellent opportunity is provided for teaching improved farming methods. As part of every student's education and training, each is required to do a certain amount of supervised manual labour each week.

The overseas personnel in the mission is quite interesting in that many different nationalities are represented. At the present time there are workers from Austria, England, Denmark, Finland, Norway. Sweden, Holland, the United States and Switzerland. Most of these consecrated Christian workers have a background of specialised training obtained in Seventh-day Adventist Institutions. For example, most of the doctors are graduates of the College of Medical Evangelists, a medical school that has for many years been helping to supply medical staff for 102 sanitoriums and hospitals operated around the world by the Adventists. Most of the teachers in the mission are graduates from one of the 278 advanced schools operated by Adventists.

The funds required for this large humanitarian work are provided by the tithes and free will offerings of the members of the Adventist Church. To supplement these funds, however, the membership conducts an annual fund-raising drive at which time friends and interested business firms are given the opportunity to contribute to the cause.

SWEDISH FRIENDS OF THE BIBLE

by Gunnar Nilsson

Exactly 50 years ago, a group of believers in Sweden were called "Bibeltrogna Vänner"; in English, "Bible-true Friends," or "Friends of the Bible." This group organised itself as a Missionary Society, with activities in Sweden and also abroad. Some members of the Society were already working in Eritrea. The work was later extended to Ethiopia and to Kenya. At present the B.V. has an extensive school mission in Eritrea, with a main station in Asmara and smaller schools in 14 rural villages. The total number of pupils in B.V.'s Eritrean schools is about 1,300.

The B.V. missionaries came to Addis Ababa in 1921 and sometime later work was begun in Gulele (next to Ras Desta Hospital), where the mission station with an elementary boys' school was built, and work is still continuing. A couple of years later, a girls' school was added. Since the return of His Majesty, the Emperor Haile Sellassie I, boys and girls have been taught together in all the B.V. schools. At present, the Addis Ababa school is an eight-standard school, with approximately 300 pupils, boys and girls being equal in number. The headquarters of the mission is in the same compound.

Just as the B.V. mission began work in the Capital, Mr. Anton Jönsson started its work at Harar, where a school and a hospital were built. This work continued until the Italian invasion, when the missionaries were expelled from Harar and their other stations. As Mr. Jönsson felt his vocation was to work among Ethiopians, he was glad to choose teaching and helping Ethiopian patriot refugees in Kenya during the difficult time which followed. Together with the Refugees' School—later called Haile Sellassie I Elementary School—he returned to Harar when Ethiopia regained her freedom.

In the last 15 years, B.V. activities in Harar Province have extended to comprise schools in Harar, Dire-Dawa, Alem Maya and Funyanhodjoba, with approximately 1,000 pupils. The central mission station is at Harar, where a Swedish missionary couple are engaged in the work, with a number of Ethiopians.

In the mission districts mentioned above educational work is the most important, though the mission is also engaged in other social welfare activities. In Arussi Province, most attention is given to medical work, though educational work is not neglected; there are schools wherever there are dispensaries managed by the mission. The centre of B.V. mission work in Arussi is at Asella and includes the Tafari Makonnen Hospital, the mission school and the farm. The station is beautifully situated on the slopes of the Chilalo Mountains with an enchanting view over the lowlands, Lake Zwai and mountains in the background. Numerous flowers make the garden rich in colour. In the kitchen-garden, the pupils receive instruction and practice in gardening and have the joy of seeing the vegetables they have grown. The boys are trained in carpentry and, as at all B.V. schools, the girls are taught needlework and other things which fit them for their future life as housewives.

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The farm is of great use, both for education and to provide produce for the hospital and boarding school. There is also a mill on the farm, of which the people of the neighbourhood take advantage. When the station received an electricity plant a few years ago, it became possible to instal an X-ray apparatus at the hospital.

Patients come to the hospital and the dispensary, not only from Asella and its surroundings, but also from many distant places. A newly opened dispensary in the lowlands near Lake Zwai supplies medical treatment in that district.

To give medical aid to a greater number of people in Arussi, B.V. has opened two more stations in that Province. There is a dispensary at Bale Meda, to which patients come from the highlands in the Monessa District, as well as from the lowlands round Lake Langano. A school with a steadily increasing number of pupils is linked to the station.

The mission station at Koffale in the south is the youngest of the B.V. mission stations in Arussi. The missionaries there are busy with medical and educational work, and in the building of new houses for the station. This dispensary is in the centre of a wide area where there is no other medical care.

At the hospital and the dispensaries, there is a Swedish and Ethiopian staff. At some of the B.V. schools there are Swedish missionaries, but either the headmaster or the vice-headmaster is always an Ethiopian. With the exception of a few lessons a week, all tuition is given by Ethiopian teachers—former pupils of the mission who have been trained to teach. Christ's School in Dire-Dawa has always had an Ethiopian headmaster, Ato Desta Guebre Yesus; this was probably the first Ethiopian eight-standard school with an exclusively indigenous staff. The B.V. congregations have Ethiopians as their leaders and preachers.

The Swedish Mission Bibeltrogna Vänner has always met with favour from His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I and his government. This has been the prerequisite condition for successfully carrying on its work for the welfare of Ethiopia. The mission is greatly indebted to His Imperial Majesty for his benevolence.

THE SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION

The work of the Sudan Interior Mission * dates back to 1893 when a small beginning was made in Nigeria, West Africa. In 1924 the Mission entered French West Africa; in 1927, Ethiopia; and since then work has been started in the Sudan, Aden, Eritrea and Somalia. In 1952 Radio Station E.L.W.A. was erected in Monrovia, Liberia.

The Sudan Interior Mission is interdenominational and international; its workers numbering about 1,300, coming from all the English-speaking world (United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United States and South Africa), Germany and Switzerland.

In Ethiopia, prior to the Italo-Ethiopian war, there were 75 workers located at different stations. After the occupation of the country by the Italians, the Mission was forced to leave. It was then that a work was commenced in what is now the Sudan.

Upon the return of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, to his throne, this Mission was again permitted to take up work and there are now 233 workers in Ethiopia and Eritrea at 37 stations. The work might be divided in the following three classes:

1. MEDICAL

Two Leprosaria, one in the south near Shashamane, the other in the north situated just outside Dessie. The Leprosaria are subsidised by His Imperial Majesty's Government. There are four hospitals located at Dilla, Sidamo; Kallafo; Ogaden; Leimo, Kambatta; Soddo, Wallamo; and 35 clinics. In connection with the hospitals, there are Dresser Training Schools. Many of these dressers have received their first and second certificates and are now employed in Government schools or serving in out-clinics.

2. EDUCATIONAL

(a) Elementary schools at almost every station.

(b) Three girls' schools, one located in the capital.

(c) Her Imperial Majesty's Orphanage is operated by the Sudan Interior Mission but financed by Her Imperial Majesty.

(d) Night schools, one located in the capital.

(e) Literature and printing press.

(f) Bookshops, six located at interior stations. †

Up to the present time, The Sudan Interior Mission Elementary Schools have not gone beyond the sixth form and as students complete that grade, they go for further training to Government schools.

3. EVANGELISTIC

Preaching and Bible Schools. Throughout the south country which is the oldest work and is among non-Orthodox peoples, the response has been good so that today there are hundreds of churches and thousands of Christians. The Mission has no jurisdiction over the churches save in an advisory capacity, for these churches are indigenous in the full sense of the word; i.e, they are self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. In the areas where there has been good response, the Sudan Interior Mission has Bible schools and these are being well attended.

* See "Ethiopia Observer" No. 1, Vol. IV, for article on the Southern Leprosarium" maintained by the Sudan Interior Mission in Ethiopia.

† The Addis Ababa bookshop has since been transferred to the Mennonite Mission.

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Since the Mission is inter-denominational, it is entirely dependent upon the gifts of Christian people.

THE BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE

By DAVID SPERRY

The Baptist General Conference had its beginning 107 years ago at Rock Island, Illinois, among Swedish emigrants who had gone to America to enjoy freedom to worship God as they thought right. From 1852 onwards, this fellowship of Christians has grown to 65,500 members.

During the beginnings of the Conference, Missionaries were early sent by the Conference to various parts of the world through other mission organisations. In 1944, however, a Conference-operated mission programme began. China was entered in 1945 and India the following year. The years 1948 and 1949 saw the first missionaries in the Philippine Islands and Japan.

In 1949, the Conference was granted permission to enter Ethiopia, and the first missionaries arrived in March and June of the following year. Because the 65,500 Conference members have given generously to the work of world missions, more than 100 missionaries have gone to these fields during the past 15 years.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Haile Sellassie has graciously provided the mission with an ideal building for the "Door of Life" Hospital in Hagere Heywot (Ambo). The hospital is well-known for the loving care given each year to thousands of sick people.

Dr. and Mrs. David Ruppert have given several years of their lives in ministering to the sick in the Ambo district. Dr. Dennis Carlson arrived with his family a year ago. His work in the hospital has been appreciated by all. Dr. and Mrs. Norman Copeland, having given five years of service are now in Canada where Dr. Copeland is taking further courses in medicine in preparation for their return to Ethiopia next autumn. Miss Lois Howat and Miss Gladys Taranger arrived a few weeks ago from Canada. These two well qualified nurses will have many opportunities to serve the people. Mention should be made of the mobile medical work. Weekly trips are made to several places to help patients who find it difficult to come to the hospital.

We are thankful for a fine group of Ethiopian dressers, who take an important share in the medical work. Many of them have been trained at the mission's dresser school. A high percentage of the cost of operating the hospital is paid for by the generous gifts of friends in America.

Mr. Wilfred Head, who lives in Ambo with his family is eager to show his well-equipped printing shop to all visitors. He is busy printing helpful and attractive literature in Amharic. Mr. and Mrs. William Murray also share the mission work at Ambo; teaching in the dresser's school and administrative duties form only part of their activities. Mr. James Luckman is well-known in Addis Ababa and in many parts of Ethiopia. He has contributed greatly toward the strength and growth of the Conference work as mission representative in Addis Ababa. Mr. and Mrs. David Sperry also reside in the Ethiopian capital, where Mr. Sperry is engaged in the preparation of Christian literature for nationals.

Our beautiful station in the Bocoggi district is 50 kilometres south of Asella on the road to Goba. Medical work has been carried on there for several years, but was recently strengthened by the arrival of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Coleman. The daily attendance at the clinic of scores of people enable us to care for many sufferers. Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Gullman also reside in Bocoggi, where Mr. Gullman is headmaster of the mission elementary school and Mrs. Gullman helps in the clinic. The mission looks forward to the return next year of Miss Arlene Coleman and Miss Marjorie Malm, to work in the clinic and school, as they did from 1955 to 1959. Their return to Bocoggi will make further expansion of the mission programme possible.

Mr. and Mrs. Maynard Johnson and Mr. and Mrs. Ruppert will open our new station at Gindabaret, north of Ambo. The Imperial Ethiopian Government is anxious for us to speed plans for well-equipped medical work there.

The children of missionaries residing in Ethiopia number almost 30. They love Ethiopia and learn the language quickly. We members of the Swedish Baptist Central Mission are here because we love Ethiopia and its people. It is our earnest desire to assist in the fulfilment of Ethiopia's hopes and desires for physical health, mental maturity and spiritual well-being.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Dr. STRELCYN'S BOTANICAL RESEARCHES IN ETHIOPIA

Commission Scientifique en Ethiopie

By Stefan Strelcyn (Accademie Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Rome)

Professor Strelcyn was charged by the Polish Academy of Science and Literature to undertake a mission in Ethiopia extending from December 16, 1957, to March 13, 1958. His mission was both linguistic and ethnographic in character. His main subject of enquiry was into the names and uses of Ethiopian plants in respect of which he is engaged in preparing a book. The volume will include the names of the plants in Amharic and Tigrinya and in some cases in other Ethiopian languages, the part of the names of the plants in Amharic and Tigrinya and in Ethiopia where they are so named; the area where they were found, the botanical name, and the purpose for which the plant is used in Ethiopia. Existing books by botanists of various countries, Dr. Strelcyn discovered, seldom give all these particulars and are far from complete.

He bases his researches to a large extent on the medical recipes he has discovered in a number of Ethiopian books in Ge'ez and in Amharic. He brought with him to Ethiopia a list of 200 names of plants which he had found in such recipes and wished to identify.

Dr. Strelcyn was fortunate in arriving at the University College of Addis Ababa simultaneously with part of a collection of 2,000 plants collected in Ethiopia by the English botanist, Dr. Mooney, and presented to the College. These plants had been sent to the famous Botanical Gardens at Kew for verification and for their botanical names to be attached to them. In helping Mr. Chojnacki, the librarian and museum curator of the University College, to classify these plants, Dr. Strelcyn was able to make a list of them and had the pleasure of coming across several specimens he had never before seen.

Soon afterwards, Dr. Mooney himself arrived, and the two enthusiasts were able to help each other in their respective researches. Dr. Mooney has already published a list of Ethiopian plants and is also engaged in writing a book.

By the aid of M. Pierre Comba, of the Gabre Mariam Lycée in Addis Ababa, Dr. Strelcyn was able to obtain the assistance of a number of pupils of the highest class at the Lycée in identifying more than a hundred plants. The Ethnological Society of the University College also helped him. The students of the Ambo (Hagere Hiwot) Agricultural School, which he visited later, aided him greatly, and with their assistance, he was able to verify his entire list of plants. Moreover, the students wrote for him some five hundred descriptions of plants and their uses. The Galla students added the Galla names of the plants to the Amharic and Tigrinya names he had obtained.

It will be observed that two scientists at least are now engaged in compiling lists of Ethiopian plants and in describing their uses.

REVISED 1959!

"A Regional Geography for Advanced and Scholarship Courses" by Stanley H. Beaver and L. Dudley Stamp (Longmans, London, 16s. 6d.)

This is, of course, one of the best regional geographies in the English language and a standard work. First published in 1934 it has passed through four different editions and no less than seventeen different impressions. Beaver is Professor of Geography at the University College of North Staffordshire, and Stamp is Professor Emeritus of Social Geography at the London School of Economics.

Yet still the errors creep in!

One page 185 we are told: "Transport is extremely difficult in Abyssinia. The ox-wagon is the principal means over most of the highlands." Most of our readers will be aware that ox-wagons are not to be seen in Ethiopia at all, and never have been used there.

On the frontispiece appears a map of "African Airways, 1958." in which no Ethiopian Airlines routes are indicated and in which it is made to appear that there is no air service to Addis Ababa. Besides internal routes, Ethiopian Airlines, it will be recalled, runs regular services to Aden, Taizz, Hodeida and Jeddah, Khartoum and Nairobi, Cairo, Athens and Frankfurt. Vide *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. I, No. 12.

On page 184 the "driving out of the Italians" and the restoration of the Emperor Haile Sellassie in 1941 is attributed solely to "British forces." No reference is made to the efforts of the Ethiopian patriots who continued to resist the invader throughout the five-year occupation (vide *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 10, *et seq.*), to the Emperor Haile Sellassie's army of liberation, or, indeed, to contingents from other Allied nations. G. L. Steer, war correspondent of the *Times*, who was responsible for British war propaganda in the area, subsequently wrote of the Ethiopians: "They netted fifty-six enemy battalions that might have been used at Keren against our regular troops. They were of incalculable value to our war effort. Just as Ethiopia would never have been free again without the expenditure of British, Indian and Sudanese blood on those grim cliffs, so also Britain would not have wound up the Ethiopian campaign as quickly as she did if it had not been for the Ethiopian patriot movement; 56 to 71 is not an unfair division of the credit to the two parties" ("Sealed and Delivered," page 162). Vide also Winston Churchill, "The Second World War," Vol. III, page 73.

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On page 179 there is an unfortunate printer's error: Italian Somaliland (Somalia) is referred to as "Somatra" (sic).

On page 185 the warm temperate zones of Ethiopia called "Woina Dega," or as the "Regional Geography" calls them, "wine highland," is spelt "Voina Dega," irrespective of the fact that the "V" sound is incorrect, there in fact being until very recently no letter in the Amharic language to express it.

On page 183 is the dubious statement: that the Gallas are the most recent immigrants into Africa (apart, of course, from Europeans)." It is further suggested that their entry into Africa "dates only from the fifteenth century." No evidence is brought forth to justify such remarkable statements. Though the origin of the Gallas is uncertain, their arrival in Africa must almost certainly have been considerably earlier than the fifteenth century. It is, moreover, generally agreed that they were not the last immigrants, as they were followed by the Somalis. "The Somalis," writes Trimingham, "were probably the most recent Hamitic immigrants into East Africa" ("Islam in Ethiopia," page 8). Beckingham and Huntingford, greater authorities than our authors in this field, refer to evidence of Somalis in the Zeila area in the twelfth century ("Some Records of Ethiopia," page lxxii).

On page 183 again, we find another dubious assertion: "They (the Gallas) are a pagan people for the most part." Here also one wonders upon what basis our authors have made this statement If they had consulted Trimingham, page 15, they would have seen the need to qualify or amend it.

Our authors, however, are the masters of sweeping statements. Still on page 183 we are told that the Falashas "comprise an important part of the population of the north-east." "Important" is rather a strong word to describe a relatively small population which Trimingham, for example, estimates at only about 60,000.

On page 183 we are also told that "the Ethiopians of the northern highlands" are "dominantly Hamitic, with varying admixture of Semitic and Negro blood"—another sweeping statement which would seem to exaggerate the Hamitic influence.

On page 183 it is stated that "many Negroes are found in the south-west"; the term Negro, in fact, being used very loosely and not reserved, as is more customary in learned circles, for a specific people of the Niger area, some 45 millions in number, who inhabit West Africa from the Senegal River to the Eastern frontier of Nigeria. Vide Lord Hailey, "An African Survey," revised 1956, page 29.

Our authors do not appear to have done much revising in 1959. On page 185, which describes the "primitive character" of Ethiopian agriculture—based evidently on nineteenth century works of reference—we find that the principal agricultural products of the country are given as coffee, hides and skins, beeswax and ivory.

Beeswax, of course, has long since been outclassed by a score of other commodities. Beeswax exports in 1956, for example, were valued at only Eth. $869,553 compared with Eth.$3,846,272 for dried peas, Eth.$1,631,432 for horse beans, Eth. $6,098,137 for linseed, Eth. $8,790,580 for nug and sesame seeds, Eth. $1,140,515 for groundnuts, Eth. $1,344.443 for caraway seeds, Eth. $2,013,746 for rape or colza seeds, Eth. $1,339,729 for fruit and vegetables, Eth. $2,517,960 for live cattle, Eth. $6,422,254 for chat, and Eth. $3,149,701 for canned meat. Messrs. Beaver and Stamp, however, found no room to mention any of these products.

Ivory, however, is included and even italicised. In fact only 22 kilos of this commodity were exported in 1955 and none in the years 1956, 1957, 1958, or subsequently.

On page 185 our authors present us with another extraordinary statement: "One occupation which most nearly approaches to a definite economic activity is the breeding of civet cats in the Kaffa district"

Civet musk, though a major export in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has also long been outclassed by other commodities. In 1956 its export amounted to only Eth. $599,293, scarcely more than fresh eggs (Eth. $505,269).

For the country's principal exports vide "Bulletin of the Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce and Industry" and *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. II, No. 7.

The civet "howler", however, comes in the next sentence: "These animals are reared for their skin, known in the trade as musk (page 185). Musk is, of course, nothing to do with the animal's skin, but a fatty, yellowish, odiferous substance secreted in a deep pouch near its genital organs and used in the manufacture of perfumes. Vide, for example, "Encyclopedia Britannica," 1947 edition, Vol. V, article on "Civet."

It is perhaps not surprising in view of the antiquity of our authors' sources and their somewhat hazy attitude that they make no reference to the hydro-electric works at Koka. On page 185 they merely observe that "an enormous amount of water-power exists which could be utilised for both small and large industrial establishments." For a detailed account of Koka, vide *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. II, No. 10, and for its relation to the Ethiopian Five-year Development Plan, vide Vol. III, No. 11.

On page 186, too, our authors declare that the Sudan Government still has an enclave at Gambela, though this was given up soon after Sudanese independence, well before their supposed "revision" of this book in 1959.

Harar, on page 186, is described as "the centre of the coffee district, and the starting point of caravans to the coast." Harar, it should be emphasised, is no longer as important for coffee as Jimma and the Kaffa area; caravans have long since largely been superseded by more modern means of transport.

On page 186 the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railway is referred to only in the past tense, though road and air services are mentioned in the present. It is further stated that trains ran "by day only." We would refer our authors to the many travellers who leave Diredawa at dusk to arrive at Addis Ababa early in the morning ready for work.

We are told on page 186 that—at some unspecified time—"two trains a week in each direction were sufficient to cater for the meagre traffic." According to the Ethiopian Travel and Tourist Agency, however, two Littorinas and

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three ordinary trains travel weekly in each direction, the former between Addis Ababa and Diredawa, and the latter between the capital and the port.

Our authors are apparently unaware of the work of the Imperial Highway Authority—vide *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. I, No. 12—as they terminate their story of road building with the end of the Italian occupation.

Nothing is said of the work of Point Four (vide *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 1) or of the United Nations (Vol. II, No. 9).

The establishment of the Wonji sugar plantation and refinery, though brought about as a result of an agreement between the Netherlands company, N. V. Handelsvereeniging of Amsterdam, and the Ethiopian Government in 1951, is naturally too recent an event for inclusion in a book published eight years later.

Ignoring this and other light industries—vide *Ethiopia Obsesrver*, Vol. I, No. 4—and the long list of exports, we are told that "all agriculture in Abyssinia . . . is for domestic food supply" (page 185)).

Our authors treat Eritrea more or less in the same fashion. On page 186 they state that "the former Italian colony of Eritrea was established as a protectorate in 1889." Here again they are in error: 1889 was the year in which the Italians set up a claim to protect the whole of Ethiopia by the Treaty of Uccialli of May 2 of that year. The Italians acually transferred the port of Assab from the private Rubatino Company to the State in 1882, landed at Massawa on February 5, 1885, and created the Colony of Eritrea on January 1, 1890. Vide Sylvia Pankhurst, "Eritrea On the Eve"; E. Work, "Ethiopia, a Pawn in European Diplomacy"; S. Longrigg, "A Short History of Eritrea"; *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 5; etc.

Turning to economic matters we are told, again on page 186, that "the population is mostly semi-nomadic." Brigadier Stephen Longrigg, Chief British Administrator from 1942 to 1944, however, estimated that the nomadic polpulation was only 192,000 as against a "sedentary" population of 565,000 ("A Short History of Eritrea," page 178).

Again on page 186 we are told that "agriculture is only possible on the wetter parts of the highlands and in the coastal plain where the Italians developed irrigation schemes." In fact, agriculture is fairly general in the highlands, where a comparatively high rainfall occurs. The main Italian irrigation schemes are not in the coastal plain but in the Gash valley (where irrigation started in 1915) and elsewhere in the western province. Vide Longrigg, page 139.

Apparently ever interested in citing unimportant rather than important information, our authors tell us on page 186 that "some gold has been mined in the highlands near Asmara." Though true, this statement adds to the confusion, for, as Longrigg observes (page 139), "no resources of great significance were discovered." Our authors, it should be added, do not mention any gold mining in Ethiopia proper—though production in 1957 was estimated at no less than 732 kilos or the equivalent of Eth. $1,827,000.

In the section on Somalia (page 188) we are told that "there is discussion of independence for the Somalis who live partly in Ethiopia as well as in the French, British, and Italian areas." Nothing is said of the Somali population of northern Kenya.

On page 188 it is stated that the port of Kismayu, now in Italian Somalia, was ceded by Kenya Colony in 1926 (sic). The relevant agreement, however, was signed on July 15, 1924, and the transfer of authority took place on June 29, 1925. Vide "Encyclopedia Britannica," 1947 edition, Vol. 20, article on "Italian Somaliland."

In the space of only two pages there are thus something like a score of errors, mis-statements, half-truths, or out-of-date tit-bits. A new revision is clearly a matter of urgency. In the meantime we can but conclude that our two geographers, in respect of this part of the world at least, have not progressed so far since the days of Dean Swift, who exclaimed:

> "So Geographers in Afric—Maps
> With Savage Pictures fill their Gaps,
> And o'er unhabitable Downs
> Place Elephants for want of Towns."

DEVELOPING THE UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

"The Afro-Asian States and their Problems" by K. M. Pannikar (George Allen and Unwin, London, 12s. 6d.)

Mr. Pannikar is already well known for his two major works, "Asia and Western Dominance" and "In Two Chinas," which together have made a major contribution to Asian history. He now turns to consider the common problems of the two underdeveloped continents, Asia and Africa, at what must be a turning point in their history.

His latest work, which is based upon a series of lectures delivered at the Institut d'Etude de Development Economique et Social in Paris, is general in character and considers such topics as the political structure of underdeveloped countries, their problems of administration, economic life, education, technology and social development. Discussing the rapid emergence of a bevy of independent States after World War II, he points out that these "new States had to face the problems of a great revolutionary age into which they were thrust—problems of unexampled complexity—without an adequate political and administrative organisation, without essential skills and technical equipment, and also without a social preparation which could release the energies of the community to deal with the problems of transformation."

Pannikar's discussion of his subject is inevitably sketchy: this is inevitable in a slim volume of only 96 pages of text, though it is surprising that a serious work on "Afro-Asian States and their problems" should have nothing else to say about Ethiopia than that "Ethiopia has recruited no less than 1,000 teachers from India for her expanding educational system." His book, however, provokes thought on nearly every page and contains much insight and wisdom. It makes an excellent introduction to the study of contemporary problems of underdeveloped areas, and will be read with interest by the specialist. It is to be recommended to all students of the African States and their problems.

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LIFE IN SICILY TODAY

"The Ten Pains of Death" by Gavin Maxwell (Longmans, London, 30s.)

"When I was 28. I was called up—I wanted to enrol in the Fascist Militia. They sent me to Africa with the IVth Artillery Company—against the Abyssinians. The sent us to conquer . . . the 'Empire'! We sailed from Augusta, near Syracuse, and after a long voyage we disembarked at Massawa in Somaliland, and from there we began, after a few days, the exhausting struggle against the bands of rebel negroes. Asmara, Agordat, Chiedin, Decamerè, Decaiè, Senefè, Adegrat, Gimma, all of them conquered with blood and misery—by doing the impossible between sickness and fevers and burrowing lice and tropical sores. But I was young, and apart from that I'd become a *maresciallo* in two years of service in the Fascist Militia, as I was a Fascist then, although I didn't understand much about it. It's true that we of the Fascist Militia were privileged—we were much better paid, and treated with greater respect by the ordinary army.

"I became a full corporal, then *brigadiere*, and, after doing a short course I was promoted *maresciallo*.

"In the Fascist Militia everything was possible! We were specially chosen by that Man (*Mussolini*); we put on the black shirt, the cavalry boots and trousers, and the beret. We saluted with the Roman salute and we were the ones who gave orders—unjust ones sometimes. During the war we waged against the negroes, there was a graver and more terrible war, between the Fascist soldiers and the ordinary army—the first respected and better paid and the second maltreated and often despised.

"In 1937, after having wiped out the band of the negro leader, Mangascià—gentleman, I ought to call him, and if his exploits were tragic and violent it was all our fault, the fault of the black-shirts who maltreated the negro women, and quelled those poor people with force. I've seen a soldier of the militia kill a poor negro because the negro refused to clean the soldier's boots. If I'd wanted to punish that soldier I couldn't have done—because the *militia* couldn't be punished, couldn't make a mistake and were the living examples of the Roman legions—the glory of the 'Empire'"!

Thus spake Dom Pietro, now a Sicilian trader, and one of the Fascist soldiers who took part in Mussolini's "civilising mission" in Ethiopia. The quotation comes from a series of similar case studies in a remarkable study of present-day Sicily entitled: "The Ten Pains of Death".

Its author, Gavin Maxwell, has produced a very vivid account of present-day Sicily after over two decades of Fascist and almost as long a period of Christian Democratic government; it reveals that Sicily is still an undeveloped area with a corrupt administration, a semi-colonial-type economy and an ignorant population sadly in need of civilisation. Depicting the contemporary situation, in which the island, he says, has three rulers—the Church, the State, and the *Mafia*, which he describes as a "unique criminal organisation"; he observes: "According to official statistics, which we may assume to be conservative, half of the inhabitants of the island, nearly five millions, are destitute or semi-destitute; classed, that is, in terms implying that they live at or below subsistence level, and the figure is increasing every year. Nearly half of all those millions are illiterate". Conditions, it appears, are, in fact, deteriorating, as may be seen from figures quoted for Castellammare:

Year	Destitute Families	Males	Females	Total Persons
1954	615	856	1,170	2,026
1955	736	1,066	1,415	2,481
1956	853	1,318	1,691	3,009
1957	960	1,473	1,842	3,315
1958	1,018	1,488	1,935	3,423

"When the babies cry, we steal for them", is a sentence which, Maxwell says, he has often heard in the island. "What choice have we?", we were asked. "The priests tell us to pray, but that does not give us money!" The result is that there are "large communities" in the Western part of the island, "where eight out of every ten adult men have served more than a year in prison, and a further four per cent. are *fuorileggi*—outlaws identified as having committed crimes for which they have not yet been arrested. Probably ninety per cent. 'criminals' in all".

Ignorance abounds on the island. "Many children", Maxwell writes, "believe that Mussolini is still the ruler of Italy, many more that Italy still has a king. Some (more understandably), believe that Germany won the war; others that America is an island off the coast of Britain; that Winston Churchill was a kind of tomato worth more than theirs; that Anthony Eden (who visited Castellammare by naval vessel while I was there) was king of Egypt. None of these misconceptions is the least surprising among people for whom there is no written word, and who are too much pre-occupied with trying to remain alive to listen to talk on idle subjects".

It is impossible to summarise more than a fraction of the information conveyed in this book, or to convey even a tenth of the emotion produced on reading it. The case studies—of a pedlar, a prostitute, a nun, a priest, a doctor, a *carabiniere*, a schoolmaster, an American, and many others—make the book come fully alive and give it immense human interest.

Let us take a few of the *dramatis personae*, almost at random (one is in no sense picking out the "purple patches".)

The "guy with the red handkerchief": "I learnt to steal (at school), and I can tell you that once you start, you never stop. . . . They beat me, they starved me, they gave electric shocks in my fingertips and b——, which hurt me enough to kill, so I was forced to say what wasn't true".

The *carabiniere*: "The *Mafia* is the real constituted government of Sicily, and the relationship between us and the *Mafia* is like that between two great powers in war. There's nothing you can do about the *Mafia* and most of the time you have to close your eyes and pretend to see nothing".

The schoolmaster: "I don't want to say how some of the pupils carried on in the classroom in my presence! At the bottom of the classroom they were more closely grouped; I had put only boys there, but for them it was

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a sort of paradise. I realised it at once—the first time when I saw a group of five boys having a m——— race; then one of them exclaimed loudly, 'I've won!' I intervened then, and asked, 'Who's won what, and what are you talk ing about?' He replied, 'What's that got to do with you?' "

"When I wrote to people at home I couldn't bring myself to say that where I lived was a place of savages, and that my school could have been taken for a brothel.

The doctor (who obtained his qualifications by his father's influence, as he did not study but spent his undergraduate life on women and amusements): "We mustn't forget the most beautiful symbol of Sicily: the fine large families, the hordes of children that peasant parents bring into the world, the positive barrack-fulls of babies. In this part of the world it's an absolute disgrace for a family to have fewer than five children—what am I talking about?—fewer than eight, nine, ten or more, I mean! You see parents who look like walking corpses, but they go on churning out children like hens laying eggs".

It's customary here, because the people are paupers, for children to sleep in their parents' bed until they reach an age somewhere between five and eight".

Such is Sicily today. Even the cats are poverty-stricken. When offered food, our author states, a kitten paid no attention to it: "It was not that the animal was afraid of human fingers, but that they were the last place to expect food": He dropped a scrap of *mortadella* to the ground: "there was a pounce and a gulp and it was gone".

This book makes a valuable contribution to its subject, for, as its author states, in pursuing his researches, "he wanted to know more and understand more, not of the visible splendour of Greek and Roman remains, nor of the glory of Byzantine and Baroque ecclesiastical architecture that so many unwearying pens and cameras have described; nor of past conquests and reconquest that over the centuries have blended the blood of three continents into the turbulent fluid that fills Sicilian veins; but of the living, swarming, suffering mass of humanity that fills the island today".

The people of Sicily should be grateful for Gavin Maxwell's labours.

THE MOUNTAINS OF RASSELAS

By THOMAS PAKENHAM

(Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 21/-)

The theme of this book is a visit to Ethiopia and the title is taken from the romance of the same name by Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), the author of a famous dictionary and an important literary figure in his day. "Rasselas" was published in 1759 and was the most widely popular of his books; it was translated into nine languages. He based it largely on the "New History of Ethiopia," by the learned Ludolphus, and the book of the Portuguese, Father Jerome Lobo, which Dr. Johnson translated.

Mr. Thomas Pakenham, author of the present book, is a son of Lord Pakenham, who received his peerage from the Labour Government. When in office the Labour Party is obliged to make some peers to represent the Government in the Upper House. Lord Pakenham is a Roman Catholic. His son Thomas, born in 1933, was advised by a Dominican priest, Father Gervase Mathew, brother of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Mathew, to visit Ethiopia in search of Wehni, which was believed to be the mountain of Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas". Young Mr. Pakenham desires to be a journalist. Father Mathew promised to arrange for any acount he might write of his discoveries, to be published in the *Illustrated London News*—a highly reputed English weekly illustrated magazine.

The Dominican priest also gave the young traveller a letter of introduction to Dedjazmatch Ameha Kassa, nephew of the Governor-General of Begemdir Province, where Wehni was supposed to be situated. The Reverend Father also urged him to "act the aristocrat" while in Ethiopia, as Mr. Pakenham informs his readers on page 11 of his book.

Accordingly, Mr. Pakenham arrived in Ethiopia as something of a personage. He was invited to official receptions and had a seat among the spectators of the 25th Jubilee celebrations of the Coronation of the Emperor and Empress, which occured during his visit. When at length he journeyed to the mountain he had come to find, he was accompanied by the local Governor, an escort of soldiers, with food, mules and a tent supplied by the Governor-General. This journey would have been very different, of course, had he gone to Ethiopia as an unknown tourist, obliged to make his own arrangements; indeed it is extremely doubtful if in that case, he would have reached the mountain at all.

Unfortunately he did not observe the time-honoured dictum *noblesse oblige*. The article he sent to his Benedictine friend for publication in the *Illustrated London News*, was above reproach; it described, and illustrated by a number of good photographs, the ancient early Christian Church of Bethlehem, in the small obscure village of Gint. Mr. Pakenham, who on that occasion had no official escort, was at first refused permission to enter and to photograph the Church, but he had struck up an acquaintance with an Alsatian explorer, Professor Stompf, who by kindly giving helpful medicine to the wife of the chief ecclesiastic, secured permission for himself and Pakenham to enter. Bethlehem is a fine example of early Ethiopian Christian architecture. It is little known outside local Ethiopian circles, because, probably to protect it from injury at the time of the Moslem wars, when many churches were destroyed, it had long remained enclosed in a huge circular "tukul". Moreover, the village of Gint is very far from any main roads.

Pakenham had asked to be taken to Gint because at the exhibition of Ethiopian manuscripts, shown at Gondar during his visit to the old city, he had noticed that several of the oldest and most beautiful examples had come from the Church of Bethlehem at Gint.

In his effort to explore the mountain of Wehni, he was less fortunate; he was escorted to the mountain, but he could not climb it. The staircase which he was told, had

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formerely existed, had been broken down. He could not penetrate the mystery of what might still exist on the mountain of the Princes.

This discovery was made soon afterwards by a woman writer, Miss Toye, who flew to the mountain by helicopter and being deposited there by the pilot, hardily spent a day and night there alone. She was able to report that on the mountain are a number of buildings, a church and what appeared to be a dwelling larger than the rest, which she assumed to have been the residence of the Governor. There was a paved space she took to be a place of meeting. She heard the cries and saw traces of animals, but could not identify them and during her brief stay on the mountain, not one of them appeared in sight. The summit was much overgrown. Having neither tools nor time to attempt a clearing, she was unable to make as full a report as she desired. She has written a book about this and other discoveries. Miss Toye is an intrepid explorer, and her book will undoubtedly be of interest. It is to be published by John Murray.

As we have said, Mr. Pakenham wrote an irreproachable article on the Church of Bethlehem which, with the photographs illustrating it, is of interest to Ethiopists and students of ancient architecture. Unfortunately, his other writings were less discreet. A series of his articles written for a daily newspaper were trivial in the extreme.

This young writer performed a valuable service in discovering, photographing and bringing to public notice the ancient basilican Church of Bethlehem—a miniature architectural treasure.

Unfortunately he was grievously misled by some malicious and wholly untrue gossip and made the mistake of reproducing the gist of it, without due enquiry from well informed sources. This blemish in the early part of his book seriously detracts from its utility.

He made an interesting journey and was helped to make interesting contacts; had he curbed his tendency toward the ludicrous he might have used his opportunies and his gift for descriptive writing to better purpose.

WISDOM OF THE WEST

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

Editor, Paul Foulkes; Designer, Edward Wright; with ten compositions by John Piper
(Macdonald, London, 63/-)

This book is the fruit of the constant philosophical enquiry and reflection to which a long life has been devoted. The author takes the reader easily through the extensive history of philosophic and scientific speculation and investigation, from the Greek, Thales of Miletus in the early sixth century B.C., and his Milesian successors, Anaximander (born 610 B.C.) and Anaximenes, who flourished somewhat later, and on through all the main schools of philosophy down to the present time. The account is so lucid and flowing, that the reader imbibes without difficulty all this vast span of history and the author's explanations of what numerous great thinkers believed and discovered. So pleasant and easy is the reader's progress through these varied stages that he may almost forget to realise the wide and detailed studies which were necessary to produce this extensive survey; the author's warning, given in his epilogue, is a necessary corrective. Therein he reminds us that on each of the main topics discussed in his large book, "Whole libraries have been written and only a small fraction of this material will have been considered in the writing of the present volume. The perusal of one book, however vast its scope, has never yet transformed the reader into an expert." Moreover, and this is of cardinal importance, alike to the reader who takes up this beautiful book for sheer enjoyment and for the student, comes the further warning of the old philosopher, "No amount of mere reading will of itself improve one's understanding of anything. What is required in addition to the acquiring of information is some measure of intense reflection upon the several matters thus gathered in."

The book is aesthetically a beautiful production; its binding, typography and printing are excellent, and the paper is of the very best; it allows of perfect reproduction without offending the eye by the glossy, shining surface used for inferior publications. Moreover, the paper is exceedingly strong and durable. There are more than 400 illustrations in half-tone, line and colour, all relevant to the text. Among these are reproductions of many exquisite works of art and of the sites of historic buildings and useful maps. The illustrations are chosen to accord with the period of the philosophers and scientists who are under review at each stage.

Every reader will be grateful for the portraits of the great thinkers and their contemporaries, and in the case of the Greeks of the ever-present deities, the wondrous Greek sculpture is always enthralling and the selection made for these pages is original and adventurous; it includes many less familiar examples. The Mediaeval philosophers and their contemporaries shown in sculpture, paintings, mosaics and other media, impart also their great charm and characteristic quality. The compositions of John Piper are interesting and often—not always perhaps—appropriate.

The dust-cover is so lovely in tone and colour, and in its magnificent Greek subject, that it must be an occasion of regret to every reader that it was not also reproduced as a frontispiece to the book itself.

To many readers the diagrams will be extremely helpful; others will find the extremely lucid text sufficiently explanatory without reference to them.

Some critics may disagree with the author's estimate of the achievement of this or that philosopher; the Baconians will rally, for example, to the defence of Francis Bacon, to whom Bertrand Russell gives scant importance. Others may stand up in defence of the Italian, Professor G. Peano, claiming that his rôle in the development, particularly of mathematical symbolism, is greater than that ascribed to him in *The Wisdom of the West*. A work of this scope will inevitably evoke criticism.

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To the question why he has not included the Wisdom of the East, the author replies: "The two worlds have grown in isolation from each other," and "This is already a sufficiently formidable task, and we have chosen to restrict our scope to that subject." Moreover, "The philosophic tradition of the West differs from the speculations of the Eastern mind. There is no civilisation but the Greek in which a philosophic movement goes hand-in-hand with a scientific tradition . . . It is this which has shaped the civilisation of the West."

The decision is that of the author, and even if others may consider the decision not quite logical and consistent, the author is entitled to decide the scope of his own book. Nevertheless, Bertrand Russell himself seems to have found some difficulty in drawing the line between East and West. He includes the learning of Alexandria in the West and the Persian philosophers, Avicenna and Averroes. Though the latter was inspired by the Greek philosopher Aristotle, it is well-known that his writings had a powerful influence in the revival of learning in Europe. Bertrand Russell recalls also that the Eastern Roman Empire did not share the decay of learning in equal measure with the West during the dark ages. Also he admits "While Western culture languished, the young and vigorous civilisation of Islam, encompassing much of India, the Middle East, North Africa and Spain, rose to its greatest heights. Further afield the civilisation of China under the Tang dynasty saw some of its more important literary epochs." (page 142).

In mathematics, the development of which has coincided closely with that of philosophy, one may venture to suggest that the contribution of the East is accepted as having been notable. During the approximately 6,000 years of mathematical development, ancient Babylonia and Egypt account for the first period. Then followed the Greek creative period from about 600 B.C. to A.D 300, which was of course of vital and lasting importance. The contributions of India and Islam, made partly before the Greeks, and later during the dark ages and the period of obscurantism in Europe, when classical learning was forgotten or suppressed, should not, we would suggest, be too lightly dismissed. The Hindu-Moslem influence left us, as a permanent contribution, the numerical system we use today; considerable development in trigonometry and the beginnings of symbolic algebra.

But the really crucial question is where does Bertrand Russell's philosophy lead him, and what is his message to his compatriots and to posterity? He denies Plato's dictum that the good is identical with knowledge and that the ethical and the scientific must eventually coincide. This theory is, he argues, altogether too optimistic. "However much one knows," he says, "it does not in itself solve the problem of what is to be done." He proceeds to contend that scientific justification cannot be given for ethical principles, though most of the principles that conduce to civilised living are of an ethical character, giving rise to the conception of the brotherhood of man. Cruelty seems to him "a bad thing," but he is not sure that he can supply "satisfactory reasons" for that opinion. "What looks like a general ethical principle" may be "no more", he says "than a piece of special pleading". However, on the authority of Pythagoras, he postulates that "disinterested enquiry is good". He therefore concludes his volume thus: "There remains the question of how we are to take this ethical principle that the pursuit of truth is a good thing. For evidently we are not all of us endowed with the ability to engage in scientific enquiry. Nor is it possible in all cases to suspend judgement. Men must act as well as think. But there is one thing that every man can do and that is to allow others to suspend judgement on matters that he himself may not wish to question. This shows incidentally how the pursuit of disinterested enquiry is linked with freedom, which is counted as another good. Tolerance is a prerequisite in a society in which enquiry is to flourish. Freedom of speech and thought are the great promoters of a free society in which it is possible for the enquirer to let the truth lead him whither it will. To this extent every one can contribute to the good here at stake. This does not mean that we shall all have the same opinions on everything, but it means that no avenue is closed by artificial strictures. For man, the unexamined life is, indeed, not worth living."

This philosophical argument appears very fine, but what precisely does it mean? Are we to assume that a man, unhampered and untroubled by the search for scientific reasons to explain or to justify his conduct, who gives himself wholly to the service of his fellows, leads a life not worth living? If that is the erudite philosopher's opinion many worthy people will disagree with him and will be rendered highly indignant by his statement

Perhaps it is wise to take the philosopher's dictum with a grain of salt and to remember the fate of Dostoievsky's Brothers Karamazov.

ETHIOPIAN ADVENTURE

By HERBERT RITTLINGER

(Odhams, London, 21/-)

The author is described on the dust-cover as "a world-famous explorer", but this is a poor book. The discriminating reader requires something better. The time has long gone by since any part of Ethiopia to which anyone chose to make a short visit could be correctly described as "unexplored". The British, French or Italian explorer or journalist of today who desires to visit Lake Tana, where this author went, may be escorted by Ethiopians who speak his own language. Herbert Rittlinger and his companions flew to Lake Tana by Ethiopian Airlines. This is not how Livingstone, Speke and their compeers travelled into Central Africa. Apparently Messrs. Cassell and Company do not employ a reader who knows enough about Ethiopian history to have heard of the Portuguese missions to the country in the 16th century, of James Bruce's visit there in the 17th century and of the writings of a host of English travellers who followed, to say nothing of the other European travellers, and of the many thousands of Europeans resident in Ethiopia today. A group of Cam-

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bridge undergraduates made an expedition to Lake Tana recently and wrote a book about it. The omission to employ a competent reader should be remedied by the publisher.

It is absurd nowadays to write of the "famous, but little-known Lake Tana" when not a year passes without European and other tourists going there. Motor boats now take passengers for trips on the lake and transport the local produce. There has been a hotel for many years now, on the edge of the lake at Gorgora, and another hotel is situated at Bahar Dar at the source of the Blue Nile, which flows through Lake Tana. One can visit the ruins of Mariam Ghimb, the church built at Old Gorgora by the Portuguese, Peter Pais.

The book is marred by exaggerations and laborious efforts to be amusing, and to make the author's journey appear exciting. Its standard of veracity may be gauged by the statement, "The Haile Sellassie University consists of a few granite pillars . . . work was abandoned. It will only be restarted when there are enough students to fill the lecture halls." This is, of course, totally incorrect; the University College of Addis Ababa, which has grown tremendously since it was inaugurated in 1951, is situated some distance from the pillars which are on the site where the new building for the State Bank is to be erected. Had the writer desired to discover it, he could easily have done so, but his object was to cause the reader to be highly amused; the facts did not trouble him.

ABYSSINIAN ADVENTURE

By J. F. MACDONALD
(Cassell, London. 16/-)

One wonders how any publisher's reader could have passed so aimlessly inept a book. It purports to consist of "memoirs", apparently not those of its author, but of a young subaltern named Forester, in a West African Regiment, which served with the South Africans in Jubaland and Southern Ethiopia. The kindest hypothesis in this case is that the author never visited the scenes described, but was given someone else's memoirs with instructions to make a book of them.

The text is mainly occupied by dull conversations among the soldiers about nothing in particular. If the author had any object other than that of filling the required number of pages, which is doubtful, it was apparently to attack the British commanders. The prevailing trend of the tedious conversations is complaint of the British officers and the British direction of the campaign, uttered by the men from South Africa and Kenya. It all appears far removed from the realities of the campaign against the Italians in ex-Italian Somaliland and Southern Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian patriots are mentioned, but the author apparently had no genuine information concerning them and their achievements. The book cannot be recommended.

NEW LIGHT ON THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

"The Diaries of Lord Lugard", edited by Margery Perham and Mary Bull

(Faber and Faber, London; 3 vols., £8.8.0)

The "Scramble for Africa," as it is called, rightly enjoys a position of central importance in the minds of all enlightened Africans, as well as of non-Africans interested in African affairs.

How was it that almost the entire continent of Africa suddenly passed under foreign rule? What were the motives of the colonisers? Such questions are of course open to various answers and many have been the replies given by historians, propagandists, journalists and others.

Miss Margery Perham and her assistant, Mary Bull, have performed a useful service to scholarship by editing the Diaries of Lord Lugard, for they are naturally of great interest, the more so as Lugard was one of the most important Empire builders of the nineteenth century.

Lugard is of particular interest to Ethiopian and other African readers. Having served in Burma, he returned to Britain in 1887 as a young officer, and did his "utmost", as he says, "to obtain permission to join the Italians, then fighting in Abyssinia, and smarting from their recent reverse at Dogali." He was told by the Italian Embassy in London that this was impossible, but "took the night train to Rome, and once more offered my services, pleading the five medals and decorations which I already wore (including the D.S.O., then recently instituted)." Refused permission to join the Italian forces, he nevertheless sailed for Africa. On arriving at Massawa on February 25, 1888, he went straight to the camp of the Italian commander, General Baldisera, and again offered his services. Refused for the third time, he nevertheless offered "to scout independently towards the enemy," i.e. the Ethiopians, but was told "this service was most efficiently done by the Italian cavalry." All this Lugard himself relates in his autobiograpical memoir, *The Rise of our East African Empire*.

Lugard's importance lies, of course, in his subsequent career, and in particular, in the skill with which he used his monopoly of the Maxim gun and the religious disputes created by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries to bring about the British protection of what was then Ethiopia's southern neighbour, Uganda. He asked his brother, Major E. J. Lugard, to destroy his diaries before his death. Miss Perham succeeded in persuading Major Lugard to nullify this request and to allow the diaries to be preserved for posterity. The brother, unfortunately, insisted that Lugard's desire should be followed in respect of the first diary which covered its author's first visit to Africa. It was, she declares, "a most terrible document, revealing without reserve the mind of a strong man tortured to the verge of insanity or suicide by the destruction of his love and his faith." The remaining diaries were then spared from the fire.

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Publication of so vast a number of words—the whole work runs to 1,367 pages of type—was, of course, very costly, but the publishers, we are told, received considerable financial support from the colonial governments of Uganda and Nigeria, which has made it possible to put the three volumes on sale for the relatively modest price of eight guineas.

"We would give much today," Miss Perham writes, "to have a full diary of Julius Caesar, written up during his British invasion." Will the Lugard diaries mean as much to the African of the year A.D. 2015?

We cannot tell. Nevertheless, it is of no small interest, in 1960, to know how one of the chief actors in the drama considered the Scramble for Africa was effected in at least one part of the continent. The diaries have the great value that they are not propagandist works: they were written from day to day in a spirit of intense honesty. When Lugard thought the firing of the Maxim gun would have a great effect in crushing the morale of the Africans, he says: "I think the firing of the Maxim gun would have a great moral effect." (See, for example, entry of January 3, 1891)

There is much to be learnt also of the manner in which European missionaries of various persuasions actively assisted in the scramble for Uganda. After spreading disunity among the Africans, large numbers of them actually exchanged the cross for the rifle, which apparently they considered of greater service in the fierce conflict between British and French imperialism.

EVERYMAN'S AFRICA

By JOHN HATCH

(Dobson, London, 21/-)

Mr. Hatch tells us in his preface that he has for ten years conducted Extra Mural courses on the African people for the Universities of Glasgow and London. Students, he says, have asked him to recommend a simple outline book providing the basic facts about the African continent, but he adds:

"I have never been able to discover a satisfactory book of this kind, so I decided to write one myself."

In view of the title "Everyman's Africa" and on reading that confident sentence the reader's hopes may rise extremely high; a masterpiece may be anticipated. On reading, however, the next sentence his hopes may be somewhat dashed for Mr. Hatch adds he has concentrated on British Africa, and the insularity of the attitude involved is far from suggesting a promising approach to the study of the great continent of Africa and its numerous peoples. The object being to deal with the British colonies and protectorates, the title is not well chosen. Morover, in the chronology which claims to deal with the "main events of African History", a misleading picture is presented.

On turning to the index one finds that Ethiopia and Egypt the two great African States with ancient histories, are mentioned each on only two pages. One of these pages in each case is in the appendix, where a list of all African territories is given. Here, Ethiopia and Egypt have each five lines, including an estimate of population and of principal products. The Ethiopian population is estimated by Mr. Hatch at 16,000,000. The Ethiopian government estimates it at 20,000,000.

As principal products, Mr. Hatch gives for Ethiopia: coffee, tobacco, hides and skins. Tobacco is clearly a mistake, for though tobacco is grown, it is not exported and is by no means a principal product. Oil seeds, cereals and pulses are exported, as well as used for home consumption, and are among the major exports. Though coffee, of course, outdistances all other products.

For Egypt, principal products are given as cotton and rice, whereas other authorities place maize and cereals before rice in order of importance.

On Ethiopia, Mr. Hatch further states the Chamber of Deputies of the Ethiopian Parliament is elected. He omits to state that this is not a franchise of privileged classes, but that every man and every woman has the vote and that every man and every woman who is duly nominated by his or her fellow citizens is entitled to stand for election without other qualification than having reached the requisite age. Two women were elected to Parliament in the first election after the new constitution came into force and a women was elected by her fellow Members of Parliament as vice-President of the Chamber. These facts are sufficiently uncommon in British-ruled Africa to be well worthy of mention. We all know it took the women of the United Kingdom half a century of agitation to win the vote! Unfortunately the women of Eritrea cannot vote for the Eritrean local Assembly, the Eritrean constitution having been framed under the auspices of the United Nations Commissioner from Bolivia while the territory was under British administration.

Turning to the index numbers for Ethiopia and Egypt in the body of the book, we find on the one page where Ethiopia occurs these words:

"Eritrea, Ethiopia and Libya, formerly Italian colonies, have become independent states".

Mr. Hatch may plead the necessities of condensation but we must protest here that he is misleading any students who rely on his book as an assistance to them in learning about Africa and the African nations. To describe Ethiopia, a "nation with an ancient and majestic history, an independent state for 3,000 years, as "formerly an Italian colony" because for five years the Italians were striving ineffectively to establish their rule there, in face of continual armed opposition by the population, is manifestly absurd.

One would observe the book has no bibliography; students are therefore not encouraged to search into African history and conditions beyond the meagre pages of this poor book.

Now let us see what Mr. Hatch has to say about Egypt: he does not use the present designation United Arab Republic. He gives half a page of the 235 pages in the body of his book to ancient Egypt which was already very old in its civilisation and had produced magnifi-

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cent works of architecture, sculpture and manifold arts, while Europe was still extremely primitive in every respect. Mr. Hatch does not, however, cast any thought backward toward the past which produced the pyramids and the temples; he thinks only of the present. "The Egyptians have colossal internal problems to solve particarlarly that of developing the foundation of a national economy, together with a system of wealth distribution and organisation which will raise the mass of their people from the depths of poverty".

This is true of many other African territories including the British colonies. Mr. Hatch is, of course, aware it has involved a hard and long task also in Great Britain. Mr. Hatch does not give us even a hint of what was done by the British occupation to raise the mass of the Egyptian people "from the depths of poverty" and " to improve the system of wealth distribution". He has not a word to say about anything done to better the national economy and the lot of the mass of the people by the present Egyptian régime. He mentions the High Dam and the withdrawal of British and American financial support for the project. He does not say the dam is being built, notwithstanding this withdrawal, and that work on it has already begun.

In short, in devoting a mere half page to Egypt (now the United Arab Republic), Mr. Hatch does not find space for the most important recent events in that country. The revolution by which King Farouk was deposed and President Nasser came to power is ignored. It appears regrettable that since the author of "Everyman's Africa" has no space for events of this magnitude, he has given part of the meagre half page to complaining that the present government of the United Arab Republic (referred to under the ancient name Egypt) "takes an active part in fermenting nationalist movements in the British and French colonies". Nationalist movements are in accordance with the spirit of the times in Africa and are bound to arise whether fermented from outside sources or not.

In the chapters entitled "African Background" and "The African Continent" an attempt is made to discuss and to explain the so-called "isolation of the African continent". The statement is made that "Africa is indeed the last continent in the world to 'join international civilisation" (page 217).

This statement is really untenable. Mr. Hatch himself reveals the fallacy of it when he writes on an earlier page that the centres from which civilisation developed, were Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China. Egypt in the early periods of the pyramids and the temples, was Egypt of Africa, before the advent of conquerors from Europe.

Cave paintings and bas-reliefs found in Ethiopia, Egypt and Libya resemble those discovered in Europe. While Egypt was anciently pre-eminent in architecture, sculpture and other arts.

The amazingly beautiful monuments still to be seen at Aksum and the remains of palaces and temples at Yeha, Aksum and Adulis, excavated before the Italian war (too many of which were stolen by the invaders) and the more recent excavations at Azbi Dera, Haoulti and elsewhere have shown that Ethiopia was an active participant in the arts of ancient times. The period covered by the discoveries hitherto made, as estimated by the archaeologists, ranges from Circa 800 B.C. to the 4th century A.D.

What in art and architecture was produced in Great Britain of architectural importance before the 4th century A.D.?

The beautiful sculptures of Ife in Nigeria, executed no doubt at a much later period, the bronzes of Benin and other West African art and craft work of periods before the coming of European colonisation indicate that West Africa also was not devoid of that "human development which has been in progress for the last 9,000 years."

The slave trade which destroyed so much of African culture and was particularly destructive in West Africa did more, perhaps, than the climatic factors Mr. Hatch holds responsible to produce the African isolation and the backwardness of which he complains.

Greek contacts with North Africa are mentioned but nothing is said in the book of the well-known Greek trade with the Ethiopian Port of Adulis on the Red Sea coast. Ptolemy Euergetes erected here a tablet recording his exploits in other lands to spread their fame among the numerous travellers and merchants who frequented the port, the ruins of which reveal it to have been a considerable and fair city. A monument erected at Aksum by the Ethiopian sovereign, Ezana, in the 4th century A.D., is inscribed in Ethiopic, Sabaean and Greek, an evidence that travellers from the ancient realm of Sabaea in Arabia and from Greece were visitors to the city. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, one of the oldest guides to navigation which has come down to us, was written by a Graeco-Roman sea captain about 60 A.D. He tells that the sovereign of Aksum in his time, who ruled an extensive area bordering the Red Sea coast, was "an ambitious man well versed in Greek literature".

Ethiopia in early times had contacts with Rome, Constantinople, Israel and Phoenicia. Frumentius, of Tyre, being wrecked on the coast as a youth, was taken to the court of the Ehiopian Emperor, Ela Amida, where he was well received and made tutor to the future Emperor Ezana. He it was who in 325 A.D. was consecrated by Athanasius the Great at the See of St. Mark in Alexandria as Bishop of Ethiopia. It may be recalled that the Roman Emperor, Constantius wrote to the Emperor Ezana at Aksum, charging him to dismiss Frumentius and to send him to Egypt to be questioned concerning the faith, but Ezana remained true to Frumentius and the doctrine he preached.

The Semitic peoples in Africa are also mentioned but the fact is ignored that the Ethiopians are largely Semitic and speak one of the most interesting Semitic languages, being almost unique among them in having developed a complete vowel system which from its inception became a great aid to comprehension.

Ethiopia maintained contacts with Arabia, though at times they were difficult.

The "selective" chronology which claims to present "the major events in African History" is somewhat defective. It begins with the doings of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Alexandra the Great and his conquest of Egypt, and follows with "Rome colonised Egypt."

After this is "A.D. 100, Christianity came to Africa." Christianity is not mentioned again until 1491 when

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appears, "Roman Catholic Missionaries visited the Congo" and in 1560 comes "Development of Christianity in East Africa by the Jesuits". No mention is made of the ancient African Christian State of Ethiopia and the neighbouring Christian State of Meroe. The Portuguese quest for the realms of the far-famed Christian Emperor, known in Europe as "Prester John", which culminated in the Portuguese Mission of 1520 is ignored, as is the struggle of the Jesuits to convert the Ethiopians from the doctrine of Alexandria to that of Rome, which lasted from the date of that first mission until 1632, when the Jesuits were expelled from Ethiopia. The arrival in Ethiopia of Father Lobo in 1622 is mentioned, but he was one of the last of the Portuguese missionaries to come and of small importance. The Portuguese, Christopher Da Gama, who came to assist the country in its time of peril, Father Avarez who wrote the account of the first Portuguese mission, Almeida and Castanhoso, who produced important historical works, Peter Pais, who built churches and palaces and converted the Emperor Socinus (Socenyos), to the Roman Doctrine, and his successor, Mendez, who insisted on the rigorous persecution of all who refused to accept the Roman tenets, were of infinitely greater importance than Lobo.

Without going more deeply into historical matters, one cannot refrain from expressing surprise at the entry: "1770, James Bruce discovered junction of Blue and White Niles at Khartum". What Bruce set out to discover was not the junction of the two Niles, the locality of which was already known, as Bruce himself declares, but the source of the Nile. The title of his book makes this evident: "Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773." Bruce discovered the source of the Blue Nile in the plain of Geesh, near Lake Tana in the highlands of Ethiopia. He considered the Blue Nile the main river and referred to it always as "the Nile". The White Nile he designated merely "the White River". He claimed to be the discoverer of the source of the Nile. He was led to the source by Ethiopian guides, for its location was of course familiar to the Ethiopians of Gondar, then the capital, where he dwelt several years. Bruce did not know the "White River" was longer than the Blue Nile. It was left to Speke to discover the source of the White Nile in 1862. The Blue Nile was of greater interest to Bruce because of his desire to ascertain the cause of the Nile's annual increase whereby it overflows its banks in Egypt and Sudan and by this irrigation, produces the agricultural wealth of those countries. He ascertained this is due to rain in the Ethiopian mountains.

An omission which denotes failure to regard history from an African standpoint is that of the battle of Adowa in 1896, the only occasion when an African nation—Ethiopia—inflicted so complete a defeat on a European nation—Italy—that the European government sued for peace. Its war of conquest was abandoned and no further attempt was made by Italy for nearly forty years. For the year 1896-7 the chronology gives Matabele and Mashona rebellions.

Actually the book would have been better named "Everyman's British Colonial Africa".

When dealing with British Africa, Mr. Hatch, who is the Commonwealth Officer of the British Labour Party, has some interesting things to say to his readers. He may be commended for quoting in full the report on the race and colour question of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. This may be summed up in two of its concluding paragraphs:

"Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development."

"There is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view . . ."

Mr. Hatch argues very cogently against the colour bar in marriage, as in other matters. When, however, it comes to a specific case, that of Seretse Khama and his English wife, Mr. Hatch is less forthright. Such phrases as "the coloured peoples of the world could not be expected to appreciate all the diplomatic and constitutional issues involved", "two years of carefully planned effort" and a "detailed study of the whole problem", indicate an approval for a graceful way of escape from facing up to the principles boldly stated on other pages. So we are told the National Executive of the Labour Party discussed with the South African Government and with anthropologists and others; thus Seretse Khama, after six years exile, was brought to the point of declaring willingness to resign the chieftainship he had inherited, but not to recognise the Chief the government had appointed. Accordingly it was decided by the British Government to abolish the chieftainship which was replaced by a "conciliar system", which appears to be indefined. There is no form of legislature of any kind. The so-called "indirect rule" is abolished.

Mr. Hatch comments that indirect rule is inadequate in modern times. We are fully in agreement with that, but nothing more adequate has been substituted according to his own account of matters. Unless there has been some later developments it appears the people have been removed from all participation in the administration of their country.

The decision, it appears, was hastened because "pressure was being exerted by important mining companies, led by the Oppenheimer group", to secure rights over minerals discovered in Bechuanaland, some of them on the tribal lands. The tribe had refused to take any decision on this matter in the absence of their chief, Bamanguato in consequence of these minerals may become "a great new industrial centre". Mr. Hatch comments: "It will take time to bring the members of the tribe into democratic participation in economic and political life. A great responsibility now rests on Seretse to use his influence wisely and to avoid the dangers to be seen in the Copper Belt and the Witwatersrand".

But what can Seretse Khama do? He has returned to Bechuanaland as a private citizen. There is no Bechuanland legislature to which he might appeal or by which he might be elected. The only effort he can make is to influence the terms on which the mineral-bearing lands are sold, insofar as these are on tribal land. But the Imperial Government, even in this, is liable to intervene.

Mr. Hatch is convinced that universal adult suffrage—one man and one woman, one vote and a fully democratic constitution is appropriate to all parts of Africa

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and, in fact, the only acceptable solution. Nevertheless he reproaches the Kenya elected members of the legislature, Mr. Mboya, Dr. Kiano and their colleagues of the Convention Peoples' Party for advocating this very thing. By their refusal to accept the Lennox-Boyd constitution the African representation in the Legislative Council was increased from eight to fourteen. This he says was a triumph for their tactics, but instead of expressing satisfaction, they continued demanding more. This he thinks was a mistake. Their attitude was endorsed for they were all elected, and those who adopted other policies were defeated. Truly, they have a hard struggle before them, but as Mr. Hatch believes, as they do, in majority rule, he should wish them success in their efforts.

In a final chapter, "The African Continent", Mr. Hatch observes "Britain gets more material benefit from her colonies than she returns to them". We have seen the statement denied. It is interesting that the Commonwealth Officer of the Labour Party affirms it. He adds: "Apart from the invaluable sources of food and raw materials which the colonies supply cheaply to the British people . . . without the sale of cocoa from Ghana and rubber from Malaya to the Americans, the dollar gap would have been unbridgeable . . . Britain, while loaning long-term capital to the colonies has at the same time been borrowing heavily from them at short-term rates. Between the end of 1949 and the end of 1955 the sterling balances in this country rose by about £1,700 millions, whereas the total grants and loans and our contribution to the United Nations' special agencies have never been above about £25 million a year. What is more the lack of saving within the United Kingdom, the consequent shortage of capital, and the economic policy of the country which led to the raising of the bank rate, all directly affect the colonies. Remember that they also have to pay these increased interest rates on the essential investments which they need for capital developments.

"Moreover", he continues,"the Treasury showed the utmost meanness when it discouraged some colonies from increasing industrial taxation. It feared that extra taxes on British companies in the colonies would mean less tax revenue here (in the United Kingdom). Considering that considerable wealth is still taken out of the colonies by companies overseas . . . this represents a most unjust attitude . . ."

He complains that Britain and U.S.A. have refused to contribute to the United Nations fund for Economic Development.

Prepared to welcome the independent states of Africa, Mr. Hatch is anxious to keep them within the British Commonwealth, which, he declares, without interfering with their freedom of action, will be a source of strength to them.

The independent African States which have emerged from the British Empire have thus far all elected to remain within the British Commonwealth, but freedom came to all these peoples without any major conflict. What might have happened had the conflict been intensely bitter and prolonged it is difficult to predict. No great crisis such as war has come as a crucial test of their willingness to remain in perpetuity. Moreover, they have not yet had to choose between the Commonwealth and a strong and extensive federation of African States.

Ethiopian Record

November 5.—Their Imperial Majesties attended the première of a variety performance given in Addis Ababa by the New Moscow Artistes' Group of the Soviet Union.

November 6.—His Imperial Majesty opened the new Prince Makonnen Memorial Bridge located near the Jubilee Palace over the Istafanos River, Addis Ababa.

November 7.—It was announced that a 14-man team explaining the new land reform scheme to the people of the various provinces had almost completed its labours.

November 11.—An eight-man Russian economic mission arrived in Addis Ababa.

A six-man delegation from the World Health Organisation's Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office arrived to take part in the Second Regional Malaria Eradication Conference which met in the Ethiopian capital.

November 12.—It was announced that a new agreement has been signed between the Ethiopian and French governments concerning the administration and operation of the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway. The company acquires Ethiopian nationality and will have its principal headquarters in Addis Ababa instead of Paris. The treaty established the principle of equality between the two governments and grants Ethiopia free port privileges at the Port of Jibuti.

November 13.—H.I.M. the Emperor received actors and actresses of the Haile Sellassie Theatre to congratulate them on their performance of an Amharic version of " Everyman."

November 15.—H.I.H. The Crown Prince Merid Azmatch Asfa Wossen and the Crown Princess arrived in Delhi at the beginning of a two-week official visit to India.

November 16.—The second W.H.O. Conference on Malaria Eradication opened in Addis Ababa under the presidency of the Ethiopian Minister of Public Health, H.E. Ato Abebe Retta.

November 18.—Receiving customs officials in audience the Emperor exhorted them to work hard.

November 22.—The Lord Mayor of Addis Ababa, H.E. Dejazmatch Zawdie Gabre Sellassie, left Addis Ababa to take part in the celebrations to mark the dedication of the new City Hall in Monrovia, Liberia.

November 23.—It was announced that 275 Afro-Americans recently joined the Ethiopian Orthodox Church at a ceremony performed in New York by His Grace Abuna Theophilus, the Ethiopian Bishop of Harar.

It was announced that the Imperial Highway Authority has awarded contracts for the construction of three new highways: 1, from Kalubi to Asbe Teferi;

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2, from Jimma to Agaro; and 3, from Bahr Dar along the eastern shores of Lake Tana to Addis Zemen.

November 26.—His Majesty opened the new University College Herbarium.

November 27.—His Majesty conferred 12 B.Sc. degrees and a number of intermediate certificates to graduates and senior scholars at the College of Engineering.

A caravan load of nearly 90 American tourists arrived in the Ethiopian capital.

November 30.—H.R.H. Prince Bertil, of Sweden, Duke of Halland, arrived in Addis Ababa for a three day visit to Ethiopia.

The Emperor sent a birthday message to Sir Winston Churchill.

December 1.—His Imperial Majesty formally opened the Ethio-Swedish Pedriatic Clinic of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital and awarded diplomas to graduating students of the Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology at a ceremony attended by Prince Bertil, of Sweden.

December 4—The Czechoslovak Minister of Finance, Mr. Julius Duris, arrived in Addis Ababa, head of an economic delegation to Ethiopia.

December 5. — The following appointments were announced:

H.E. Brigadier-General Abiye Abebe, to be the Emperor's Representative in Eritrea;

H.E. Major-General Muluguetta Bulli, Minister of National Community Development;

H.E. Ato Menassie Lemma, Chief of Economic and Financial Affairs in the Emperor's Private Cabinet.

H.E. Dejazmatch Tedla Bairu, Senator;

H.E. Lij Endalkatchew Makonnen, Ambassador to the United Kingdom;

H.E. Major Assefa Lemma, Vice-Minister of the Interior.

December 11.—His Majesty received in audience the head of a visiting Yugoslav Military Delegation.

A Treaty of Amity and Co-operation, an Economic Agreement, an Agreement on Cultural Co-operation and an Agreement on Scientific and Technical Co-operation were signed in Addis Ababa between the Ethiopian and Czechoslovak governments.

December 12.—The Czechoslovak Minister of Finance presented H.H.H. Prince Sahle Sellassie with the Grand Cordon of the Order of the White Lion.

It was announced that Ethiopia had been elected to the administrative Council of the International Communications Union.

December 14.—T.I.H. the Crown Prince and Princess arrived at Addis Ababa airport where they were welcomed by the Emperor and Empress after two and a half month absence.

December 16.—Professor Ivan Pote Rin, of the African Institute of the Academy of the Soviet Union arrived in Addis Ababa on a short visit.

It was announced that sixteen major chieftains of the Ogaden presented a petition to the Emperor complaining of attacks by tribesmen from the British Somaliland protectorate.

December 19.—Their Imperial Majesties opened the Silver Jubilee Festival of the 25-year-old Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association at Jan Hoy Meda.

December 22. — The following appointments were announced:

H.E. Ato Amanuel Abraham—Chief of Political Affairs in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet, with the rank of Minister;

H.E. Ato Gashaw Zeleke—His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary-designate abroad;

Brigadier-General Isayyas Gebreselassie—Special Chief of Staff in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

H.E. Ato Kebede Michael—Chief of the Imperial Chronicle Section in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet and, at the same time, Head of the National Public Library, with the rank of Vice-Minister;

H.E. Ato Girma Teklehawariat—His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary-designate abroad, with the same rank as he presently holds;

H.E. Ato Birhane Dinke—Vice-Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.

Ato Kebede Abozen—Kantiba (Mayor) of Gondar;

Ato Tekletsadik Mekuria — Consul-General in Jerusalem, with the rank of Minister abroad;

Major Workneh Gebayehu—Vice-Special Chief of Staff in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel;

Major Solomon Kader—Vice-Special Chief of Staff in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel;

Ato Yohannes Kidanemariam—Director-General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

Ato Worqu Habtewold—Director General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

Ato Woubishet Dilnessahu — Director-General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

Ato Ayele Moltotal — Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

Kenyazmatch Zawde Tadesse — Director-General, National Public Library;

Ato Assefa Temtem—First Secretary, Imperial Ethiopian Embassy in Moscow;

Ato Ayalew Zeleke — Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

Ato Meba Selassie Aleinu—Director-General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

Ato Befekadu Tadesse—Director-General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet;

Ato Nabiye Leul Kifle—Assistant Director-General in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet.

(continued on page 76)

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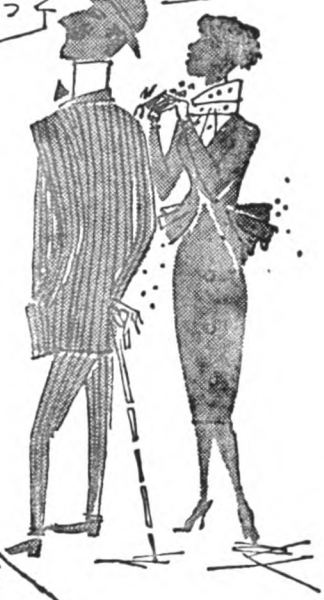

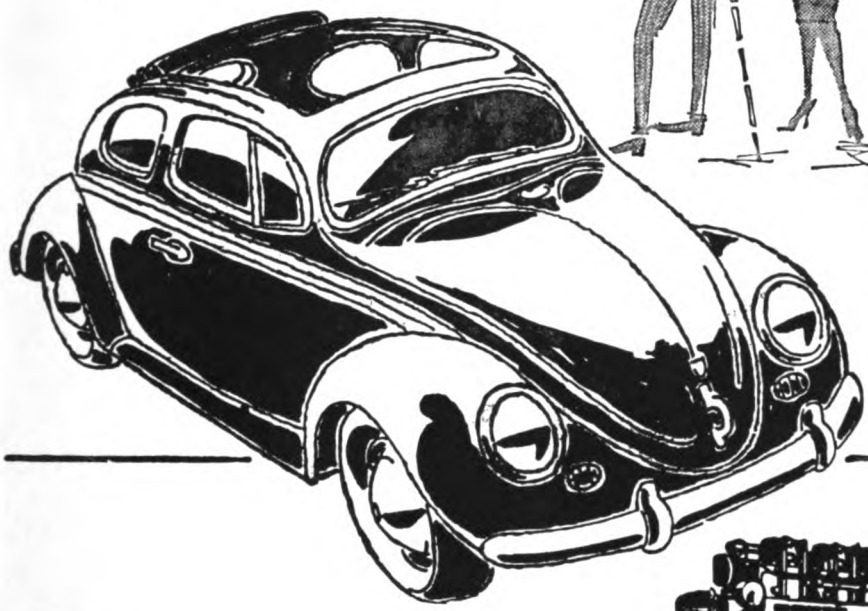

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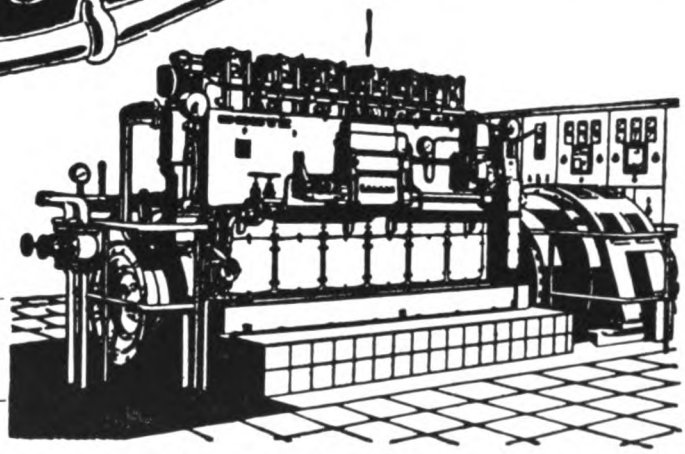

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Next Month's

ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

(Unfortunately delayed for technical reasons)

will be a special issue

IN FULL COLOUR

on

THE CHANGING FACE OF ADDIS ABABA

This Month's Cover Illustration

UNICEF milk distribution to the pre-school children: the weight of the children is checked each week.

Photo, Haile Mezemghe.

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ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

JOURNAL OF INDEPENDENT OPINION, ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND THE ARTS

Published in Ethiopia and Britain — Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst

Vol. IV No. 4 — March, 1960

Photo: Haile Mezemghe

The new Prince Makonnen School in the Market area: mothers and children lining up for milk distribution

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FOREWORD

By H. E. ATO ABBEBE RETTA, Ethiopian Minister of Public Health

By order of His Imperial Majesty a National Nutrition Board was appointed last November. This step is in tune with the general economic and social trend of developments in Ethiopia. With many aspects of our national life one by one being gradually integrated in the country's overall development plan, it was obvious that nutrition could not be left without special attention.

In an agricultural country like Ethiopia, it is not only in times of warfare or during famines that nutrition is of special importance. In a geographically delimited food shortage situation like that which occurred last year in the northern provinces of Ethiopia, due to unusually heavy locust infestation, a better distribution of available national resources is a prime objective of a sound nutrition policy. More than that, such a problem calls for more diversification of local production, better hygienic supply, storage and distribution systems, as well as the diffusion of scientific knowledge of food preparation, to suit the need of all the people of all ages.

We are confident that such critical situations which affect the lives of many of our compatriots shall never re-occur. Nevertheless, one of the National Nutrition Board's first duties is to advise the Government on steps to be taken in order that there may be sufficient provision and efficient distribution system against all such possible emergencies.

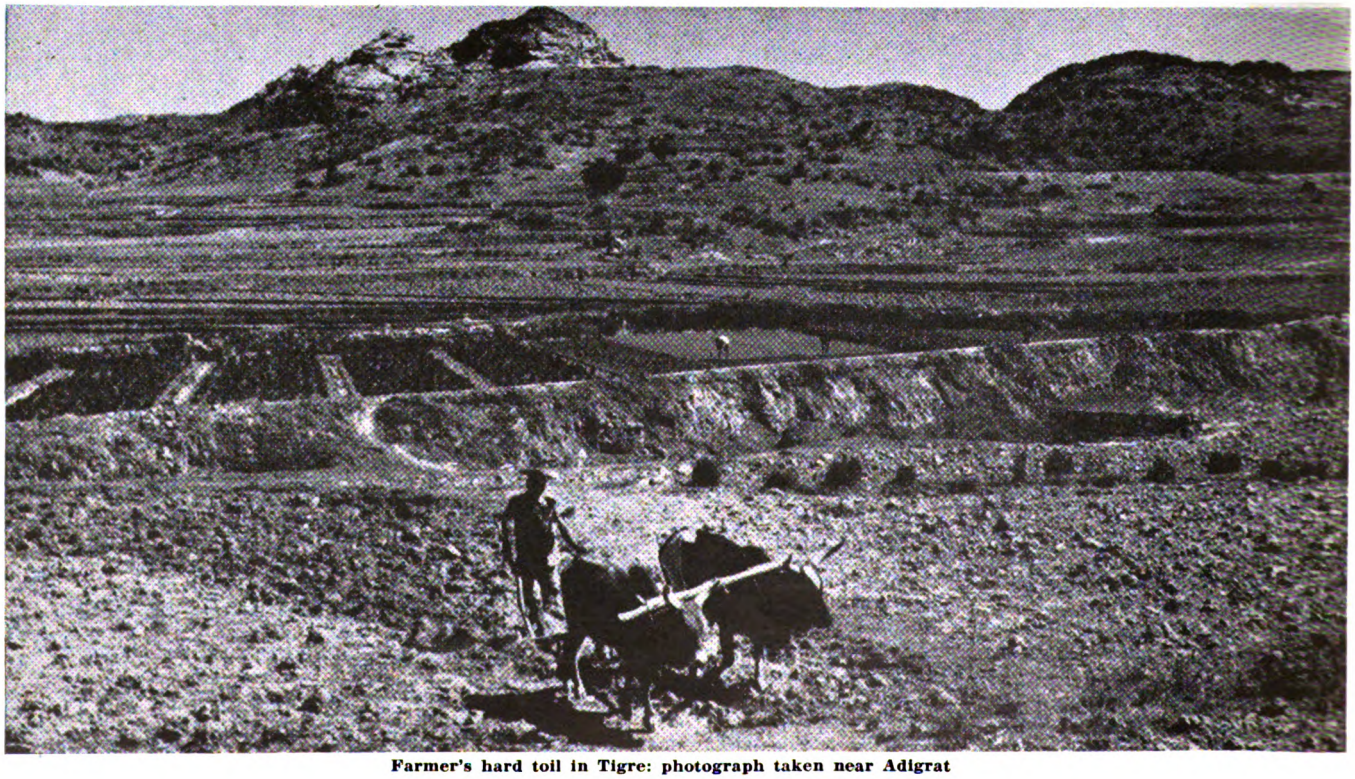
The most important aspect of the National Nutrition Board's function, however, is the long-term planning towards the adoption of sound nutritional patterns in all parts of Ethiopia. As a Minister of Public Health, I refer to the parallel with measures of prevention of health hazards and indeed nutrition is the primary foundation of it. The National Nutrition Board sees its principal duty to advise the various institutions on such actions, whether they are related to production of crops, development of animal food resources, etc., or aim at educating the public on a balanced food and a reform by education of some of the existing practices, which need general revision.

We are happy, and indeed grateful in these our efforts, which are now in the starting stage, to receive co-operation of the International, Bilateral, Technical and other assistance agencies.

FROM HIDES TO MILK

PROBLEMS OF NUTRITION AND WELFARE IN ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia Observer gratefully acknowledges the valuable collaboration of Mr. Hans Ehrenstrale, UNICEF Representative in Ethiopia, in preparing this issue. We are gratified to be able to preface the survey by a foreword from His Excellency Ato Abbebe Retta, Ethiopian Minister of Health, a report on the Livestock Processing Industry by Ato Hapte Ab Bairu, Director-General of External Trade in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Planning. It is pleasing also to be able to publish several articles from Ethiopian as well as from foreign experts in their specialised fields.



Farmer's hard toil in Tigre: photograph taken near Adigrat

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On the Ethiopian plateau

Better Milk Utilisation in Ethiopia Toward a National Nutrition Policy

By HANS EHRENSTRALE, UNICEF Resident Representative

It may be necessary to state first the trivial fact that people have lived—and often lived well—in Ethiopia for centuries without any specific notion of what in modern form is termed nutrition. The people here have acquired a certain amount of dietary experience, sometimes expressed in taboos, sometimes in fasting rules, of what they might eat and what they might not. It can be assumed that recipes for nourishment have been automatically handed down from one generation to the next and, here as elsewhere in the world, have been designed to satisfy the ascetic taste as well as the glutton. Something of the Biblical paternalism has characterised the philosophy: their father in heaven shall feed them The only traceable earlier concepts of the specific necessity of providing food was probably the charitable activities of the wealthier and of the Church to feed the starving poor.

That it was like this should not surprise us. In the western world it was similar. Only with the development of modern technology in the present century was systematic attention given to the science of nutrition. First in the decade 1910-1920 ideas about nutritive energy (calories) were generally recognised and before 1911 absolutely nothing was known about vitamins.

I believe it is of interest to have this brief, sketchy historic orientation as a background to the more recent developments in Ethiopia.

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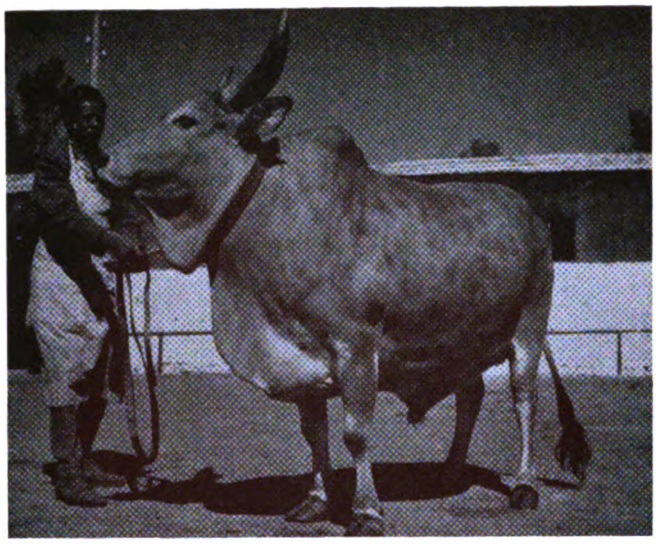

At the Shola Imperial Farm

It is in the last decade that nutrition has gradually become a matter of interest in this country. Since collaboration was established in 1954 between Ethiopia and UNICEF, the problem of child feeding has constantly and increasingly become the concern of those engaged in promoting the health and welfare of the people. F.A.O., W.H.O. and the bilateral U.S. agencies have provided technical guidance on the extent of the nutrition problem in Ethiopia. Following the important nutrition survey in 1959 by the U.S. Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defence, an Ethiopian National Nutrition Board was set up under the chairmanship of the Minister of Public Health last December. This is an intra-ministerial committee which also contains representatives of various international and bilateral agencies.

Careful planning is needed in developing long-term national policies aiming at the improvement of nutrition. Account must be taken of existing food consumption practices and dietary patterns and the social and economic factors underlying them, and of the agricultural and economic resources of the country. Expansion of food production should therefore be accompanied by application of food technology and the development of food processing industries. Expensive forms of food processing, which provide attractive foods for the higher income groups or for export, may not benefit the mass of the population. Attention must therefore be given to simple and inexpensive methods which can often be based on the improvement of existing local and traditional food preservation practices.

Several surveys during the last four years on the state of nutrition among the children in Ethiopia, demonstrated that the diet is inadequate and causes nutritional deficiency diseases which predisposes to other diseases, especially intestinal disorders and respiratory tract infections, in consequence of reduced resistance. The improvement of nutrition, particularly during the vulnerable childhood, is, therefore, one of the most effective preventive health measures to assure the healthy growth of the nation.

Milk is the outstanding basic food for children. In the form of mother's breast milk it is practically the exclusive food for the infants and milk contains the essential nutritives required for children up to four or five years of age. Contaminated and infected milk is, on the other hand, one of the greatest causes of infant mortality. An adequate milk supply is, therefore, recognised as a most important condition for the welfare of children.

It is a very conservative estimate that Ethiopia's total annual milk production is 800,000,000 litres. *Theoretically*, this would be enough to provide somewhat less than two litres per inhabitant every three weeks, or ten spoonfuls daily. On good grounds, however, it is estimated that about half Ethiopia's present milk production is not utilised for human consumption, and of the roughly 50 per cent., which is consumed by the people, only a part is consumed as fresh milk, the remainder being processed as butter, ghee, and in various fermented forms of less nutritive value. Compared with the average consumption figures from Europe, America and Asia, this is very low. Compared with similar information from other parts of the African Continent the figures from Ethiopia are representative of a fair medium.

If the milk supply is short in Ethiopia at present, the country has a large *potentiality* to increase its milk production. Ethiopia and the neighbouring Kenya have all the characteristics of good dairying countries. Much development, however, is required before the existing milk production will be better utilized and the full utilisation of Ethiopia's potentialities is part of the overall economic development in the country.

Each country should, of course, adopt a nutritional programme to ensure that its population is adequately fed, either from its own resources or on the basis of international trade. For many countries this cannot be

Down by the Awash River

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Near Alamata

achieved in the near future. There is therefore need for the supply of foods rich in protein and other essential nutrients under special arrangements as a transitional measure. The only source immediately available is the surplus foods which certain countries have produced in excess of their own needs and for which a market cannot be found within the country. At present the most important surplus foods which exist in considerable quantity are dry skim milk and wheat. Of these, dry skim milk is unquestionably the most valuable for making good a deficiency of protein. Dry skim milk has the additional advantage that it is easy to transport, has a long storage life without refrigeration and is easy to handle. For several years, under arrangements in which UNICEF participates, dry skim milk has been delivered to many countries, supplied to UNICEF without charge as a gift from the United States or the Canadian Governments. The Imperial Government of Ethiopia, through the Ministry of Education in Addis Ababa and the Department of Education in Asmara. have taken advantage of this supply, by conducting a large-scale supplementary milk-feeding programme to some 60,000 school children—30,000 in Ethiopia and the remainder in Eritrea, where malnutrition was found to be grave—and some pre-school children. This practical programme of improved nutrition has been launched by the Ministry of Education with the assistance of F.A.O. and UNICEF. It is a four-pronged activity through the Government schools and maternal and child health centres: Post-graduate training to lady school teachers in home economics, education in basic nutrition for elementary and secondary schools, school gardening and supplementary feeding for school children and pre-school children. (For further details regarding these activities reference is made to other articles in this issue of *Ethiopia Observer*.)

To depend on imported supplies is always precarious; all the more so if the commodity is a basic requirement of the daily life. The present system of international skim milk distribution has therefore always been considered as a temporary measure, established at a time when the need for supplementary feeding was realised to be urgent and when there were no other means of meeting that need. While taking full advantage of imported milk for the time being, it is necessary to concentrate international advice and assistance upon helping

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The Livestock Processing Industry

By HAPTE AB BAIRU, Director General of External Trade in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Planning

Ethiopia is predominantly an agricultural country, roughly the size of France and Germany combined with an estimated population of 20 million. The country is rich in natural resources, as yet largely untapped for lack of sufficient capital, initiative and technical knowledge. More than 80 per cent of the population is still engaged in agricultural pursuits, with the result that more than three-quarters of the total national income arises from agricultural activities. Animal husbandry offers by far the greatest scope for investment and personal initiative. The cattle population is estimated at more than 20 million, the goat and sheep population at more than 35 million, as well as some six million horses, mules and donkeys. The country is fortunate in having large areas of land suitable for grazing and is favourably endowed with an equable climate and abundant rainfall.

The livestock industry of Ethiopia (although up to now it has not received its fair share of attention by some sections of the general public) has contributed greatly to the general health of the people by providing meat and milk to cattle breeders, farmers and townspeople alike. It is a large potential cash-earner, second only to coffee, and it is estimated that the production of fresh meat is in the order of some 500,000 tons per year with commensurate quantities of milk. In addition, the production of hides and skins has met the demand of local tanneries and by being exported has contributed

(Continued on next page)

BETTER MILK UTILISATION

(Continued from previous page)

countries to develop their own resources and to cover their nutritional requirements through their own efforts. Under no circumstances should dry skim milk distribution programmes divert attention and effort from long-term measures to improve nutrition and raise living standards.

The first and most obvious means of replacing imported supplies of surplus skim milk is through the development of local resources. In the case of Ethiopia where milk production is still insufficient, excellent possibilities exist in largely unexploited and even unexplored resources for increasing milk production.

Against this background it may be of interest to report that the UNICEF Executive Board this March approved an allocation to Ethiopia to provide milk cooling equipment and a milk-quality control laboratory, including training and demonstration equipment. This assistance has been requested by the Ethiopian Government for a pilot phase of a project to collect milk from outside Addis Ababa, to institute a system of milk quality control, to train extension service workers in better milk production techniques and to channel a portion of the supply to children most in need of milk. At a later stage the Government intends to establish a modern dairy to serve Addis Ababa's total needs.

To purify the existing milk supply and also to meet an increasing demand for milk involves the establishment of a milk industry, with pasteurising or sterilisation dairies. However, it is not merely the erection of a modern plant which is required. A number of investigations have to be carried out. *Inter alia* the following questions have to be satisfactorily answered:

Is there sufficient milk produced in good enough quality in an accessible area near enough to the capital? The answer to this question is only partly known today. With the four milk collecting centres which are to be set up this year we shall know the answer.

Is the price of milk such that the safe product—whether it is liquid milk, butter or cheese—would be within reach of the milk consuming part of the population? To this we do not know the specific answer as yet. At present good quality milk is expensive. Experience, however, from many other countries in a similar position is reassuring. The establishment of large-scale milk plants producing high quality milk products, has, practically everywhere, resulted in cheaper milk to the consumer and at the same time the cow keepers have normally received a better price for their produce. There is no reason why this experience should not be repeated in the scheme which is planned for Addis Ababa.

So far, I have merely listed questions of technical and economic soundness. There is, especially for UNICEF and for the government departments concerned with specially needy groups, children in particular, the important question of establishing priorities among the consumers. Hospital patients, nursing and pregnant mothers and small children should receive a fair amount of the produce. How can this be obtained? Is there a scheme to establish social or medical priority cases? Would the authorities be willing to adopt a policy of subventions to those medically or socially most needy?

These and many connected questions have already been answered in the affirmative by the Ethiopian authorities. That it is possible, is best demonstrated by reference to an already established pattern, on a small scale: Shola dairy provides milk to medical and educational institutions at a reduced price.

The milk trade is everywhere a profitable business and where the will exists to provide a hygienically controlled product at a reasonable price, this can be feasibly combined with fair commercial practice. The provision of liquid milk to certain priority groups can best be based on milk of standardised fat content or skim milk, the cost of which would be paid for by income from the sale of butter, cream and cheese; in other words, the welfare interest claims only the produce which from a commercial point of view is a side-product. This side-product happens to be the nutritionally most essential food for humans, especially during childhood.

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UNICEF distribution of milk to the school-children; fathers, as well as mothers, watch the mixing of the dried milk and follow the instructions

to the earning of much needed foreign exchange. It is estimated that more than three million cattle hides are produced annually, and about sixteen and a half million goat and sheep skins. Theoretically, therefore, it is feasible for Ethiopia to export annually 800,000 head of cattle, 500,000 head of sheep and about the same number of goats (or the corresponding amounts of meat) which would give an annual export value of some Eth. $85,000,000. This added to an annual export of some Eth. $15,000,000 worth of hides and skins, gives a total potential export value of Eth. $100 millions a year for live cattle, meat and meat products, and hides and skins.

In practice, however, these figures have not been reached. In fact, the number of live cattle exported in any one year so far has not exceeded 20,000 head, of live goats and sheep not more than 7,000 head, of frozen and canned meat not more than 3,500 tons (or the equivalent of some 18,000 head of live cattle), of cattle hides not more than 11,000 tons, of goat and sheep skins combined not more than 9,000,000 pieces. In the year 1958/59 (i.e. 1951 Ethiopian calendar), the export of meat, meat products and live cattle, sheep and goats amounted to Eth. $3,742,000 only, and the total export of hides and skins to Eth. $22,580,000. The total value of live cattle, meat and meat products, and hides and skins exported during 1958/59 amounted to Eth. $26,322,000 only (or 16 per cent of the country's total export value in that year). This is only about one-quarter of the potential annual export value of Eth. $100 millions indicated above, in spite of the fact that 1958/59 was an extremely good year for hides and skins since the prices were favourable and the exports of these commodities were considerably higher than in previous years, as can be seen from the statistics on the following page.

These statistics show that the export of meat and meat preparations and live cattle is still relatively unimportant in relation to hides and skins. A good deal could be done, and should be done, to increase such exports. There is clearly plenty of scope for the profitable operation of meat processing plants in the immediate future, and there is still plenty of room for new private initiative and private investment capital, both domestic and foreign, in the business of processing meat, hides and skins, and of exporting the products.

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EXPORTS OF LIVE CATTLE, MEAT, HIDES AND SKINS, 1948-9 TO 1958-9
(in Quantity)

Year (September-September)	Live cattle (No.)	Live goats and sheep (No.)	Frozen meat (tons)	Canned meat *(tons)	Cattle hides (tons)	Sheep skins (thou. pcs.)	Goat skins (thou. pcs.)
1948/49	2,273	6,333	—	—	6,583	2,143	3,620
1949/50	1,365	444	—	—	6,576	1,724	2,979
1950/51	369	121	—	—	10,857	1,995	2,709
1951/52	934	24	—	—	6,152	1,622	1,984
1952/53	1,726	791	577	1,005	6,147	2,103	4,286
1953/54	1,626	219	1,446	918	6,231	1,769	4,379
1954/55	19,992	332	254	2,930	4,778	2,289	4,043
1955/56	16,777	1,615	200	3,150	4,281	2,556	3,990
1956/57	4,772	76	683	1,678	3,963	2,424	4,337
1957/58	98	785	67	1,742	4,480	1,935	4,337
1958/59	48	506	2,132	1,226	7,888	3,302	5,024

* The tonnages for the export of canned meat are estimated from value figures.

EXPORTS OF LIVE CATTLE, MEAT AND MEAT PRODUCTS, HIDES AND SKINS, ETC.
(in value of Eth. $1,000)

Year (September/September)	Live cattle	Frozen meat	Meat canned	Animal intestines	Cattle hides	Sheep skins	Goat skins
1948/49	174	—	—	17	8,665	3,263	6,948
1949/50	159	—	—	3	6,805	3,074	5,428
1950/51	45	—	—	25	20,082	4,286	6,062
1951/52	81	—	—	58	10,239	3,158	3,379
1952/53	203	633	1,005	53	7,406	3,706	6,730
1953/54	200	1,303	918	51	6,742	3,612	6,924
1954/55	3,078	206	2,930	41	4,037	4,775	6,656
1955/56	2,518	178	3,150	92	3,596	4,904	7,201
1956/57	625	648	1,678	51	2,737	4,987	7,399
1957/58	5	102	1,742	73	3,341	3,848	7,398
1958/59	4	2,023	1,226	285	6,798	6,080	9,214

The Imperial Government is, of course, conscious of the obstacles which stand in the way of the export of a greater volume of live cattle, frozen meat and meat products. To mention just a few, there is the lack of adequate standardization of animals by type (e.g. by breed, sex, age, feeding conditions, weight, etc.); the lack of adequate facilities for transporting live cattle because of the long distances between the ports and their grazing areas, the heat in Assab, Massawa and Djibouti and the shortage of drinking water on the way; and the lack of refrigeration facilities for the carriage of frozen meat from the abattoirs to the Red Sea ports. For these reasons, the Imperial Government is more inclined to encourage the establishment of meat processing industries in Ethiopia, so as to export larger quantities of frozen meat and meat products, than to encourage the export of live cattle in large numbers.

During the past few years, the Government has encouraged private investors to set up meat processing plants and abattoirs, with a view to ensuring the supply of better quality meat to the local market and better quality hides and skins for export. Good results have been achieved, but there is still much to be done.

Much improved veterinary service has been made available free of charge to the cattle breeders in the provinces. A large proportion of the cattle in the country is receiving yearly vaccination against rinderpest and other diseases. The Government has recently taken measures with regard to hygienic standards and requirements toward ensuring that the quality of the meat and meat products exported from Ethiopia will be acceptable in foreign countries.

Projects for installing one or two additional meat processing and packing plants in the near future are being studied, but when these are established there will still be plenty of scope for private capital, both domestic and foreign, to participate in the trade. The potentialities are such that many more such plants will clearly be needed. The Imperial Government, and, in particular, the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Planning, is always ready to assist would-be private investors, and any genuine proposal will be welcomed and given the utmost care and attention.

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A Brief Report on a Nutrition Survey

By ZEMED ALEMU, Health Officer

What sorts of nutrition deficiencies exist in the country? What kind of foods are consumed by the people? What nutritional values (proteins, vitamins) do these foods contribute and how much? Are bitots spots and scorbutic gums indicative of vitamin A and C deficiencies respectively?

These with many other questions regarding nutrition might have kept tossing to and fro in the eager minds of public health and other community workers, without any action being taken.

Dr. Postmus, nutrition consultant from F.A.O. and W.H.O., did a quick survey among school children during the months of November and December, 1957, and January, 1958, which resulted in valuable information about the nutritional needs of Ethiopia. A few others have devoted themselves to this study and have contributed some solutions to the very many questions on the subject. It was not until official consultations and agreements were made between the Ethiopian and United States Governments that a wide range, fruitful nutrition survey, capable of satisfying many of the problems, could be hoped for.

The agreement between these two governments resulted in the creation of a survey team. In late September, 1958, a team of 18 American experts, headed by Dr. William Darby, arrived in Addis Ababa. It consisted of three clinicians, three biochemists, one dentist, two nutrition officers and one food technologist. The great majority of the participating Ethiopians were health officers and sanitarians from the Gondar Public Health College and Training Centre. One graduate and 13 intern health officers, and 10 intern sanitarians took part in the survey. Major Telahoun Bishane, a nutritionist, was the liaison officer and 12 drivers were enlisted from the Ethiopian Army. A laboratory assistant and three technicians and a clerk, on loan from various institutes contributed to the whole team of counterpart Ethiopians of the survey team.

The scope of the survey was scheduled to determine a variety of considerations peculiar to Ethiopia, i.e. the physical features of the country, limitations of transport, the large number of ethnic and dialect groups, the dietry and agricultural patterns. With the above points in mind, about 19 places were scheduled for the survey.

The team was primarily based at the Pasteur Institute in Addis Ababa. The field group was divided between two teams who toured to various spots throughout the Ethiopian Empire, working in markets, schools, villages, polyclinics and hospitals. Military and civil air planes, army jeeps, mules and horses served in the transportation. By the time the whole team once more centralised in Addis it had covered almost all the places scheduled for the work and had a representative total of about 6,200 cases who were screened. About a fifth of the total had been physically examined for specific signs; nutrition deficiences, and samples of blood, urine, etc., had been collected from them for further study. Special I.B.M. cards were used for the work. These cards, after being filled, were punched in each finding and will be run into an I.B.M. sorting machine for the final statistical data. The dietary history was dictated and entered on a special form for most of the adults who underwent the physical tests.

Food samples were collected, both from homes and markets. Meals, including several types of injera and wat, were kept in air-tight iced containers and eventually shipped for chemical analysis of the nutrition values in each specimen. Other staple crops, teff, wheat, barley, mashila (various species of grain-sorgum) in Amhara and Galla areas, including inset (pseudo-banana root) from Sidamo, were collected for further study. 1,100 dental examinations were made.

In the various places to which the team travelled, the food technologist was busily engaged in observing various food preservation plants, tomato ketchup factories, meat canneries, etc., and mills and farms. He noted the prices of food and crops in a number of markets.

From what the team has discovered during the two-month survey, it was observed that goiter existed endemically all over the country. Bitots spots, the sign of vitamin A deficiency were prevalent among school children. A universal distribution of child feeding difficulties and ricketts was noted. Cases of kwashiorkor and growth retardation among children evidenced the lack of protein nutrition.

During the last week of the survey three schools were carefully examined after being supplemented for six weeks with a certain vitamin found to be suboptimal in a previous biochemical analysis. Vitamin A was supplied for the first school, C for the second and none for the third control school. This research type survey was attempted in order to verify whether the signs indicate the respective deficient vitamins. These schools remained on supplementation till three doctors who had been with the team came back for re-examination and observation.

Furthermore, a compendium of 140 pages has been produced by the nutrition team to be one of the essential references in the homes of those who are interested to know the caloric, vitamin and protein value of the Ethiopian diet; from the time of its first appearance, this report will remain an ideal basic foundaton for any attempt to advance the general nutritional status of Ethiopians.

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School Nutrition and Gardening

By GETACHEW WOLDE HANNA, Director of the UNICEF Assistance Programme, Ministry of Education

It is now the fifth year since some needy children in Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian provinces have been receiving help from UNICEF, in accordance with an Agreement between the Ethiopian Ministry and UNICEF.

The help given to the children includes rations of powdered milk, vitamin tablets, soap, kitchen equipment, seeds and gardening tools.

The Ministry of Education established a separate department with an office in the Ministry and a small staff to operate the school nutrition programme. As the work has expanded from year to year, the staff has been increased. At present we have an adviser from the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation; a departmental chief; two inspectors to visit the schools; a woman employee to deal with the pre-school children with four assistants; a storekeeper and a couple of drivers.

At the commencement of the present scholastic year, we had a stock of 426,154 lb. of powdered skimmed milk; 2,799,000 vitamin capsules A and D; and 300,000 tablets of vitamin C; also, 33,520 lb. of soap; with kitchen equipment, gardening tools and 17,805 lb. of seeds.

At a meeting on October 27, 1959, between the officials of the Ministry of Education and of UNICEF, it was decided to assist 30,000 children in various parts of the Ethiopian Empire during the year 1959-60.

Accordingly, we, of the Department of School Nutrition and Gardening, despatched circulars to 20 schools in the poorer parts of Addis Ababa and to ten of the Ethiopian provinces, asking them to send representatives to our office to receive the rations for the province.

Our circular was not sent to Begemder Province, as it had been decided that is should be supplied by the Gondar Public Health College. The Tigré Province had already received assistance; owing to the famine which had occurred there during the previous rainy season, we had sent there 65,370 lb. of powdered milk, 480,000 capsules of vitamins A and D and 18.750 lb. of soap.

Of the 20 schools in Addis Ababa all but two appeared to receive their rations; all the provinces on our list except Sidamo and Illubabor sent their representatives to obtain the promised rations.

We hope the schools which failed to appear when the others received their supplies will come for them after the fast.

We have now in our central warehouse a stock of 214,582 lb. of skimmed milk, 177,000 capsules of vitamins A and D and 300,000 of vitamin C, with 14,096 lb. of soap and 107 lb. of seeds. These we shall distribute by the end of the current school year.

The milk distribution programme continues regularly each week except on fast days. As there is no school on Saturdays and Sundays, the distribution cannot take place on those days.

The teachers attended the summer courses of the nutrition and gardening programme held in the schools where they taught.

The gardening programme is successfully carried out at Dedjazmatch Wondirad, Amha Desta, Medhane Alem and Tafari Makonnen schools in Addis Ababa, as well as in many provincial schools including: in Shoa Province, at Abiye, Alulu, Aberra Asfawossen, Atse Nible Dingle (Emperor Lebna Dengel) and Mulu schools; in Dessie, at Memhir Akale Wold, Negus Mikael, Empress Menen and Woldia schools; in Tigré, at Adowa, Adigrat, Makalle and Maichau schools; in Kaffa, at Mazia 27th (fifth of May), Haile Sellassie I and Agaro schools; in Sidamo, at Ras Desta, Dilla and Wondo schools.

In all these schools the children grow carrots, cabbages, beans, tomatoes and Swiss chards. In several schools gardening has to be abandoned in dry seasons for lack of water. The school gardens are prepared well in time for the rainy season. The seed beds have already been started and the beds have been prepared into which the seedlings will be transplanted when the rain comes.

Mother and Child Welfare

The following notes have been kindly contributed by Miss Yeshimebet Tafari, who is in charge of free milk distribution in Addis Ababa to infants and children under three years of age.

Waizerit Yeshimebet is a graduate in Home Economics of the University College of Addis Ababa and though still very young is already an experienced as well as an ardent social worker. She was one of the founders who went down to Majete to build the United Nations Community Settlement there. When she and Waizerit Ruth Imru went there to co-operate with M. Garaud, who was leading the venture; everything on the site was still very much "in the rough." Electric light and piped water were not yet fitted; few houses had been built; the exterior and interior roads had still to be constructed; the two young women pioneers had to be prepared to accept hard conditions and to turn their hands to whatever might be required, which they did with the utmost cheerfulness and readiness to work for the common good. The school where they were to teach home economics, child care, hygiene and literacy was yet to be built. They took part in constructing it. As soon as it was completed, they devoted their abundant energies to manufacturing teaching equipment with local material. From first to last they kept a hospitable home for visitors.

Within a very short time they were teaching numerous classes of the women of the locality to read and write, as well as useful homecrafts, knitting, sewing and dressmaking, child care, gardening, cooking and washing, furniture making with bamboo and other local products. They encouraged their pupils to grow cotton and to use it for their knitting.

Miss Yeshimebet has taken part in numerous sociological surveys.

To-day she is gentle, considerate, understanding and wise as teacher and adviser to the thousands of women who come to the milk distribution centres in Addis Ababa. Withal she is so simple and friendly that it is a pleasure to work with her.

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The Pre-School Children Feeding Programme

By Yeshimebet Tafari

Distribution of powdered milk received from UNICEF takes place three times a week at seven Addis Ababa Schools. It is distributed to approximately 5,000 school children and pre-school children, ranging from infancy up to three years of age.

The distribution to the school children and to the mothers of the babies and pre-school children, who bring their little ones with them is held at the same centres and on the same days, to facilitate administration by minimising time and labour.

Milk distribution commenced on October 20, 1959. In March, 1960, the milk rations to school and pre-school children receiving milk at seven Addis Ababa schools were allocated thus:—

	School	Number of Infants and children receiving milk
1.	Haile Sellassie I Day School	1,048
2.	Prince Makonnen (market area)	1,050
3.	Shimelis Habte	597
4.	Medhane Alem	860
5.	Princess Zenebe Work	858
6.	Kusquam	421
7.	Patriots	70
		5,287

Allocation of the quantity of milk to the respective schools is based on what appears to be the need of the neighbouring area and the space and other facilities each school can provide.

The director and teachers of each school attend to the distribution of milk to their pupils. They have all proved extremely helpful and interested and really glad to assist in all possible ways, providing water, lending the school watchmen ("zabagnes"), to marshall the big crowds of mothers with their children waiting their turn, either for registration or for their weekly share of milk.

When the consent of the director has been obtained to operate, the programme at the school, and a suitable place in the compound for the milk distribution has to be chosen, preferably where there is shade and a convenient entrance and exit with water near at hand.

News of the programme is then spread through the school children to the mothers of the younger children who are to benefit. On the appointed day registration begins. Two numbered cards are used for each child. The child's full name and sex, and the name of the mother are written on both cards. The mother is given one of these cards which she must bring when she brings her child to the centre each week. The other card is retained at the centre and on it the child's age is inscribed and its weight on first arrival and from week to week. A ledger is kept with the names of the beneficiaries and a number corresponding with the number on the child's cards.

The Ministry of Education has provided four assistants and a car to further the work. Some thirteen ladies of the Women's International Club, by the kind intervention of Mrs. Barnes, generously give voluntary assistance. In addition to the milk, vitamins A and B are distributed to each child and soap is given to the mothers.

Sometimes the mothers are ill and cannot bring their children to the centre, therefore it has been found by experience that there is about 20 per cent absenteeism and the same percentage of milk unused. It has been decided that the number of beneficiaries may be increased to 6,000 as it will be possible to do this without exceeding the available supply.

A Volunteer's View

by ELIZABETH S. FRENCH

Volunteers from the International Woman's Club of Addis Ababa have been contributing their services each week at six of the seven schools used as milk centres in distributing milk to the mothers of pre-school children.

They have been aiding the Ministry of Education employees and teachers, school officials, and home economics pupils of the various schools in the ever-expanding volume of work at the centres. They have had the gratifying experience of participating in the registration often of as many as 250 new babies in a single morning. This involves the weighing of each baby before a card is issued to the mother, entitling her to 480 grammes a week of powdered milk. Babies are weighed once a month thereafter to check the gain resulting from the improved nutrition. If weight remains static, or a loss is recorded, an effort is made to determine why.

The women volunteers consider it a great privilege to be permitted to help in this work, the results of which are apparent in terms of healthier babies, happier and better informed mothers, and the enthusiastic interest and co-operation of the teachers for whom this could be an added burden. They hope that for the young girl students of home economics at some of the schools, who give one morning a week to the programme, this will be the beginning of an active interest in community welfare work. It is impressive indeed to see the long distances the mothers of Addis Ababa (and some fathers, too) are willing to walk, carrying their babies (often more than one) and leading young children, to obtain their weekly ration.

All involved in this programme recognise it as a first, basic step toward a more inclusive programme of maternal and child care. An emphasis has been placed on the need for boiling water to be mixed with the milk powder. Mothers of new babies have been urged to consume the milk themselves and to continue breast feeding as more healthy and hygienic for young infants.

At the outset many tins brought by the mothers to the centres were dirty, rusty, or wet. Workers have insisted that these containers be spotless, in order to prevent contamination of the milk. This insistence has brought the desired result. It is now only rarely that a mother is refused milk because of an insanitary container.

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Eritrea School Nutrition and Gardening Programme

By GABRAHEWET NEBARAI

When we received the assurance that the School feeding and gardening programme for Eritrea had been accepted, measures were taken to carry out the programme. The first steps, after consulting the high authorities, were to prepare the budget of expenditure, to create a School Feeding and Gardening Section, to appoint an Administrative Officer, a garden specialist, a clerk, a driver to deliver the supplies and a guard for the central store. Shelters, where the milk would be prepared and distributed, stocks of firewood for boiling water, and personnel to prepare the dried milk and to distribute it when mixed with hot water, were required for the town schools, and for all schools, stationery, comprising report cards on the consumption of milk and its results, and stock cards etc., etc., had to be furnished.

The Directorate of Education advised all rural school committees through the local press to erect kitchens for preparing the milk in their respective schools.

This advice was followed by a circular letter requesting all Senior Divisional Officers to co-operate with the new scheme. These measurers were successful; with very few exceptions, all rural schools complied with the request to erect kitchens.

As soon as the milk was received from U.N.I.C.E.F., mimiographed instructions for its preparation and distribution were sent to all schools. In order that the programme might start on a sound basis, the Director of Education. accompanied by the Administrator of the Assistance Programme, visited all schools.

The Director addressed the teachers, emphasising the advantage the children would receive from the milk and vitamins. From the soap distribution they would gain more than the actual cakes of soap given to them by the inculcation of habits of personal cleanliness which they would acquire and continue in adult life.

School Gardens

The gardening programme was also presented to the teachers as of great importance for the immediate and long-range benefit the present and future citizens would derive from it, because it would assist in bettering the diet of the people. To demonstrate its importance and to ensure that it would be efficiently managed, a Gardening Sub-Section would be created, headed by an expert in this field.

Without waiting for the arrival of the supplies for this part of the programme from U.N.I.C.E.F. the official in charge of the Gardening Section was instructed to go to all the selected schools to start preparing the plots of land for cultivation. This step taken beforehand was found most helpful; only a few days after the arrival of the vegetable seeds, the gardening was in full swing. This proved a great boon.

Milk distribution was delayed owing to lack of transport, all government trucks being occupied in transporting grain to all centres of Eritrea to cope with the famine caused by the incursions of locusts which in that same year had three times in succession destroyed the Eritrean crops, three times sown.

By January, 1960, however, the full programme was operating in all but a few schools in the northern part of Eritrea.

The Administrative Officer now visited a number of rural and town schools to make sure that the directions were being followed by all teachers; he discovered they had in fact been everywhere strictly followed. Some of the rural school teachers, however, complained that having to boil the water and to mix and distribute the milk for all the children took them from two to three hours every morning. This obliged them to start working at 6.30 a.m. on five days a week. Therefore they requested personnel to undertake the preparation of the milk.

The Directorate of Education could not incur the expense of employing workers for milk preparation at all the rural schools, but it was not difficult to convince the teachers that they ought to sacrifice their own time in this

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Mothers often question the workers at the centres about the ailments of their babies. They look to those who are aiding in the nutrition of their children for advice and counsel on other problems for improving the health of their families. It is frustrating not to be able to give this help, particularly when many serious maladies could be prevented by proper hygiene or simple first-aid care at the onset of symptoms.

To date the concentration in the programme has had to be on setting up a smooth operation for registering and servicing over 5,000 babies, the quota of pre-school children who can be provided for in Addis Ababa. This has taken the full time and attention of the professional staff and volunteers. But all anticipate the obvious next step which would be to combine the milk distribution with a mother and child clinic and with a much needed health education programme. This is already being done in Eritrea by the Eritrean Children's Welfare Society with great success. At each centre of the E.C.W.S. there are experienced auxiliary personnel, most of them trained in midwifery and mother and child care. Doctors attend periodically.

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extra labour for the benefit of the children. In fact on a second visit it was found teachers had accustomed themselves to the extra hours of early work involved by the milk distribution and were happy to give their time toward improving the health of their pupils. Subsequent supervision revealed that the distribution of milk and soap was being carried out with enthusiasm and was regarded as part of the normal school work.

Town school teachers had little reason to complain of the extra work necessitated by the programme, as each town school had from two to five janitors, according to the number of its pupils, to assist with the milk preparation and distribution. The programme in these schools was carried out in a really satisfactory manner. One of the things testifying to the genuine interest of the teachers in this effort for the children's welfare is that they have themselves purchased some additional kitchen equipment. In many schools the teachers have spent as much as $30 of their own salaries on kitchen utensils.

Today in Eritrea the Assistance Programme is the daily subject of conversation among the public. Directors of private and Mission schools from all over the territory are coming to the Directorate of Education requesting supplies of dried milk, vitamins, soap and vegetable seeds. Many of them have been supplied; well over 6,000 children attending private and Mission schools are now benefiting by the Assistance Programme and more applications are still reaching our office.

The total number of children benefiting by the programme at the time of writing is 38,938, divided as follows: government schools, 27,103; Eritrean Children's Welfare Society (E.C.W.S.), 3,000; private and Mission schools, 6,353; His Imperial Majesty's Schools, 804; families helped through the School of Nursing, 1,678.

This number will increase because there are still several Mission and private schools not yet being supplied and which are insisting on receiving the same treatment as the similar schools now benefiting by the assistance programme. Moreover some centres run by the Eritrean Children's Welfare Society which have not yet begun operating the programme have promised to do so shortly. This will increase the number of children receiving supplies by about 2,000. The Committee of the Eritrean Children's Welfare Society has also decided to open by June, 1960, two more clinics, one in Ad Teklezan and the other in Embeite. These two centres will probably serve from 1,500 to 1,600 children.

The children are visibly benefiting by the programme. In the visits the Administrator has paid to the Schools, the good results of the milk and vitamins distribution were evident to him in the faces of the boys and girls who looked both healthy and happy. The question: "Do you like the milk?" was invariably answered with "Yes! yes!" or "Yes, yes; we do! We should like you to give it to us twice a day, instead of only once!"

Not alone do the children benefit physically by the milk and vitamins, their attendance at school has become more regular. The monthly reports received at this office indicate that school attendance has considerably improved since the commencement of the distribution.

Gardening Bears Fruit

The gardening programme has already borne fruit in a good number of the schools selected to operate it. Many pupils have already gathered the first rewards of their work and have begun their second planting. They all seem very happy to have their own piece of land to cultivate. They display their satisfaction in the eagerness with which they draw the attention of the visiting Administrator and his coadjutors to what they have grown and urge them to notice how well they have cared for their gardens.

The school Feeding and Gardening Section is fully conscious of the fact that the vast majority of Eritrean school children will have to depend upon the land for their livelihood; therefore it has this part of the programme very much at heart. The Section is convinced that by teaching gardening at the schools it will be able to instil a useful elementary knowledge of farming and vegetable growing. The children learn readily and do not need to be told of the benefits to be derived from proper agriculture, because they see the result of their work, having reaped their first harvest and shared it with their families. It is certain, also, that through the children's school gardens, the adults also will come to know and to appreciate the value of home-grown vegetables in their diet.

The aims of this Section do not extend only to the school gardens; the need for closer co-operation among Eritrean farmers is realised. There is soil erosion for them to fight against together. They need to make rules among themselves to protect their crops from damage by domestic animals which go astray. They should come to agreements which are at present lacking, to use for the common good the common land now too often wasted or abandoned. They should eradicate unhealthy traditions and install wholesome new ideas.

The section has published a pamphlet on farming.

It has established rules for the children who are participating in the gardening programme. Any school operating this part of the programme is regarded as a miniature "state". It has its own president, vice-president, law court, public prosecutor, police, taxes, etc., etc. Every pupil has farmers's rights and privileges and obligations toward his fellow farmers and the Government (of the school). All this is embodied in the farmer-student constitution and the Section hopes that this "law" will help to produce the sort of future citizens it desires to see. This part of the programme may also exert an influence upon the present generation of farmers, for the children will explain it to their parents.

Copies of the student farmers constitution will be obtainable when it has been translated into the three languages current in Eritrea.

Home Economics

The Gardening programme has a sister programme. The staff of the Eritrean Directorate of Education is well aware of the deficiencies in the national diet, due not wholly to lack of food-stuffs but also to traditional usages and lack of knowledge. Accordingly, with the help of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation, the Directorate last year sent to Addis Ababa three Eritrean women teachers to attend a one-year course in Home Economics. They have now returned and are working in the three largest girls' schools in Eritrea, in Asmara, Adi Ugri and Kerea. They are teaching nutrition, cooking, family and baby care. There is also a branch for sewing and dressmaking which has begun with forty pupils.

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From Reports on the School Nutrition Activities

" I have watched dozens of children taking their first cup of milk. Their faces are very, very serious. Every nerve is tense for registration. They first smell with flickering noses, then they taste carefully. One mouthful. Then another one. Experienced wine degustators wouldn't do it with more skill. Usually they like the milk immediately and then they drink like small calves.

" Our worst problem is the water. In Shashamanna, the only water available is from a stream that runs through the village. We found that this water is not good for drinking purposes. Since we could not find any fuel for boiling it we went out, in company with the Governor of the province, to examine a spring outside the village. This water was perfect but seven kilometres too far and no sebanya (the watchman of the school) would give his donkey for such a long transport every day. So for the time being we dropped the idea and we use the water from the stream cleaned through a home-made sand-filter. This is the only way to do it for the moment. But I hope UNICEF will help us to get the pipe to the school compound.

" I have been told that UNICEF does not like to assist the costly method of horizontal transport of the water but favours the cheaper method of wells.

" Fine, that is just what we need down in the Borana plain. There they have wells at practically every school, but very deep wells, often 30 to 35 metres. These wells are dug as very narrow holes, always beside a special kind of tree, I don't know its name. The roots of that tree penetrate deep down in the earth and they leave them to stick out in the side of the well. The youngest and lightest boys—sometimes girls—then cling on to these roots, the very smallest children deepest down, and so they form a chain to elevate the water in a small container. Not only is it dangerous, it takes them almost the full morning to get up enough water to mix with the skimmed milk powder. I feel they should instead attend the classes, so please have UNICEF give us pumps! (April 1956)

" One result—entirely unforeseen—of the school gardening programme, so she tells me, is that in some places many families are induced to prepare their own gardens around their tukul (the round African house built of chikamud and bamboo branches). When they saw the beans, carrots and cabbages—not to speak of the Amaryllis, because we cultivate flowers too—they wanted to do the same at home.

" Hesitantly, I want to tell one more thing about the school gardens—really thrilling news. In some villages those who have no land of their own have been given a plot for each family, by the chief of the village. I wanted to speak to the Minister (of Education) of a new programme: that those who show initiative and ambition and diligence shall all get a piece of Ethiopia's fertile soil to own and cultivate as their personal property. But I am only a home economist and land reform is not my field!"

(September 1956)

" A school is always a powerful centre of new ideas, a source of inspiration in a community. But I never felt it more drastically and charmingly exemplified than by the crowd gathering along the fence around the school garden in Fitché.

" When a school garden is planned one of the first things is to prepare the fence. It keeps away the cattle from the spinach, carrots, lettuce and tomatoes which are grown to help make the boys' and girls' diet better and richer. The fence round the school garden in Fitché had an additonal function: it kept in line the onlookers from the town who had been attracted by the new activity in the school. That their interest was more than ignorant curiosity was obvious. They had come to learn. They watched how Ato Mengestou, the school garden teacher, taught the children to use the tools and plant the seeds they had received from UNICEF, to see how the vegetable beds were watered and cared for. Some of those who gathered along the fence, stood there for hours, some I was told came back next morning and asked for seeds and they went home to do the same as they had seen.

" Seeds bring fruit and in Fitché the seeds given by a U.N. organisation to help start a school garden brought the unforeseen result that small vegetable gardens were planted round many homes in the town. In some other fifty localities in Ethiopia, thousands of children are daily served an extra meal of milk and vegetables. From a calorie point of view, this provides only some 200 per day, but over thirty thousand boys and girls are benefiting. Who can estimate the value of the enormous popular education which derives from such an action? It is indeed a fine initiative of the Ministry of Education and we are glad that F.A.O. and UNICEF could be of modest assistance to this school nutrition scheme. The local authorities in each province and awraja have taken the direct responsibility and they contribute money, not to speak of the support from the parents and the often pathetic enthusiasm which each school—a lot of teachers, and—let us not forget them—the children themselves, have shown.

"There are, of course more complicated things than carrots and what school children eat. There are such things as a balanced diet, an ideal calorie intake and the influence of a proper feeding on the intelligence output. There are other problems affecting the health of a nation —malaria, venereal diseases, tuberculosis. And there is the greater problem to help overcome the isolation of those who live far out in the country, without access to the benefits of modern methods in health, welfare and education." (February 1957)

"Each school has its milk kitchen. In Asmara, where the town water supply is being used for reconstitution, no cooking facilites are required; outside Asmara the water is boiled and milk kitchens had been erected; in a few places, like Adi Ugri, they existed already. Personnel for boiling, mixing and stirring had been hired and trained. We observed some of them at work, dressed

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in clean uniforms. The distributions take place on the school compound, each class lining up under the direct supervision of their respective school teacher. Preparation of their milk may require from one or two hours, depending on the size of the school; the actual distributions are carried out during a longer pause and are completed within 15 to 20 minutes. Some teachers had, in the beginning, complained of the extra burden of having to look after the operation, but they had gradually been convinced of its usefulness. The majority of the teachers had from the beginning been enthusiastic and even made personal sacrifices, contributing from their own pockets to buy the necessary mixing and distribution equipment (since the UNICEF equipment was delayed).

"Overall responsibility for the distributions at each school rests with the headmaster. Five headmasters who were interviewed were of the opinion that the time, money and efforts given to the milk distribution were well used. Attendance had become remarkably regular, which is very important in Eritrea where absenteeism up to 50 per cent. was not unusual. From the start of the milk feeding, as could be seen from the daily, weekly and monthly reports, the attendances had kept very even. The educational authorities had not expected this result from the supplementary feeding and they are therefore anxious to maintain the distributions at the proper standard and that they be continued.

(February, 1960)

"The idea of school gardens is spreading; teachers and children are out working, getting their gardens ready before the rainy season beginning in June. Every school with a patch of land is trying to do the same thing. Only a small number of schools have vegetables actually growing already; if they have, it is on a very limited scale, owing to lack of water.

"One of the encouraging features in the programme is that lay people in the villages have also caught the idea of growing vegetables. Wherever we go in the country, people ask us for seeds, plants and tools.

"This interest carries within itself most valuable potentialities for developing the health, education and agricultural programmes of the country."

(December, 1958)

"Soap has by now been distributed to all schools operating the milk feeding programme. After experiment and much discussion it has been decided that maximum utilisation of the soap can best be done in the following way:

"Under health inspection of the children: every day or two or three times a week, those children who are dirty, rich or poor, pick up a piece of soap and go for washing. If the school has water enough, the child washes at school, if not, he goes to the nearest water, perhaps in his home where he will wash himself and bring the rest of the soap back to the Health-Controller, or whoever is in charge of the soap distribution. This system has worked well, the children appreciate the wash, and the general picture of personal cleanliness has improved noticeably in many schools."

(December, 1958)

"There is one school which shall be mentioned specially this time. That is Kuskuam School. In very short time, under the leadership of the assistant headmaster, Ato Habtu Teferra, the school has got the whole programme well organised. The parents have contributed the money for building material; the big boys constructed the building, one part for storing and mixing the milk, the other part for collecting food baskets and drinking the milk. When the building was ready, the parents again contributed a few cents each and as a result the little dining hall has got benches and tables. Well done! It is very good example for other schools as to how to get things started!"

(October 1958)

THE IMPERIAL DAIRY FARM

The Imperial dairy farm at Shola Ber (or Gate) has the only pasteurisation plant in Addis Ababa. There are many private dairies in and around the city but none of them have pasteurisation facilities.

Shola farm delivers milk to hospitals, shops and individual customers exclusively in sealed containers. Small customers receive their milk in bottles, mechanically filled, capped and stamped with the name of the dairy and the words, Pasteurised Milk. Hospitals and other customers purchasing larger quantities are supplied in large containers also mechanically filled and sealed. In all cases the bottle or larger container is left filled with milk one day and collected empty the next.

On returning to the dairy all containers are mechanically cleaned by modern processes and without any contact with the hands until they have been refilled and securely sealed to avoid any sort of contamination.

The cost of pasteurised milk from Shola is 50 cents a litre but hospitals are supplied at 45 cents a litre.

Though its mechanical capacity is considerably greater Shola Dairy at present supplies only from 1,000 to 1,500 litres of milk daily to its regular customers and makes only from 10 to 15 kilos of butter and cheese respectively to the order of customers.

The supply of pasteurised milk is limited by the quantities of milk received. When the four projected milk receiving stations are all working, it is anticipated that much larger quantities of milk received. E.S.P.

MILK CONTROL

By Gabre Kristos Legesse

Consultations were held by the Ministry of Public Health with the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the Addis Ababa municipality with a view to establishing co-operation in order that supplies of good quality milk and milk products be made available to the people of Addis Ababa.

The first step which had to be taken by the Ministry of Agriculture was to ensure that the cattle are healthy and well cared for and to work to a systematic programme for this purpose. Already the programme is in operation at the Imperial dairy farm at Shola Ber where a milk pasteurisation plant is established. All tuberculous cattle have been eliminated, the cattle management has been improved and the distribution system standardised.

The Ministry of Agriculture in co-operation with U.N.I.C.E.F., the United States Point 4, F.A.O. and E.T.A.B. has prepared a long-term projected for re-

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From Point Four

by **ALLAN F. HERSHFIELD**

Milk is one of the most important sources of nourishment for children of all ages. It is particularly important for very small children because it helps to develop sturdy bone structure and good teeth.

In recognition of the need for milk of children in many countries not possessing sufficient supplies of milk and other foods, the United States Government has given large quantities of dried milk and other agricultural commodities to people throughout the world. Here in Ethiopia, this assistance has taken two forms: the distribution of grain for famine relief and the supplying of milk to young children, as well as the distribution of grains and milk to hospitals, orphanages and other institutions.

UNICEF, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, has three programmes in operation in Ethiopia which make use of milk supplied by the United States Government. The largest of these programmes, the supplementary feeding project, is intended to provide 60,000 school children throughout the Empire with a daily ration of milk during the current year. In addition to this regular project, UNICEF has been experimenting with a supplementary feeding plan for pre-school children. This year it has involved the daily distribution of 10,000 rations of milk to pre-school children in Addis Ababa and Eritrea. Milk is also dispensed, under the auspices of UNICEF, at the 25 health centres around the country. About 5,000 daily rations are distributed through these centres.

The United Nations Organisation has been carrying on this work since 1955.

All the milk distributed in Ethiopia by UNICEF is a gift from the United States Government. The United Nations Organisation pays the ocean freight charges and the Imperial Ethiopian Government pays the rest of the transportation and distribution expenses.

Another organisation, the Catholic Relief Service—N.C.W.C., has also been active in the distribution of agricultural commodities donated by the United States Government. The Catholic Relief Service distributes these agricultural commodities to hospitals, orphanages, rehabilitation centres, religious missions and other permanent institutions. All such institutions are eligible to receive this food without distinction as to race, religion or colour.

Thus far, the Catholic Relief Service has distributed 225,000 lb. of dried milk, enough to supply 7,000 people for one year. This organisation is in the process of giving away 400,000 lb. of whole wheat flour and 300,000 lb. of rice. These quantities of grain will supply approximately 25,000 people for one year. A substantial increase in the quantities of food to be distributed is planned for next year.

The United States Government gives these agricultural commodities to the Catholic Relief Service and also pays for the ocean transportation. The Imperial Ethiopian Government pays all of the expenses after the cargo has arrived at the port of entry.

Beside working through international organisations and relief organisations, the United States Government makes agricultural commodities directly available to famine-stricken areas.

The School of Home Economics in Addis Ababa has three demonstration kitchens representing different standards; here is shown the medium standard

In 1959, Point Four in Ethiopia delivered 43,500 tons of food grains valued at about U.S. $7,300,000 to various parts of Ethiopia 20,000 tons were distributed in Eritrea. The people of Tigré received 15,500 tons of grain and 8,000 tons were distributed in Harar.

Milk Control *(Continued from previous page)*

equipping the dairy in order to be able to obtain and to handle much larger supplies of milk.

Accordingly in the very near future Shola Ber will be provided with a fully equipped modern milk control laboratory and milk cooler with a capacity of 5,000 litres. At present the dairy is pasteurising 1,000 litres of milk a day, but in the early future when the proposed milk collection centres come into operation it is believed the dairy will have to handle a minimum of 5,000 to 6,000 litres a day.

It is planned to have as many milk collection centres as possible within a radius of 40 miles of Addis Ababa, in order to ensure an adequate milk supply and also to encourage the farmers in their cattle breeding programme. The Ministry of Agriculture Live Stock Division planned to build the control laboratory at Shola and four milk collections centres before the end of this year. The first of the collection centres, 40 kilometres from the city on the way to Ambo, is already completed. The second and third centres will be on the way to Gojjam. The fourth will be at Shola Ber. All the collection centres will be equipped with cooling and milk control equipment.

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Students of the School of Home Economics gain practical experience at the orphanage maintained by her Imperial Majesty the Empress Menen

The School of Home Economics Addis Ababa

A school to give post-graduate training to women school teachers in home economics was established by the Ministry of Education in Addis Ababa in February 1959. The school is located on premises made available by donation of Her Imperial Highness Princess Tenagne Work. The Ministry of Education provides the running budget. Equipment was provided by UNICEF. The direction of the school is in the hands of an F.A.O. Home Economics Adviser.

A first intake of 21 lady primary school teachers started the training in February 1959. After 12 months' mainly theoretical tuition, the first class graduated and were assigned to practical work under close supervision from the school. After six months' supervised practical assignment the graduates will receive their final assignments, mainly to community schools in all parts of Ethiopia. A second intake of 22 new lady school teachers for post-graduate training in home economics was made in February 1960.

A visit to the School of Home Economics, which is located in the outskirts of Addis Ababa, is particularly interesting from the point of view that the standard is in no way an extravagant one. The students receive, for instance, training in four different types of home environment: they work with the traditional Ethiopian kitchen, with a slightly improved model requiring no imported materials, with a modestly improved, modernised kitchen, and with a modern kitchen using different designs and machinery.

The present School of Home Economics is considered

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as a start only. A number of similar schools would be required to meet the demand from all the country. The present activity, which has only recently entered into its second year, will provide experience on which the future developments can be projected. The Ministry of Education hopes to expand training in home economics on the already adopted level to the provincial centres in future years.

The following account of the school curriculum has been kindly contributed by Waizerit Tayetch Wolde Georgis, a graduate in Home Economics. H.E.

Home Economics in Ethiopia

By Tayetch Wolde Georgis

For some years already Home Economics has been part of the teaching programme in various Ethiopian schools. The main subjects which have been taught were food preparation and needlework.

The preparation of food was limited to the baking of cakes and biscuits — the needlework included embroidery, knitting and some garment making. Little thought was given to the practical application of this handwork or to the actual needs of the average Ethiopian household and its limitations.

During the past six years vacation course have been held for teachers in food preparation and Home Economics. These courses were planned with the advice of a home economist of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The emphasis was on the real needs of the Ethiopian family. Subjects such as nutrition, home improvement, the care of children and child development, the prevention and causes of diseases, health, sanitation, gardening and poultry keeping, garment making, and the maintenance of clothing and household goods were introduced. It was found that theoretical and scientific knowledge is necessary to gain an understanding of the several aspects of home-making.

In 1959 a School of Home Economics was opened by the Ministry of Education to give courses of a year's duration in Home Economics, the course was formulated with the advice of a Home Economist of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The basis on which this course was established was the following:—

Women play an important part in the economic and social life of a community and thus exert a great influence on the level of living. It is of great importance that the women of a society be trained to undertake this responsibility as efficiently as possible.

To meet this recognized need, it was considered important to open a course for experienced women teachers in elementary schools, these teachers being close to the people and able to influence living habits through the schoolchildren, and, when possible, through evening classes for adult women and by home visits.

The curriculum of the School of Home Economics emphasise fieldwork in various projects, such as the centre for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, the Rehabilitation Centre at Kolfé, a village development project, a Home Economics programme in schools, the preschool and school feeding and school gardening programme, adult education for women, and an orphanage. The aim is to give the trainees a knowledge of the existing social and public health services and an understanding of the far reaching possibilities of applying home economics to such institutions.

The theoretical studies are based on the experience obtained in fieldwork. The curriculum includes elementary chemistry, physics, bacteriology, sociology, community development, textiles and clothing, sanitation, health, child care and child development, horticulture and poultry-keeping, Amharic, English, home management and book-keeping.

This Home Economics program is still in its "toddler" stage, but the prospects of a normal and steady process of growth are good. Speculating on its development might foresee that next to the training courses in Addis Ababa, which is the only one at present, other similar courses might be opened in other cities. These might be staffed by former trainees. A much later step in the development might be a Home Economics College affiliated to the School of Agriculture at Jimma. However, such a step should not be taken too soon. The present school must first be further equipped and developed. There is also a need for highly qualified Ethiopian Home Economists for only a beginning has been made in the training for this purpose.

The Uses of Milk and Milk Products in the Homes of Ethiopia

By WAIZERO MISRAR TEFERRA

In Ethiopia milk production is limited by lack of proper feeding of the cattle. The people are, however, beginning to realise that milk is necessary, not alone for growing children, but also for adults.

Unlike that of many other foods, the production of milk cannot rapidly be increased on a substantial scale. To effect an increased output involves first of all fundamental improvements in animal husbandry. Efforts are being made to increase the yield of milk by attention to the health and welfare of the cattle; by advice to farmers on cattle feeding and management; by cross-breeding with European breeds having a high milk yield and by selection of better cows within the Ethiopian breeds.

Increased production must be accompanied by improved methods of marketing in order to make effective use of the larger output.

In view of the present milk shortage and the relatively long-term nature of attempts to increase production, efforts are being made to use the existing supply as efficiently as possible. The existing scarcity may thus be mitigated until the programme in which

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the Ethiopian Government, UNICEF, F.A.O. and Point Four are working, results in the necessary increased milk supply and the development of a modern dairy industry.

While the need for increasing the milk supply is fully realised, there is also the urgent problem of the high cost of milk and milk products, especially in Addis Ababa and other towns. It is considered the price of pasteurised milk could be reduced from 50 cents to 30 or 40 cents a litre.

The milk and its products used in the Ethiopian home can be divided into two main groups—town and country. During Professor Gerault's visit a survey was made to discover how much milk is available in Addis Ababa. It was found that from five to six thousand litres of milk is brought into the city each day. It was difficult, however, to ascertain how many cows are kept in the town and how much milk is obtained from them. These cows are milked early in the morning and then sent out to graze until 6 p.m. when they are again milked and put up for the night. It will be understood that many people prefer to keep cows of their own rather than purchase milk at a price of 30 cents a litre unpasteurised and 50 cents a litre pasteurised.

Addis Ababa families obtain milk from one of three sources:

(a) from their own cows;
(b) from farmers who keep cows in the town or in the country outside;
(c) The Imperial Dairy Farm at Shola Ber sells only pasteurised milk.

(a) People who keep their own cows are relatively fortunate. From each cow they get about two litres, one at the morning, one at the evening milking. They have more liquid milk to drink than their neighbours who have to buy it, and from the surplus they make butter and cheese.

(b) Milk purchased from farmers is either produced by cows kept in the town or is brought into town from farms in the surrounding country. It is brought in by all the main roads and travels considerable distances from places like Holeta, Sululta, Sabata and Akaki. It is sold either in the market, to shops or to individual customers, in all sorts of containers, disused beer or wine bottles, or tins which have been used for various wares.

(c) The Imperial Dairy Farm at Shola Ber sells only pasteurised milk and delivers it to the home exclusively in sealed milk bottles.

Use of Milk in the Home

In the Ethiopian home, the milk is boiled and afterwards divided according to the number and ages of the children. Babies no longer fed at the breast will get about two-thirds or three-quarters of a litre daily. Children aged four to eight years will get half a litre. After the children's share has been reserved, the rest of the milk will be again divided: half may be kept for the parents' breakfast, the other half will be set apart to make yoghurt. Those who have their own cows divide the milk in a similar manner, but they have a surplus for making butter and cheese.*

Trainee from School of Home Economics practises child hygiene at Her Imperial Majesty's Orphanage

* This account appears to apply only to the more prosperous sections of Adis Ababa society. The large numbers of workmen earning 25 to 35 Ethiopian dollars a month cannot purchase sufficient milk at a cost of 30 cents a litre to give the quantities suggested to their children. A man earning a dollar a day who had four children would have to spend 60 cents daily in order to give each of them half a litre. He would have only 40 cents left to meet all the other needs of the family of six persons.

Similarly a man who has one cow yielding two litres a day can only supply half a litre a day to four children; if he has five or six children he must reduce each one's milk to less than half a litre. In any case he will have no surplus for parents or for making yoghurt butter and cheese, unless he drastically reduces the children's ration. To enjoy the comforts suggested he must increase the yield of his one cow. This he could perhaps gradually do if he had adequate means to feed it very much better than simply leaving it to forage for what grass it can find, which in the long, dry season is scanty.

To be able to make butter and cheese, several cows must be kept.

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Country

In the country the milk of cows, goats and camels is all used in the household. Where there is a large grazing area, milk is relatively abundant. On the other hand where there is much cultivation and little grazing the milk is limited.

Milk By-Products

The main by-products of milk in Ethiopia are yoghurt, butter and cheese.

1. Yoghurt

Yoghurt, or fermented milk, is an important article of diet among the Ethiopian population. It has an acid taste, due to the fermentation of milk sugar. It is a custard-like curd of fine, smooth texture, with a pleasant sourish taste. Fermented milk is often made by adding fresh milk to a small quantity of previously fermented milk which acts as a carrier for the organisms—mainly lactic acid bacteria of the streptococcous genera.

2. Butter

Butter plays a very big role in Ethiopia because, apart from the fast days, all types of Ethiopian dishes are made with butter. Butter contains 80-85 per cent of butter fat, 1 per cent of casein and lactose, 15-18 per cent of water. It is rich in vitamin A and contains a small amount of Vitamin D. Like other edible fats and oils, it supplies energy. The properties that give butter superiority over other fats are its higher digestibility, its high content of vitamin A, and its pleasant taste. Two types of butter are made in Ethiopia: the first is in modern fashion, the second as people like to use it for making wat (the favourite Ethiopian stew).

In the first method the cream is separated from the milk by a mechanical separator. It is then pasteurised and ripened, or soured, and afterwards churned in a motor, or hand-driven churn. Churning is followed by washing and kneading.

By the second method the milk is put in an earthenware jar, with a deep bottom and a narrow neck; the mouth of the jar is covered by a sheepskin tightly tied on to it. The jar is now placed on the ground and rolled backward and forward until the butter coagulates into a solid mass, being separated from the liquid buttermilk containing whey and other caseous matter. The butter is now washed and afterwards put in a tin or other receptacle of convenient size and taken to market for sale. The purchaser brings it home, heats it and adds spices to give it the desired flavour.

3. Cheese

In Ethiopia the cheeses produced by the dairies and imported are usually hard. Cheese produced in the home is usually soft. Butter-milk is gently heated on an open fire and stirred to assist it to curdle. When the curds have been formed they are left to cool, after which the whey is removed. This soft cheese is eaten either alone or with wat. In some provinces it is flavoured either with red pepper or green spices and eaten with cabbage. The whey is drunk by the family or given to the farm animals.

Milk and Cattle

By R. H. D. SANDFORD, F.A.O. Livestock Officer

Milk and milk products are widely used by the peoples of Ethiopia, but the proportion which they form of the diet and the part they play in the home economy varies considerably with the different agricultural systems.

Among the sedentary cultivators and farmers the diet is based mainly on cereals or other crop plants and milk is used as a supplement and especially for children. The amounts used vary according to the economic status of the farmer. The size of cattle herds also varies but in the main is limited by the need to use a large part of the land area for cropping, and since most of the cultivation is carried out by animal power, a large proportion of the herds will consist of male stock being used or reared for the plough.

In these circumstances, although there is a considerable sale of milk products in the local markets, there may be no true milk surplus, taking the areas as a whole, in the sense that it would probably be desirable for greater quantities of milk to be used in the family diet than is the case at present.

A factor contributing to this is the non-specialised types of cattle kept with low milk yields, in comparison with herds developed specially for milk production. This low productivity is, of course, in part the result of low feeding levels, especially during the dry periods of the year, undeveloped management practices and high livestock densities resulting in heavy parasite burdens; but genetically also the cattle are unable to give *on average* more than two to four litres of milk a day surplus to the requirements of the calf.

In the pastoral areas, however, mainly in the East and South, the picture is different Here the main item and in parts the only item in the diet is milk, whether from cattle, camels, goats or sheep. Cattle numbers in individual herds tend to be high though the stock density per hectare may be very low due to arid climatic conditions. In these areas, especially in the more favourable ones, large milk surpluses exist during certain seasons of the year. These surpluses find some outlets in the local markets for the supply of butter and other dairy products, but it is probably true to say that they are not fully utilized and that a big potential exists for the supply of milk products from these areas to shortage areas in Ethiopia and for export, especially if the pastoralists come to depend more on cereals imported from the agricultural areas in their daily diet.

Mention should be made of a third class of people. The growth of the towns in Ethiopia, and especially of the city of Addis Ababa, has resulted in a rapid increase in the size of urban population. This increase has brought with it nutritional problems and in particular a serious under-consumption of milk and milk products by a large proportion of the town people. This is reflected in the very considerable imports of evaporated and dried milk, butter and cheese. The price of these imports is, however, beyond the means of many.

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The Government are taking steps to develop the dairy industry in Ethiopia and the main part of the programme is the responsibility of the Animal Breeding Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. This division is currently working on projects aimed at increasing production, obtaining better distribution and improving quality. The following is a summary of some of these projects:

1. Toward Increasing Production:

(a) The setting up of livestock stations with the following objectives:

1. Selective breeding from within the indigenous cattle for better dairy characteristics. 2. The use of imported dairy breeds for a trial cross-breeding and grading up policy. 3. Field trials of fodder crops to overcome the problem of dry weather feeding. 4. Demonstration of improved dairying techniques, and the training of personnel in these. 5. The issue of improved breeding stock to local farmers.

A start has been made with two stations at Holeta where new buildings and equipment have been provided. Work here has been held up temporarily by administrative difficulties over land boundaries and the resettlement of tenants.

(b) The training and sending out of extension agents who will work among the farmers encouraging them in such things as fodder conservation, control of internal and external parasites of cattle, disease prevention, supplementary feeding, breeding control, and pasture improvement. Several agents are already in the field undertaking work of this nature, but only a tiny part of the country is as yet covered and a rapid build up of effective personnel is called for.

(c) The provision of facilities for increased production which are beyond the local resources of the farmers themselves. An example of this is the present plan to provide extra watering points in the arid areas of Borana province. This plan, the details of which have been recently finalized, will go into operation within a few weeks. Machinery is being acquired and will be sent into the province to construct stock ponds in selected areas with the purpose of storing surplus run-off water for use of the local cattle owners. This will enable very large areas of good grazing to be opened up, which are at present under used for lack of water.

2. Towards Better Distribution

A first step has been taken with a project to establish and operate small milk collecting centres round Addis Ababa with the idea of providing a commercial outlet for the smaller farmers who have at present to walk long distances into the city to sell their few litres of milk. This pilot project will provide experience for a much bigger scheme embracing the establishment of milk processing centres in the larger towns and possibly, at a later date, milk drying plants to absorb seasonal surpluses in the main cattle areas. Four of the centres will be in operation round Addis Ababa this year.

3. Towards Better Quality

Extension workers will be attached to these milk collecting centres and will visit the suppliers with suggestions to improve milking methods. The milk after collection will be pasteurized and distributed to consumers by the Imperial Dairy Farm at Shola using the existing equipment. As soon as these collecting centres have reached a daily total of 8,000-10,000 litres, steps will be taken by the Government in collaboration with UNICEF to establish a central processing plant to pasteurize and distribute all milk coming into the city. At this stage simple legislation will be required to control certain aspects of milk and milk product marketing.

These brief remarks have dealt only with the dairy side of livestock improvement. Many other aspects such as disease eradication on a national scale, beef production, wool production, poultry production, etc., are being worked on. The livestock of Ethiopia are one of her greatest assets and a base on which all other forms of agriculture rest. Nothing is more important to the economy of the country than that the livestock industry should be developed as quickly as possible towards its undoubtedly enormous potential.

The Cattle of Ethiopia

Whilst it is too early to talk about cattle "breeds" in Ethiopia, since breeding records are not kept and breed registers have not been established, the existing cattle types of the country are of considerable interest and value for future breed development.

It should be pointed out straightaway that over most of the country, especially in the highland areas, the present cattle herds are the result of the interbreeding of many types over the past centuries and are therefore very heterogeneous and lacking in uniformity. This is the consequence of the various movements of peoples following invasions and reconquests that are part of Ethiopian history, peoples who brought with them their livestock which interbred with the livestock already existing in the area. The result has been the very wide variation in size, colour, conformation, size and shape of horns, etc., which can be seen in most of Ethiopia's cattle today.

Nevertheless in certain regions of the country there are cattle types which for various reasons have remained more homogeneous and show rather more uniform characteristics which enable them to be recognised as a distinct type.

Ethiopian cattle are descendants of three main cattle groups which entered the African continent from Asia during the earliest times. The earliest of these were long-horned cattle without humps which were present in Egypt and North Africa from about 5,000 B.C. onwards. These were followed by short-horned cattle with humps placed forward on the neck which reached Ethiopia probably via Somaliland with Arab invaders round about 2,000 B.C. The latest arrivals were the thoracic-humped zebu cattle which entered Africa along the east coast with Arab and Indian tribes from A.D. 600 onwards. The present cattle have derived from the interbreeding of these original groups.*

Apart from the big proportion of Ethiopian cattle which cannot be distinguished as a "type" due to marked

* Epstein : **The Original and History of African Cattle,** Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry, Publication No. 5—H.M.S.O.

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The Farmer on Whom the Ethiopian Economy Depends

The Product of His Labour; The Reward of His Toil

by SYLVIA PANKHURST

Examination of the Ethiopian Government customs records during recent years reveals a rapidly increasing importation of agricultural and farming commodities long produced in Ethiopia and some of them formerly exported to countries abroad.

Milk being the essential food of the rising generation and valuable to everyone, must be recognised as among the foremost of such commodities. Cereals were traditionally one of Ethiopia's substantial exports as well as being the main staple of the food of her people. During the latter part of the second World War, soon after her own liberation had been effected, her farmers were able to export large quantities of grain to supply other peoples to whom the war had closed their accustomed markets. Ethiopian grain exports remained relatively high for some time after the war but subsequently declined. As shown by the table "A" they were low in 1958 and almost ceased in 1959.

It will be noticed that there was a great fall in the export of cereals in the year 1958 and a much greater fall in the year 1959 when the acute scarcity in parts of Ethiopia rendered all exports of cereals inexpedient from any part of the country. Further exports were accordingly prohibited.

Unfavourable weather conditions in the year 1957-58 caused the harvest to be the poorest on record. This misfortune was followed by invasions of locusts which destroyed all the young crops, though they were sown three times in succession.

(*Continued on next page*)

(*Continued from previous page*)

variation in characteristics, five main cattle types can be recognised.

1. Borana Cattle. Also called Harrar, Boran, Gasara. These cattle are found in the dry bush country on the Southern and Eastern borders. They are short-horned, thoracic-humped, zebu cattle with light coloured coats, long narrow heads, in many cases with prominent dewlaps and navel flaps. A type with promising characteristics for beef production and a a reported above average milk yield. The government has recently acquired a herd of these animals and is embarking on a breeding programme to improve the type for beef production.

2. Fogara Cattle. Found round the Lake Tana area, these cattle are probably comparatively recent arrivals from India, perhaps during the period of Portuguese influence. They are large framed animals with thoracic humps, very prominent dewlaps and navel flaps, markedly sloping rumps and a dark pigmented skin, often of a spotted colour pattern with black spots on a white or grey coat.

3. Adal Cattle. Also called Dankali, Keriyo, Long-horned cattle with thoracic or sometimes neck placed humps which are small in comparison with other cattle. Long-legged, light-framed cattle adapted to the very rigorous climate of the area N.E. of the railway line from which they come. The cattle are the result of interbreeding between the original long-horned humpless cattle and the later zebu types.

4. Barca Cattle. Also called Begait. Short-horned cattle, with large frames, long coffin shaped heads with a markedly convex profile and a topline which rises from the withers to the rump and slopes steeply to the rear. Colour usually light grey or white with some black spotting. These cattle are very similar to the Kenana cattle of the Sudan, and milk yields in individual cases can reach up to 10 litres per day.

5. Black Highland Cattle. As previously mentioned the cattle herds of the plateau areas in Ethiopia are of very mixed type. They are in general smaller than the cattle of the surrounding regions, but this is in part due to the less favourable conditions and heavier parasite burdens which cause stunting. Black is however, a predominating colour and since in none of the types in the surrounding lowland areas is this colour seen except in a few individual cases, there is good reason to think that there was at one time a small black type of short-horned cattle probably concentrated in the area between Goba in Bale Province and the highlands round Soddu. These cattle were probably small compact animals with completely black coats, possibly with a white face, since this is a very common characteristic, short horns, a small hump placed thoracically, and considerable resistance to wet, cold conditions.

Other small sub-types of cattle exist such as the Jiddu on the Somaliland border, the Araba cattle of the Eritrean coast, and the long-horned cattle on the border with the Sudan, but these are numerically less important.

The Government of Ethiopia has embarked on a programme for breeding pure stocks from these cattle types with a first project at Adami Tullu where a foundation herd of Borana cattle has been established. It is very desirable that this work should be expanded to cover the other types before these genetic stocks are lost in the general interbreeding which is proceeding at increasing speed as the country is opened up.

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TABLE A.—CEREAL EXPORTS, 1956-9

	Quantity in Tons				Value in Ethiopian Dollars			
	1956	1957	1958	1959	1956	1957	1958	1959
Wheat	1,511	1,598	91	1	282,112	342,466	25,960	201
Teff	—	*Ap.* 5	—	1	—	155	—	216
Maize	245	377	54	—	35,308	44,967	5,869	—
Durrah	2,112	4,150	2,656	37	468,100	605,614	537,395	3,001
Barley	7	37	10	—	769	5,348	1,474	—
TOTALS	3,875	6,167	2,811	39	785,520	998,550	569,224	3,418

The famine was so severe in Eritrea and the adjoining Tigré province of Ethiopia that many lives were lost. The Emperor Haile Sellassie imported grain to give to the starving people. The United States of America and the U.S.S.R. also provided large gifts of grain for the famine victims. Illness, as usual, accompanied the famine. Doctors were rushed to the stricken area from Addis Ababa. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.), which has a permanent office in Addis Ababa, came into the field to help with supplies of dried milk, vitamin tablets and other necessities. Thus many victims were saved who must otherwise have perished, but many lives were lost.

Table "B" reveals that the shortage of grain which occurred in the year of acute famine was not an entirely isolated event, and that, in fact, the need to import cereals has been growing for several years.

Like Table "A" and the tables which follow, Table "B" is drawn from the records of the Ethiopian Customs Administration:

TABLE B.—IMPORTS OF GRAIN AND FLOUR, 1957-9

	Quantity in Tons			Value in Ethiopian Dollars		
	1957	1958	1959	1957	1958	1959
Cereals (raw)	6,017	11,462	55,464	1,138,878	1,366,667	9,490,035
Flour	30	1,278	10,819	14,362	320,199	2,448,705
TOTALS	6,047	12,740	66,283	1,153,240	16,967,766	11,938,740

It will be noted the importation of grain in 1958 was more than double that of 1957 in quantity and in 1959 it had risen to more than ten times the importation of two years before. Yet a few years ago more than the import of 1959 was being exported. The adverse effect on the Ethiopian economy of this transformation of a commodity from an export to an import is too obvious to need argument.

The shortage of home-grown cereals which necessitated the large scale imports and caused widespread famine in northern Ethiopia in the year 1959 was finally due to exceptionally unfavourable weather conditions and also to grave locust infestation in Northern Ethiopia and Eritrea. These crises occurred, however, in an area where subsistance had long been precarious and hunger prevalent, owing to serious soil erosion which had been progressively impoverishing the land for a considerable period. It had been caused by the destruction of vegetation in warfare during the Italian aggressions and by excessive tree-felling to produce charcoal for the small Italian factories and homes in Asmara, where charcoal and timber from Eritrea itself and also from the northern Tigré found a ready market.

The grave condition of the northern Tigré was starkly demonstrated by the recent famine and has since been the subject of considerable anxiety and consideration. To restore the soil in this gravely eroded mountainous area could only be a long-term project. Tht creation of industries to employ the people is regarded as the most feasible means of securing relatively speedy results

Careful selection of suitable industries would be required with capital: to purchse the necessary machinery, to sustain the workers during their training, and, in general, to pay expenses during the initial period. In any case the new industry would have to be protected against the competition of imports from abroad until it had become established. The industries selected should at least be able to count upon a substantial market for their products within Ethiopia.

LOCUST CONTROL

The Ethiopian Government has made and is making efforts to eliminate the locusts and is co-operating with international agencies in this work. The grave invasions which arrive from countries abroad is a matter for study by the United Nations Organisation and should be dealt with as one of the most urgent duties of the Organisation. Locust invasions from countries overseas cause serious loss and much suffering to the Ethiopian people. It is hoped the countries from whence locust invasions come and which have hitherto remained outside the F.A.O. Locust Control Operations, will now participate to the full.

PRODUCTION OF INCREASED CEREALS A NATIONAL PROBLEM

While industry may have to replace agriculture in gravely eroded Tigré, there can be no question of making this change in Ethiopia as a whole, nor is it at all necessary. On the contrary, new industries should be supplementary to agriculture and farming which, so far from being reduced, should be improved and extended, for Ethiopia is essentially a country of great agricultural and farming potentialities.

The production of cereals, and of course also pulses and oilseeds should be greatly increased primarily to ensure abundant supplies for consumption by the

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Ethiopian people to preserve them from any danger of famine and to raise their standard of living.

There is increased growing of food crops in the present year.

Secondly cereals are needed and can be profitably used for the manufacture of cereal products, for which there is a steady and growing market in Ethiopia, as table "C" recording the quantity and value of such imports clearly reveals:

of a commodity is not revealed by the export figures: they do not show whether consumption by the people of the country is rising or falling. When, however, a bad harvest is sufficient to cause famine in some parts of the country and other areas are not able to supply the deficit which has to be alleviated by imports, obviously something is lacking. Absence of adequate storage facilities to enable the surplus of a good harvest to be stored for use in lean years is an obvious lack in

TABLE C.—IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURED CEREAL PRODUCTS 1957-9

	Quantity in Tons			Value in Ethiopian Dollars		
	1957	1958	1959	1957	1958	1959
Breakfast Foods	—	—	—	119	1,365	4,921
Wheat Pastes	—	—	—	45,080	78,583	127,419
Biscuits, Cakes, etc.	—	—	—	101,338	153,945	123,183
TOTALS	—	—	—	146,537	233,893	255,523

.. Figures not known.

The rapidly rising importation of cereal breakfast foods, wheat pastes, cakes and biscuits is regrettable. These are efficiently manufactured in Ethiopia and Eritrea in several modern recently equipped factories, capital for which has been lent by the Ethiopian Development Bank and the International Bank. It is unfortunate that merchants and customers in Ethiopia, instead of supporting these useful ventures, which the Ethiopian Government and the International Bank have promoted, should prefer to purchase foreign brands. This failure to use the local product involves the sacrifice of foreign currency, and what is more serious, it militates against the expansion of the Ethiopian manufacturers and their ability to provide much needed employment for the Ethiopian men and women.

Measures to Increase Production

The Ethiopian Government has made constant efforts of late years to increase the production of grain and all other crops. The advice of experts from the United Nations Food and Agricultural organisation and from the United States Point Four has been obtained. American agronomists from the Agricultural College of Oklahoma have made prolonged experiments in the cultivation of many types of grain indigenous to Ethiopia and also from the United States and latterly from Kenya in search of types of wheat, sorghum, maize and so forth, which might yield more heavily and be more resistant to disease than some of the native grains in use. Point Four has undertaken jointly with the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture the management of Agricultural education. Extension workers have been trained to advise the Ethiopian farmer. An Agricultural College has been established at Alem Maya, near Harar, and agricultural secondary schools at Jimma and Ambo. These schools are staffed by Americans from the Agricultural College of Oklahoma. Many new roads have been built to facilitate the transport of agricultural products to the markets.

Nevertheless, these efforts have not increased the production of cereals, so far as can be ascertained. Indeed, the continual and rising importation seems strongly to suggest that on the contrary, cereal production has fallen. It is true that the actual production

Ethiopia as was emphasised by the Report of the Nutrition Survey of 1959.*

Findings of the Nutrition Survey

This lack should be dealt with as an urgent matter of great national importance. Extension workers among the farmers and provincial officials should be instructed in methods of constructing storage barns with locally available material and should make these known to the people. There is no doubt that if the farmers were thus instructed, they could be persuaded to erect their own storage barns or to co-operate in providing storage for their village as a co-operative effort.

Inability to compete in world markets with countries where agriculture has been mechanised and where transport is easier and less costly may quite reasonably discourage the Ethiopian farmer from producing grain for export, especially when other crops offer more favourable prospects. Cereal production for the Ethiopian home population is however evidently too low to be satisfactory.

The gravity of the recent famine has tended to shatter the complacency of the opinion quoted on page 19 of the 1959 Nutrition Survey Report:

"In the opinion of agricultural experts there is no land pressure in Ethiopia and food production could be greatly expanded if required. At present the needs of most people in rural areas are few, so only enough food is produced to feed the family and sell to obtain the little cash which is required."

Turning to other pages of the Nutrition Survey report one finds this statement of the experts:

"The population is excessively lean. This is compatible with a caloric deficit in the diet averaging some 400 calories per person per day.

"Edemic areas of starvation and semi-starvation exist and recur sporadically . . ."

The nutritionists referred to the surprisingly cool climate of Ethiopia; the light clothing of the people, their "heavy manual labour" and urged a more ample

* **Ethiopia; Nutrition Survey.** A Report by the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defence, September, 1959. The survey was carried out by joint teams appointed by the United States Government and the Ethiopian Government.

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diet. They referred also to the need for the further development of water resources—a need the Ethiopian Government fully realises and has been working to achieve for many years.

"Land Pressure" the Emperor's Plan

The opinion that there is no "land pressure," above quoted, is not shared by the Emperor, Haile Sellassie. He has protested in many of his speeches against the fact that large areas of land in private ownership are not used for the benefit of the people and the country, but are left fallow. The owners neither put them under cultivation nor permit others to do so. Moreover, while land is communally owned in the northern part of the country, systems of land tenure in many areas seem to call for amendment. While owners leave their land untilled, tenants lack security of tenure and are consequently reluctant to plant citrons or other trees taking several years to mature, to expend energy and money in building storage, constructing silos, draining fields, or to effect other improvements. Moreover, in some cases the demands of the owner from the tenant for the use of the land lay too heavy a burden upon the farmer for him to be able to operate successfully.

The Emperor Haile Sellassie, aware that many of the people are unemployed who would usefully employ themselves in agriculture and farming if land and the means to cultivate it were open to them, has determined that land shall be made available on easy terms to all Ethiopians willing to use it effectively and that they shall be supplied with seed, stock, tools and expert advice. Measures are already being taken to operate the scheme. Co-operatives are being organised to assist the formerly unemployed and now newly settled farmers in order that they may give each other mutual assistance in their new ventures.

These lately unemployed Ethiopians, unlike the workless people of the great industrial cities of the United Kingdom and Europe, are but lately from the rural areas. They have not long lost contact with the farm and the village. They may benefit from instruction in modern practices but agriculture and farming is native to them.

Given active collaboration from all concerned, which should be forthcoming for so excellent an effort, the Emperor's land settlement programme will prove a tremendous benefit to the Ethiopian people.

Cattle and Cattle Products

In view of Ethiopia's immense herds of domestic animals there should be no scarcity of meat and milk to supply the needs of the Ethiopian people and to serve a population of 20,000,000 souls. There are according to official estimates, some 20,000,000 head of cattle, 20,000,000 sheep 13,000,000 goats and 500,000 camels. Milk from cows, goats and camels is widely used, that of goats and camels particularly among the nomadic population of the arid lowlands who keep large herds.

Nevertheless, according to the 1959 nutrition survey, the consumption of milk by the population, as a whole, is estimated to be no more than 30 lbs. (14 kilograms). This low consumption is ascribed to two major causes:

1. The meagre yield of Ethiopian cattle, owing to the long seasons of drought and the absence of supplementary foods to augment the grass which inevitably becomes scanty in the dry seasons;

2. The large number of fast days enjoined by the Orthodox Church, during which there is total abstinence from all foods derived from animals. These fasts are rigidly observed by the great mass of the people—a remarkable example of fidelity to tradition and precept. Even the dispensation permitted by the church to invalids, mothers for three months after giving birth and children under eight years of age is not accepted by the Ethiopian people and the lesser clergy.

The fasts include every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, except during the fifty days after Lent, when a respite is allowed, or if Christmas or the Epiphany falls on a Wednesday or Friday, for these are feast days. There is also the long fast before Easter, extending to 56 days. There is again a fast of 40 days before Christmas.

The milk yield of the Ethiopian cows is low, frequently no more than a litre or two at the twice daily milking . The cattle grow emaciated during the drought, the hump they bear, like the camel, to sustain them through rainless periods becomes shrivelled and stringy. The experts of the nutrition survey as many had earlier done, recommended the growing of drought-resistant forage crops and also the erection of silos to retain grass, forage crops and other green vegetables for the dry season. They urged also increased water supplies. They mentioned the value of supplementary feeding with oil-cake and other nutritious cattle feeds. They urged that the residue from vegetable oil production be given to the cattle. When not made into oil-cake for export it is often burnt for fuel. They protested this is wasteful, in view of the great need for cattle food. They advocated also selective breeding among the native herds and cross-breeding with high-yielding imported cattle.

The Ethiopian Government has, during the past decades, imported numbers of cattle, sheep and poultry. The schools of agriculture and farming, the research stations and agricultural extension workers have distributed the offspring of the imported livestock among farmers, to children's poultry clubs and to other applicants. All this is, however, on a relatively small scale. Except in the neighbourhood of Addis Ababa and Harar and in the vicinity of the agricultural schools of Jimma and Ambo, the imported stocks have probably as yet done little to affect the nation-wide position.

The imports of live cattle and poultry in 1957, 1958 and 1959 are listed in table D:

Thus 32 head of cattle were imported at a total cost of Eth. $113,308, an average cost of Eth. $3.540 for each animal, just over £500. The 94 sheep cost Eth. $50,000 or 531 dollars each somewhat short of £76. The poultry averaged less that a dollar and a half apiece. Many more cattle than those listed above were imported from America in earlier years to breed with the native cattle. Many of their cross-bred progeny survive. Some thousands of day-old chicks were flown from the United States. A substantial proportion of

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TABLE D.—IMPORTS OF LIVE CATTLE, 1957-9

	Number of Animals or Birds			Value in Ethiopian Dollars		
	1957	1958	1959	1957	1958	1959
Bovine Cattle	12	5	15	10,200	250	858
Sheep (alive)	94	—	—	50,000	—	—
Poultry	3,693	46	1,749	3,972	459	3,979
TOTALS	3,799	51	1,764	64,172	709	4,837

these became acclimatised and have produced eggs which are sold to farmers, while the agricultural schools make a practice of exchanging one of their new heavy-breed cocks for the farmer's smaller native cock in order to improve the breed.

Poultry is preferred in Ethiopia to any sort of meat, but eggs are little used, as will be observed from the dietary tables which appear on another page.

The primary drawback to the breeding and stock improvement programme is that the farmer cannot afford to feed his livestock as they are fed at the agricultural schools or by the farmers in Western countries. In his hand-to-mouth existence, he is not able to spend even on his children what is spent on calves and chickens by the expert breeders in the schools. His cattle and poultry have to fend for themselves and must get what they can from the land; the farmer, in the large majority of cases, provides no supplement other than the land itself affords. If he grows maize or sorghum, he will gladly give to his cattle the leaves and stems which are left when the head of grain is removed but more than that he cannot do. The cattle which graze near the continuous stream of the Awash are fortunate, as compared with the others whose fields are by the numerous fugitive rivers which are dry the greater part of the year. Despite their meagre livelihood the cattle are an essential source of labour and also of financial profit to the farmer. He yokes them to his plough and has no other traction than they willingly supply with straining thews and sinews. They tread his corn, being his only means of threshing it. Mild-eyed and docile, they are ever at his service. The furious stud bulls of other countries who chase unwary strangers across the fields and even at times are known to gore with their horns unlucky farm hands, are unknown in Ethiopia.

Cattle products make a substantial contribution to the farmer's own income and also a useful one to Ethiopian exports.

The revenue from hides and skins could be considerably increased by more widespread facilities for expert butchering. Shade drying of hides is also more advantageous than sun drying; the prevalence of the latter reduces the price obtainable for Ethiopian hides in competition with those other countries, like Kenya, where shade drying is the rule. This question should occupy the attention of the Ethiopian Ministries of Industry, Commerce and Planning and of Agriculture. Extension workers and inspectors should direct the farmer's attention to this matter and urge him to adopt the better practice in his own interests. No doubt instruction in shade drying will be part of the Emperor's new scheme.

The supply of modern slaughter-houses would necessitate initiative by the government to meet the cost, though it would not be beyond he means of a group of farmers in each localiy and would speedily repay them.

The difference between the so-called "ordinary" hides prepared for the market by the farmer and the so-called "butchered" hides prepared in modern abattoir is considerable. In the year 1958 the wholesale price of "ordinary" hides in Addis Ababa was Eth. $12.1 per 17 kilos (a local measure). "Butchered" hides cost Eth. $26.1 per 17 kilos. The price of hides was then rising; in July 1959 the price of "ordinary" hides was Eth. $17.6 and that of "butchered" hides Eth. $26.1. It will be understood that the farmer does not receieve these prices; the profit of the merchant who purchases the hides from him and the cost of transport to the market have been added. In fact, the farmer often receives a very poor price. That is one of the reasons why the Emperor Haile Sellassie is proposing farmers' co-operatives in order that the men, women and children of the rural areas, who as the Nutrition Survey report declares, all "work hard and long" many have a better living and a more adequate reward for their hard toil.

Although "butchered" hides fetch a much higher price relatively few of them are exported; the reason is easily explained; outside the few large towns there are no modern abattoirs. The remedy must be found through government action, unless a strong co-operative movement can be developed among the Ethiopian farmers. If such a movement were established, there should be no difficulty in obtaining a loan from the Ethiopian Development Bank for the creation of a modern abattoir for the use of the farmers' co-operative society in each region. Transport to the abattoir would also be provided by the co-operative. What has been accomplished elsewhere can also be accomplished in Ethiopia. There is no doubt the Emperor has all such considerations in mind.

Meat

As has been explained already, the Ethiopian Government has made efforts to improve the quantity and quality of the meat produced by Ethiopian herds, but at the root of the problem lies the difficult question of better nutrition for the livestock.

The Nutrition Survey of 1959 ascertained that the mass of the Ethiopian population consumes but a meagre quantity of meat. Replies to 1,342 questionnaires from 41 different locations and to 802 questionnaires from 32 locations indicated that only one person in five eats meat more than once a week, while 16 per cent. of the people declared they only had meat either monthly or not at all. Some people said they only eat meat on festival days which are public holidays. Only 15 per cent. of those questioned said they eat their meat dried or raw.

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The Nutrition Survey report further quoted an estimate of 25 to 30 lbs. as the annual per capita consumption of meat by the average Ethiopian. Many fast days were regarded by the nutritionists as an important factor in reducing consumption, and no doubt they are, but the low average income is probably a more decisive factor.

The existence of the cattle disease rinderpest, and other cattle scourges long militated against beef exports, but efforts to eliminate cattle diseases by preventive inoculations have done much of late years to eradicate these ills. Prospects for the export of canned and frozen meat are now considered promising. A meat packing plant in Asmara produces canned and frozen meat mainly for export to Israel.

The quantity and value of meat exported in the years 1956 to 1959 are given in the returns of the Ethiopian Customs Administration reproduced in Table "E," also the domestic animals exported alive and the export of animal products:

all—a fact which the doctors of the Nutrition Survey of 1959 greatly deplored.

Hope of Better Feeding of Livestock

When it becomes possible for the Ethiopian farmer to feed his domestic animals and poultry as they are fed on average farms in other countries the value of their live-stock as producers of meat, milk, eggs, hides and skins will greatly increase. Undoubtedly their better care and nutrition forms part of the Emperor's new land development scheme. Beter nutrition for the animals will result in a higher income for the farmer who will thus be able to obtain better nutrition for himself and his children.

Coffee hulls have been found to be a nutritious food for cattle. Now that coffee processing is becoming better organised this residue could become a valuable source of supplementary food for the cattle and this is but one of many sources which could be utilised were the principle fully accepted that supplementary feeding is necessary for domestic animals.

TABLE E

	Quantity in tons or Heads				Value in Ethiopian Dollars			
	1956	1957	1958	1959	1956	1957	1958	1959
Canned Meat	..	..	..	..	*3,149,701	1,678,673	1,748,007	1,225,754
Frozen Meat	200	689	67	2,132	177,624	647,817	103,179	2,022,470
Animal Intestines	28	4	19	368	92,101	50,543	78,152	284,467
Frozen Poultry Meat	19	15	14	27	42,624	35,306	25,117	47,502
Animal Bones	—	—	—	595	—	—	—	52,650
Animal Horns	46,300	8,320	134	121	6,111	1,509	795	603
Bacon and Ham	20,898	26,983	28,995	19,282	49,172	68,964	65,089	55,576
Cattle, Alive (heads)	16,777	4,772	98	48	2,517,960	625,049	4,867	4,340
Sheep, Alive (heads)	—	4	133	503	—	14	320	3,378
Goats, Alive ,,	1,615	72	632	3	25,460	590	4,720	21
Camels ,,	—	20	37	84	—	1,277	1,327	4,050
Pigs ,,	224	287	238	530	22,343	26,807	21,883	38,457
Chickens ,,	86,803	64,141	47,697	62,014	57,922	56,809	42,313	52,270
TOTAL					6,141,018	3,193,358	2,095,769	3,793,538

* The fall in the export of canned meat from 3,149,701 in 1956 to 1,225,754 in 1959 resulted from the withdrawal of the Israeli Government from this enterprise.

The fall in the export of canned meat from 3,149,701 in 1956 to 1,225,754 in 1959 resulted from the withdrawal of the Israeli Government from this enterprise.

Butter and Eggs

It will be observed from the above tables that the domestic animals of Ethiopia, apart from their labour which aids the farmers to cultivate their soil, contribute a very appreciable quota to Ethiopia's total value of domestic exports which in 1959 amounted to Eth. $166,347,580, including an export of gold to the value of Eth. $1,910,002 mined in the country. Among animal products there is also a small export of clarified butter or ghee which in 1959 produced 667,484 Ethiopian dollars and an export of 14,449, fresh eggs producing 681,316 dollars and some tons of liquid and dried eggs producing 208,079, and 601 dollars respectively. Chinese competition caused difficulty in expanding exports.

There should, however, be a large market for eggs, fresh, liquid and dried within Ethiopia itself. Eggs at present form but a small proportion of the Ethiopian dietary; large numbers of families do not eat them at

Consumption of Milk and Meat

The urgent necessity of increasing the milk supply is now recognised. To achieve this desirable aim better feeding of the livestock is necessary.

The Nutrition Survey Report of 1959 quotes an estimate that some 185,000,000 gallons of milk are produced annually of which, half is consumed fresh. The replies to the Nutrition Survey's questionnaires from which were compiled the tables published on another page appears to indicate, however, that the actual consumption of milk is lower than this estimate.

Of the 1,342 persons questioned in 41 localities and the 802 questioned in 32 localities, half replied they drank the milk of cow, goat or camel weekly while one in three said they drank it daily. Others said they seldom or never had it. Adults, of course, drank milk much less frequently than children except among the nomadic population of the arid lowlands who do not cultivate the soil. Individuals among these nomads reported drinking up to 2 litres or more each day, but milk forms the principal item of their diet and they keep large herds of goats and camels. The nomads,

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Ethiopia: Percent Frequency of Consumption (Oct.-Nov., 1958). 802 Questionnaires at 35 Locations

Food Items	Daily	2-3 Times a Week	Weekly	Monthly	Seasonal	Fasting	Festival	Seldom Never
Cereals								
Teff	68	5	6	2	—	—	—	19
Durra (Sorghum)	23	3	4	2	4	—	—	64
Bakalo (Corn)	16	8	11	5	21	—	—	39
Sindey (Wheat)	15	10	17	13	5	—	3	37
Gubs (Barley)	19	7	15	10	4	—	—	45
Ensete (False banana)	10	1	2	2	1	—	—	84
Adjah (Oats)	1	1	3	3	2	—	—	90
Protein-rich Foods								
Beg Siga (Sheep)	5	9	16	16	—	—	20	34
Berie Siga (Beef)	5	14	17	22	—	—	12	30
Fiyel Siga (Goat)	8	6	7	11	—	—	10	58
Dorro Siga (Poultry)	—	4	13	13	—	—	38	32
Assa (Fish)	4	2	2	1	—	12	—	79
Inkullal (Eggs)	3	7	16	6	—	—	3	65
Wettet (Milk)	23	20	11	6	—	—	—	40
Atter (Peas)	46	14	7	2	1	3	—	27
Bakella (Broad beans)	24	12	16	5	4	2	—	37
Shimbra (Chick peas)	12	9	12	10	6	1	—	50
Miser (Lentils)	8	16	11	7	3	2	—	53
Gwaya (Gwaya)	3	1	2	2	1	—	—	91
Fat-rich Foods								
Kibie (Butter)	31	23	16	10	—	—	—	20
Neug (Niger)	2	1	3	6	1	1	1	85
Selitt (Sesame)	1	1	2	2	—	1	—	93
Talba (Flax)	5	4	7	8	2	3	1	70
Seyt (Vegetable oil)	53	13	7	3	1	4	—	19
Vegetables								
Gommen (Cabbage)	13	21	16	4	15	3	—	28
Dinitch (Potato)	11	22	17	10	8	3	—	29
Kay Shinkurt (Ooiiof)	78	8	4	1	—	—	—	9
Dubba (Squash)	12	5	2	2	10	1	—	63
Fruits								
Birtukan (Orange)	3	5	11	8	2	—	—	71
Lomi (Lemon)	6	7	18	9	2	—	—	58
Muz (Banana)	2	4	13	8	1	—	—	72
Miscellaneous								
Berbera (Red Pepper)	96	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Chew (Salt)	99	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tedj (Liquor)	4	5	12	8	—	—	—	71
Araki (Brandy)	4	6	10	8	—	—	—	72
Talla (Beer)	14	14	15	6	—	—	—	51

Ethiopia 1958: Food Consumption Patterns in Percent of 1,342 Dietary Questionnaires from 41 Locations

Basic Foods

1. Number of injera per day: 1-1/2 = 20; 2 = 14; 2-1/2 = 36; 2 = 34other = 6.
2. Kinds of vegetables in wat: onion 71; potatoes 21; cabbage 25; other 17.
3. Kinds of pulses: peas 53; broad beans 20; sword beans 3; lentils 12; other 1.
4. Frequency of meat: 5x/week 20; weekly 33; monthly 28; festival 6.
5. Kinds of meat: beef 70; mutton 42; goat 25; chicken 5; other 1.

Frequency	Daily	Weekly	Seldom	Never
6. Milk	33	24	26	17
7. Eggs	3	15	36	46
8. Oil	46	26	14	14
9. Butter	37	38	19	6
10. Bread	24	27	34	15
11. Dried Meat	2	11	34	53
12. Raw Meat	2	13	37	48
13. Cheese	11	15	28	46
14. Sugar, Jam, Honey	40	21	21	18
15. Orange or Lime	4	22	30	44
16. Banana, other fruit	2	13	26	59
17. Wheat	20	23	32	25
18. Corn	23	20	32	25
19. Sorghum	21	10	24	45
20. Chick Peas	10	21	34	35
21. Barley	24	19	28	29

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however, form a comparatively small proportion of the population.

The Ethiopian population as a whole eats but a meagre portion of meat. Replies to the questionnaires of the Nutrition Survey showed that only one person in five eats meat more than once a week, while 16 per cent. of those questioned declared they had meat only monthly, or not at all. Some eat meat only on days of festival. Beef was the most popular type of meat. Only 15 per cent. of the people said they eat their meat dried or raw.

Low Standard of Diet

Of the people as a whole the Nutrition Survey report declares "the population is excessively lean. This is compatible with a caloric deficit averaging some 400 calories per person per day."

In the chapter headed "Significance of findings" the report declares: "Upon physical examination the men, women and children appeared to be in fair to good nutritional condition," but growth data in children revealed retardation of two to four years when compared with European or American standards. Infants have typical rates of growth until the age of five or six months, but from then through age 14 the gain in weight is below Western standards. A similar pattern is present in the height data. Maximum height of 60.9 inches and 65.6 inches, respectively, was attained by girls at age 15 and boys at age 19. Maturation as evidenced by the attainment of maximum height occurred about 3 years earlier and some 3 inches shorter than in comparable European or American populations.

"Average body weight curves for both sexes established a plateau at about 20 years of age at 101.4 lbs. (7.2 stones) for women and 116.3 lbs. (8.1 stones) for men. Ethiopian adults do not show the increase in weight with age that is characteristic of European and American populations."

The report continues: "The Ethiopians examined were about 10 percentage below desirable body weights (20 to 23 per cent.) of body fatty tissue." In short after further careful argument and estimation, the conclusion is drawn that "an additional average of approximately 400 calories daily is required to meet the energy needs of the population."

Moreover, they add: "These considerations justify the conclusion that the caloric nutrition of the subjects examined is deficient. This conclusion is further substantiated by the almost complete absence of obesity among all the samples of the population studied, and the rapidity of precipitation of "starvation oedema during famine."

It should be noticed here that the Ethiopian people, whether men or women, are not necessarily lean and short in stature—one meets in Ethiopia every day some very tall people, particularly tall men, numbers of them broad, strong and bulky in physique, and some of them distinctly fat. But, as used to be more noticeably the case in the United Kingdom than it is today, the tall, broad-shouldered and corpulent people belong, as a rule, to the more prosperous classes. There are, of course, numerous exceptions to this general rule in Ethiopia, as in England, where though in general the aristocracy has been tall, some members of the Royal family have been very short and small in build.

It may be asked what sort of people were examined by the nutrition survey teams, and how were they selected? The adults were selected sometimes at rural markets in various part of the country. The team would arrive with its apparatus and after being introduced to the people by local officials would ask for volunteers to submit themselves to examination. It was found, however, more satisfactory to select at random a small village and to examine there either all the people or some proportion of them, not less than a third. The effort was made in these villages to examine an equal number of men, women and children. For further assessment of mothers, infants and children examination was made at maternity clinics and public health and paediatric centres. It is evident that a large proportion of the persons examined were of the labouring classes.

Throughout Ethiopia the people were found to be "pleasant, courteous and most co-operative." Local officials and school teachers with a knowledge of the dietary habits of the people assisted with information. Everyone seemed interested in the Survey and eager to help in ensuring its accuracy.

It was reported that butter and vegetable oils were the principal sources of fat; interviews indicated a per capita consumption of each of them daily, or perhaps one or the other daily, for butter was not taken on fast days and vegetable oil was substituted. The principal vegetable eaten was Gommen, a kind of cabbage. To these were added onions, red and green peppers and carrots.

Citrus fruits, pineapples, mangs, tringo, papaya, "zeitung" and many other fruits are grown in Ethiopia but the nutrition survey formed the impression that the mass of people eat little of them.

Less than half the people eat sugar daily. Salt was used every day but as it is relatively expensive, only small quantities are consumed.

Mothers and Children

Women from 25 to 45 years, who lose weight between those ages, expectant and nursing mothers, infants and school children, seemed to the doctors of the survey to be in greatest need of a more ample and nutritious diet. More efficient care was needed for mothers in pregnancy and childbirth. Infants needed more milk. "Protein Malnutrition" they say on page 2 of their report "was present, as evidenced by cases of Kwashiorkor and growth retardation of children."

They add: "There is a critical need to improve the feeding practices of infants, particularly from the age of six months to four years. Toward this end, the greatest educational effort is required. There should be thoughtful demonstration of the possibilities for good feeding of infants and children, using locally available resources and foods, such as fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs and legumes."

As practical people, the nutritionists of the survey were aware that milk, fruit and eggs in many districts were not, in fact, available to numbers of poor families whose children they examined. Accordingly, on page 4,

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they urged "improvement of feeding practices for cattle" and "continued efforts to improve and expand animal husbandry."

1,000 Calories a Day for Nursing Mothers Recommended

The doctors of the Survey made this strong statement with a view to improving the quality of the mothers' milk: "It is recommended that the intake of nursing mothers be increased by approximately 1,000 calories per day and that this food should contain specific nutrients in the amounts present in an adequate diet.

"In the absence of breast milk, infants under the age of six months should receive cow's milk or other animal milk which has been pasteurised or boiled for five minutes, in order to render it free from infectious agents and more digestible. An education programme designed to make use of the fresh animal milk plentiful in Ethiopia should be carried out, since it will be more practical in the long run than the use of expensive imported evaporated or powdered milk. The availability of animal milk in a form suitable for infant feeding should not be allowed to reduce the frequency of breast feeding."

District Nurses to Visit Homes Needed

The doctors of the Survey referred, also, to excessive "pre-natal mortality of mothers, frequent uterine rupture in labour and post delivery vesico-viginal fistulae. Physicians who attend mothers in hospital deplore the great number of young mothers who are injured for life in bearing their children. The time is long overdue for the Addis Ababa hospitals now training nurses to add district nursing to their activities and to send their graduate nurses out into the homes to assist the mothers in childbirth. When a service of maternity nurses, able to call a doctor's aid at need, has been established in Addis Ababa we may anticipate an extension elsewhere. The Asmara school of nursing already undertakes home nursing.

Malnutrition Among Infants

Information concerning the feeding of their children was collected by the members of the Nutrition Survey teams from the mothers of 34 children attending the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital, of 41 children attending St. Paul's Free Hospital for the Poor, and of 35 children attending the Ethio-Swedish Paediatric Clinic, all in Addis Ababa; and in Asmara, the mothers of 13 children at the police training base; the women at the police training base had families averaging five members. These families had Eth. $30 a month for their food. They purchased all they ate, but had free living accommodation at the base.

The ages of the mothers attending the three hospitals and living at the police base ranged from 16 to 49 years at the time they were interviewed.

Three-quarters of the infants were breast-fed for at least one year, over half for 18 months; 18 per cent. of them were not breast-fed up to three months. The reasons given for discontinuing breast feeding were, in 10 cases that the mother had become pregnant once more; in six cases because the mother was ill; in three cases because she was found to be tubercular; two women had stopped breast feeding on account of being employed outside the home; one mother had died; another had stopped breast feeding on medical advice. At the time of the visit 54 mothers had been feeding their infants at the breast for from 12 to 17 months, 40 from 18 to 23 months, 13 from 24 to 35 months, and nine of the poor mothers from 36 to 59 months! Such prolonged breast feeding is, of course, excessively debilitating for the unfortunate mother, especially under the spare diet most of them have. The reasons they suckle their babies so long are, firstly, because of the vain belief, common all over the world, that a mother still feeding her baby is not likely to become pregnant; secondly, the mother's own milk is the cheapest food in actual cash that she can give to her child.

The nutritionists added: "Supplements to breast feeding consisted of three types of foods: some modification of cow's milk, sugar, cereal and tea; and foods from the family diet. By the age of six months 86 per cent. of the infants were receiving cow's milk in some form. This often consisted of very small amounts (two or three tablespoonfuls) of powdered milk, greatly diluted and fed from a bottle. On the other hand, as much as one litre of fresh or evaporated milk was sometimes given to a child. During the second year of life the milk supplement had decreased. In the three to five year age group, less than two-thirds of the infants were receiving milk in any form, and many of these received but a small amount.

"Moreover," say the members of the Nutrition Survey, "The relatively frequent use of milk as a supplement in the first year of life may reflect the special nature of the group sampled at these clinics."

This would naturally be so; the child has probably been ill and this has aroused the mother's anxiety and caused her to seek medical advice. The improvement which has resulted would cause her to have confidence in the advice given and would incline her to follow it as far as possible. Moreover, the mothers attending the clinics are usually more sophisticated and probably more prosperous than the general average of people who do not enter a hospital until they or their children are dangerously ill.

Despite the influence of the clinics, the Report continues: "By the second year of life, 23 of the 29 infants were being fed injera and wat (the hot, highly peppered stew) and only a very few received any fruit or eggs. Indeed, by the age of two years, few children received any foods other than those provided by the family dietary. "Nevertheless, about one-fifth of the infants received nothing but milk, even after the age of two years."

That milk was evidently the milk of the mother's breast. O poverty your ways are cruel!

Importance of Mother and Infant Clinics

To those who have had experience in such congested areas of unskilled labour as the East End of London, fifty years ago, there is nothing new about this, for children under two years, and even under a year, were then often fed with anything the family happened to be eating—including, in some cases, beer and pickles! Cow's milk was little used by poor families, but the mother often breast-fed her child for excessively long periods. Poverty and ignorance of an infant's needs

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accounted for these habits. All this was devastating to infant life. At the beginning of this century, one in every seven babies born in England and Wales died before reaching its first birthday. Here one may quote *The British Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 6, page 1,316:

"During unfavourable summers in industrial towns, infants died in such numbers that if the rate had continued during the other seasons of the year, the whole infant generation of that year would have been eliminated from the population."

The imposition of conscription during the First World War revealed widespread ill-health and physical incapacity among the youth of the United Kingdom, largely traceable to maladies contracted in infancy, which rendered them unfit for military service.

These facts were urgently brought to public notice by the agitation of womens' organisations calling for better maternal and infant care.

Womens' organisations, with the aid of charitable donations had already established a few maternity and infant clinics and welfare centres, on the model of those it was desired the public authorities should establish. The present writer was conducting five of such centres in the East End of London before the Government took action.

The result of these combined efforts was the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918. In accordance with this Act, the local governing bodies which are so vitally important in Great Britain, established all over the country clinics where expectant mothers and infants were examined and advised. Babies were brought weekly for weighing. Dried full-cream milk, orange juice and simple remedies were available, free or at reduced prices. A comprehensive service of instruction on child feeding and nurture was established throughout the country. Womens' volunteer organisations had paved the way, and they continued to assist.

The result was a great fall in the rate of infant mortality and a great increase in national health and welfare.

These efforts have been strengthened by a considerable rise in the standard of wages in every branch of employment throughout the country and by the establishment of a national health service which ensures medical and hospital treatment for all persons requiring them. These things will come also in Ethiopia as, and when, the country becomes more prosperous

Investigations by Dr. Otto Jager of the Public Health College at Gondar carried out at the Infant Clinic there showed that " up to the age of five or six months the growth rates of Ethiopian infants are satisfactory, after which the gain in weight becomes very slow. The duration of this retardation in weight extends well into school age. These observations are similar to those reported from other areas of the world where protein malnutrition is common."

The report continues: " Protein malnutrition was seen frequently in all the paediatric clinics visited, although the manifestations of severe dermatosis were rare. The presence of malnutrition with oedema was much more frequently seen. There appeared to be a higher incidence of protein malnutrition among the hospital population in Asmara than in Addis Ababa." On one of their visits the survey team found eight cases of serious malnutrition in the children's ward of the Asmara hospital.

This observation accords with what is known of the two areas; the grave deforestation and soil erosion in Eritrea renders it agriculturally poorer than much of Ethiopia.

School Children

The doctors of the Survey have this to say about the infants and school children:

"Lower than normal serum albumin levels were found in half the infants tested and growth retardation in the pre-school group was very common. The abnormally low serum albumin concentrations found among the school children also may explain some of the cases of oedema (dropsy, or pathological accumulation of fluid in tissue spaces) seen among elder children and adults.

"The incidence of diarrhoea in the infant population was difficult to assess except to note that it made up 40 to 50 per cent of the hospital admissions in the pre-school age group and accounted for a very high percentage of the clinic visits. The association between recurrent bouts of diarrhoea and protein malnutrition has been noted wherever protein malnutrition occurs, and it is suggested that a similar association occurs in Ethiopia."

Though attention to this fact was not seriously directed, even in England, till the second decade of this century, flies are now known to be the great carriers of infantile diarrhoea. As had to be done in the United Kingdom, mothers in Ethiopia need to be instructed that is is essential to keep the food and utensils for preparing the food of their children free from flies.

UNICEF Aid for Children

The UNICEF distribution of milk and vitamins A, D and C, soap and garden seeds was in progress at some of the schools visited by members of the Nutrition Survey.

This distribution applies to children attending the schools selected and to infants and children under school age up to three years of age, whose mothers are resident in the locality.

The school children wash themselves under supervision with the soap provided by UNICEF and when they have done so are handed a glass of milk to drink. This consists of 40 grammes of powdered milk from which the cream has been skimmed, dissolved in water sufficient to fill a ten ounce glass. The distribution takes place in Ethiopia on three days a week.

The distribution to infants under three years is held once a week. It consists of seven rations, each of 40 grammes given to the mother in powdered form. On the first occasion she is taught how to mix a ration with boiled water, sufficient to fill a ten ounce glass.

At Medhane Alem School, one of the largest in Addis Ababa, 720 school children receive the milk; they are comprised in grades I, II and III. The discrimination is made purely on account of the amount of school time occupied in the ablutions and mixing and drinking the milk. The lowest grades are selected to have the milk because it is held that the youngest children are in greatest need of it.

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The UNICEF distribution is only applied in seven of the forty-six schools of Addis Ababa; it does not aim at a comprehensive supplementation of the diet of all Addis Ababa school children. It could be described as a pilot project to indicate to governments and local authorities what they might do to assist children under their jurisdiction. Moreover it is in part an experiment to test the effect of vitamin treatment on the children where clinical and laboratory findings showed that levels of serum, vitamins A and C were below "acceptable" levels, and cases occurred of thyroid enlargements and bilateral oedema, especally among girls, and Bitot's spots and follicular hyperkeratosis of the skin were frequent among boys, with other ills possibly of nutritional significance.

Emperor's Land Settlement Plan Will Provide More Fruit

The nutritionists emphasise that among children, serum albumin studies suggest marginal malnutrition among school children. "The full-blown clinical pattern occurs in significant numbers. There is a lower than desirable intake of vitamin C."

Imported Milk

The rapid increase in the dried, evaporated and condensed milk now being imported into Ethiopia despite its high cost, indicates that there is a substantial and growing demand for good quality dairy products in which the discriminating public have confidence. These imported dairy goods are not, of course, purchased by the lower paid members of the Ethiopian population, or the mass of farmers, but the customers are by no means confined to the foreign residents; they are also to be found among the Ethiopian junior Government officials who are willing to pay even an inflated price for what they believe to be a safe product, even if in the course of processing, the milk has lost some of its valuable vitamin content. When Shola Dairy has fully gained the esteem and confidence of those who now purchase imported dairy produce, they will probably be pleased to purchase similar high quality products from Shola at a greatly reduced price. But they must be assured of the quality and of a regular supply. When these are assured, the customs authorities will know how to exert suitable pressure upon purchasers who hesitate to give Shola a trial.

TABLE F.—IMPORTS OF DAIRY PRODUCE

	Quantity in Tons			Value in Ethiopian Dollars		
Milk and Cream:	1957	1958	1959	1957	1958	1959
Evaporated or Condensed	116	132	130	120,652	168,788	134,120
Dried	110	194	600	192,690	239,658	565,432
Butter	189	382	317	197,334	416,890	329,377
Cheese	111	107	108	281,732	276,555	291,723
TOTALS	526	815	1,155	792,408	1,101,891	1,320,652

Children should accordingly be supplied with more fruit. The Emperor's land settlement scheme should lead to the cultivation of fruit by the new farmers. It should be brought into the capital in greater abundance and sold at a price the people can afford to pay. Moreover the schools and the hospitals must teach the necessity of eating fruit and the radio should make it known.

Better Milk Supplies to Come

The plans now being developed and put into effect in the Addis Ababa area to establish four centres on the outskirts of the city, where farmers may bring their milk to be purchased for pasteurisation at Shola Imperial Dairy will afford to them an assured market for their milk and guarantee them against losses due to fluctuations in demand. The certainty that all the milk they can produce will be purchased at a standard price will encourage them to devote greater attention to their cattle, and to feed them adequately, in order that their yield may increase.

Experiments have shown that the quantity of milk given by the Ethiopian cow can be greatly increased by a course of improved feeding. Moreover the farmers of the Addis Ababa neighbourhood have opportunities of acquiring cross-bred cattle, sprung from strains imported from abroad who by many generations of selective breeding have been developed as heavy-yielding dairy stock. The cross-bred cattle require adequate care and food, but they give greater supplies of milk and will repay the sums expended upon them.

The whole of Ethiopia cannot, of course, be served by Shola Dairy. There is already a modern pasteurisation plant in Asmara which supplies a large part of Eritrea, but much of Ethiopia, and even a good part of Eritrea, lies beyond the possibility of obtaining milk from either of these two sources or from other good dairies. Among the latter should be mentioned Her Imperial Majesty's Farm in the airport zone of Addis Ababa, where excellent milk is produced, though not pasteurised.

It is necessary to establish a dairy producing fully reliable milk in each centre of population, which can serve the surrounding zone, with collecting centres where the milk will be purchased from the local farmers. The Addis Ababa plan should in short be spread throughout the country.

The UNICEF organisation, after surveying several other countries, has expressed the opinion that of all suitable which can be selected as a centre for the manufacture of dried milk. This view has been expressed on the basis of the climatic conditions of the country, the quality of the cattle available for use in the project and the number of trained personnel able to take part in operating the scheme. This opinion expressed by international experts is extremely gratifying and must afford great encouragement to the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture in the work it is undertaking to improve and to expand animal husbandry and the dairy industry.

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TEFF

(*Eregrostis Abyssinica*)

The average caloric intake of the Ethiopian adult was calculated by the Nutrition Survey as 2,500 calories. Approximately 70 per cent. of the calories come from carbohydrates, 18 per cent. from fat and 12 per cent. from protein.

Examination of the dietary tables prepared by the Nutrition Survey and of the composition of the various foodstuffs of which it is composed leads to the conclusion that if it were not for the excellent cereal, teff, which is the special product of Ethiopia almost universally consumed at every meal, the physical condition of the people would be infinitely inferior than is actually the case.

The Nutrition Survey report gives the nutrient composition of teff as follows:—Water, 11.2%; Energy cal./100 gm., 35.3%; Protein, 9.1%; Fat, 2.2%; Calcium, mg. 110; Iron, mg. 90; Vitamin A potency, I.U.O.; Thiamine, mg. 47; Riboflavin, mg. 11; Niacin, mg. 21; Ascorbic, mg. 0.

From the high degree of calcium and iron contained in teff, the people benefit considerably. What is lacking should largely be supplied by the vegetables contained in the "wat", spiced with berbere, but under conditions of poverty the wat does not always contain these ingredients and the berbere sometimes loses the vitamins it should contain during its preparation.

TO NEW READERS

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Each issue of *Ethiopia Observer* is devoted to a separate topic.

Every effort is taken to give the most complete coverage to the topic selected.

Ethiopia Observer thus provides invaluable documentation of permanent interest.

A complete file is therefore essential to a knowledge of Ethiopia, past, present and future.

For the reader's further information a brief record of current events in Ethiopia is normally included in each issue.

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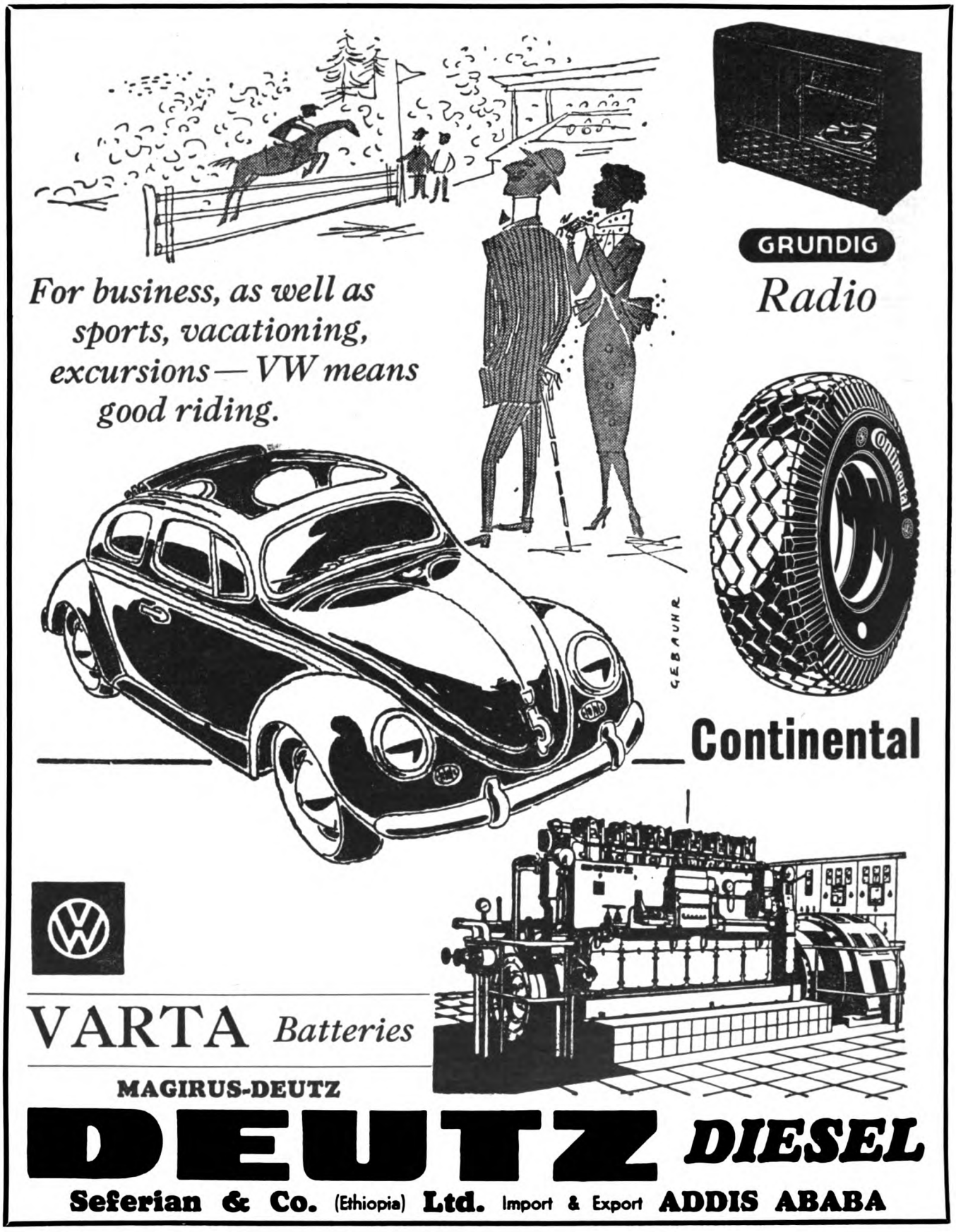

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Ethiopian Record

January 12.—His Imperial Majesty returned to Asmara after his State visit to Saudi Arabia.

The East, West and Central Africa Study Seminar began its work in Addis Ababa, the first session on "Imperialism and Colonialism" being introduced by Dr. Richard Pankhurst.

January 13.—His Majesty received Eritrean chiefs at Massawa.

January 14.—All the statisticians of Addis Ababa met at the Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce and Industry to discuss their work, and appointed Ato Worku Haptewold chairman of a committee to co-ordinate policy.

January 15.—His Majesty inspected progress on the new Zula dam (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 8).

January 16.—Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld, Secretary General of the United Nations, arrived in Addis Ababa on a short visit.

His Majesty inspected the Dalel sulphur and salt mine at Asalle in Tigré Province.

January 18.—His Majesty received Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld at Massawa.

January 19.—Timkat (Holy Cross Day) celebrations were held all over Ethiopia.

January 21.—His Majesty flew to Assab to inspect harbour installations built by Yugoslav engineers (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, Nos. 8 and 9).

January 22.—His Majesty, after visiting the famous Bizen Monastry 90 kilometres from Massawa, granted commissions to cadets of the Naval College at that port (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 9).

January 23.—Their Imperial Majesties returned to Addis Ababa after their busy visit to the northern provinces.

January 26.—The second All African People's Congress opened in Tunis.

Mr. Roy Garvin, a prominent negro attorney from Washington, left Addis Ababa after a short visit to the Ethiopian capital.

The Lord Mayor of Addis Ababa, H. E. Dejazmatch Zewdie Gabre Sellassie, announced that low cost housing would soon be available in the city as a result of building designed and supervised by the newly established Building Research Institute.

His Majesty received in audience the students of the East, West and Central African Study Seminar which opened on January 11.

January 28.—It was announced that H. E. Lij Endalkatchew Makonnen had been appointed Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Great Britain.

It was announced that the Ethiopian Airlines' Trans-World Airline Service speed has been increased so that the flight from Addis Ababa to New York is only one day's flying time. The plane leaving Addis Airport at 3 p.m. (Ethiopian time) reaches New York at 7.40 p.m. (New York time) on the following day.

January 31.—Emebet Hoy Seble Desta and Lij Kassa Woldemariam, and Emebet Hoy Sofia Desta and Lieutenant Dereje Hailemariam, were united in matrimony at a ceremony at the Holy Trinity Cathedral attended by their Imperial Majesties.

February 2.—His Majesty received M. Jacques Compien, the Chief of French Somaliland, in audience.

February 15.—His Majesty opened the first exhibition of text-books produced for the Ethiopian schools.

February 16.—His Majesty opens a meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education from countries in Tropical Africa, opened in the Ethiopian Parliament building. Delegates come from Belgium and Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, France and the French Community (Mali Federation, Ivory Coast, Madagascar and Congo), Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, United Kingdom and Territories (Somaliland Protectorate and Uganda), and observers from Portugal, Sudan and the United Arab Republic. The session was organised by UNESCO.

Ethiopia was represented by H. E. Lij Endalkatchew Makonnen, Ato Million Neqnik, Woizerit Mary Tadesse, Ato Tadesse Terrefe and Dr. Aklilu Hapte.

February 18.—His Majesty opened the imposing new Air Terminal at Addis Ababa airport (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. IV, No. 4).

A 21-member acrobat troupe arrived in Addis Ababa from China.

February 19.—Ethiopia mourned Graziani massacre day (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, Nos. 10 and 11).

It was announced that H. E. Lij Mikael Imru has been appointed Ethiopian Ambassador to the U.S.A. and H.E. Girmatchew Tekle Hawaria, Ambassdor to (West) Germany.

February 20.—His Majesty 21. His Majesty inspected a Russian IL-14 aeroplane presented to him during his State visit to the U.S.S.R., which had recently arrived.

February 21.—The engagement of the Emperor's grandson, Samson Beyene to Woizerit Koromit Andarge, daughter of H.E. Ras Andarge Messai, was celebrated at the residence of H.I.H. Princess Tenagne Work.

February 23.—His Majesty sent a message of condolence to Lord Louis Mountbatten on the occasion of the sudden death of Lady Mountbatten.

Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia signed a trade pact.

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His Majesty visited the Addis Ababa city planning department to inspect the maps prepared by Messrs. Bolton and Hennessey to modify the Abercrombie town plan (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. I, No. 2).

March 1.—It was announced that after two years collections the Prince Makonnen Duke of Harar Memorial Fund had collected Eth. $3,107,651.07.

March 2.—Adowa day was widely commemorated (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. I, No. 11).

His Majesty generously sent 25,000 Ethiopian dollars to the King of Morocco for relief at earthquake stricken Agadir.

March 3.—His Majesty granted an audience to Mr. M. W. Kanyoma Chieume, Publicity Secretary of the Nyasaland African National Congress, on a short visit to Ethiopia.

March 6.—His Majesty opened a Soviet Graphic Art Exhibition at the newly opened Fine Arts Building.

March 7.—His Majesty sent a message of greeting on the occasion of Ghana's third anniversary.

His Majesty received members of the Kagnew battalion who are going to Korea to replace the token Ethiopian force stationed there.

Mr. Billy Graham arrived in Addis Ababa to hold two meetings in the Haile Sellassie I Stadium.

March 8.—Details were announced of the Technical School to be built by the Soviet Union in Ethiopia, as a result of an agreement made during the Emperor's recent visit to Russia. The school will be situated at Bahr Dar, on Lake Tana, and will be equipped to train mechanics and technologists for the textile industry, agricultural mechanics, specialists in the processing of wood, chemical analysts for laboratories of industrial enterprises, and electrical technologists.

March 12.—A group of 42 American journalists arrived in Addis Ababa under the sponsorship of the United States Society of Editors.

March 15.—His Majesty paid a second long visit to the Addis Ababa planning department to inspect progress on the new city plan.

March 17.—His Majesty announced the inauguration of a new agricultural development plan to cost 5 million Ethiopian dollars, together with agricultural machinery from "friendly countries."

March 21.—H.E. Lij Endalkatchew Makonnen was awarded status of Grand Officer of the Order of Menelik and H.E. Ato Girmatchew was promoted to the rank of Blatta and awarded the Ethiopian Grand Officer star medal.

The following appointments were announced:—

Ato Meaza Workineh—Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Community Development.

Ato Eshete Makonnen—Acting Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Community Development.

Ato Wolde-Semayat Gebre-Wolde — Director-General in the Ministry of Community Development.

Ato Tadesse Menguesha—Director in His Imperial Majesty's Cabinet.

His Majesty received a member of the Somali National Assembly, Islaw, Osman.

Generous Gift From Australia

Dr. Hamlin, gynaecologist at Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital, has received from the Secretary General of the Australian Red Cross Society, a letter, informing him that the generous gift of serum albumin which the society has sent by air to the hospital, at a cost of nearly £100 sterling, will be repeated each month. Serum Albumin is a concentrated extract of blood used in emergency to restore patients in critical cases when blood transfusion cannot be obtained.

This generous gift has already saved many mothers in childbirth whose lives would otherwise have been lost.

The Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital Council is extremely grateful to the council of the Australian Red Cross Society for this generous gift which will cost £1,200 a year as well as to Dr. Hamlin for most kindly bringing the great need of this life-saving serum to the knowledge of the Australian Red Cross Society.

From the Secretary General,
The Australian Red Cross Society,
Melbourne C.1.,
Australia.
March 3, 1960.

Dear Dr. Hamlin.—Thank you for your letters of January 17 and February 7.

We were delighted to know of the life-saving use to which you have been able to put our first consignment of Albumin. By this time you will have received our next two consignments, the last one having been addressed, as you requested, direct to you.

I am happy to be able to inform you that, in view of the fact that you were unable to find the costs (approximately 688 Ethiopian dollars per month of the additional consignment, which are obviously so valuable to you—in saving life—the National Executive of the Australian Red Cross, at its meeting on February 15, decided that the Australian Red Cross Society should continue to meet the expense, both as a gesture of friendship to Ethiopia, and to promote the ideals of Red Cross and Blood Transfusion among the people of that country.

We shall therefore resume immediately the sending of 10 bottles of Serum Albumin per month to you (for the mothers delivered in the Princess Tsahia Hospital Midwifery School).

Yours sincerely,

L. G. STUBBINGS,
Secretary General,
The Australian Red Cross Society,
Melbourne, C.1.
Australia.

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will be a special issue on

COFFEE PROBLEMS

growing, processing and sale, prices, government control and the coffee board

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This Month's Cover Illustration

Addis Ababa's new air terminal, as seen on descending from an Ethiopian Air Lines plane.

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS IN THIS ISSUE ARE BY HAILE MEZEMGHIE

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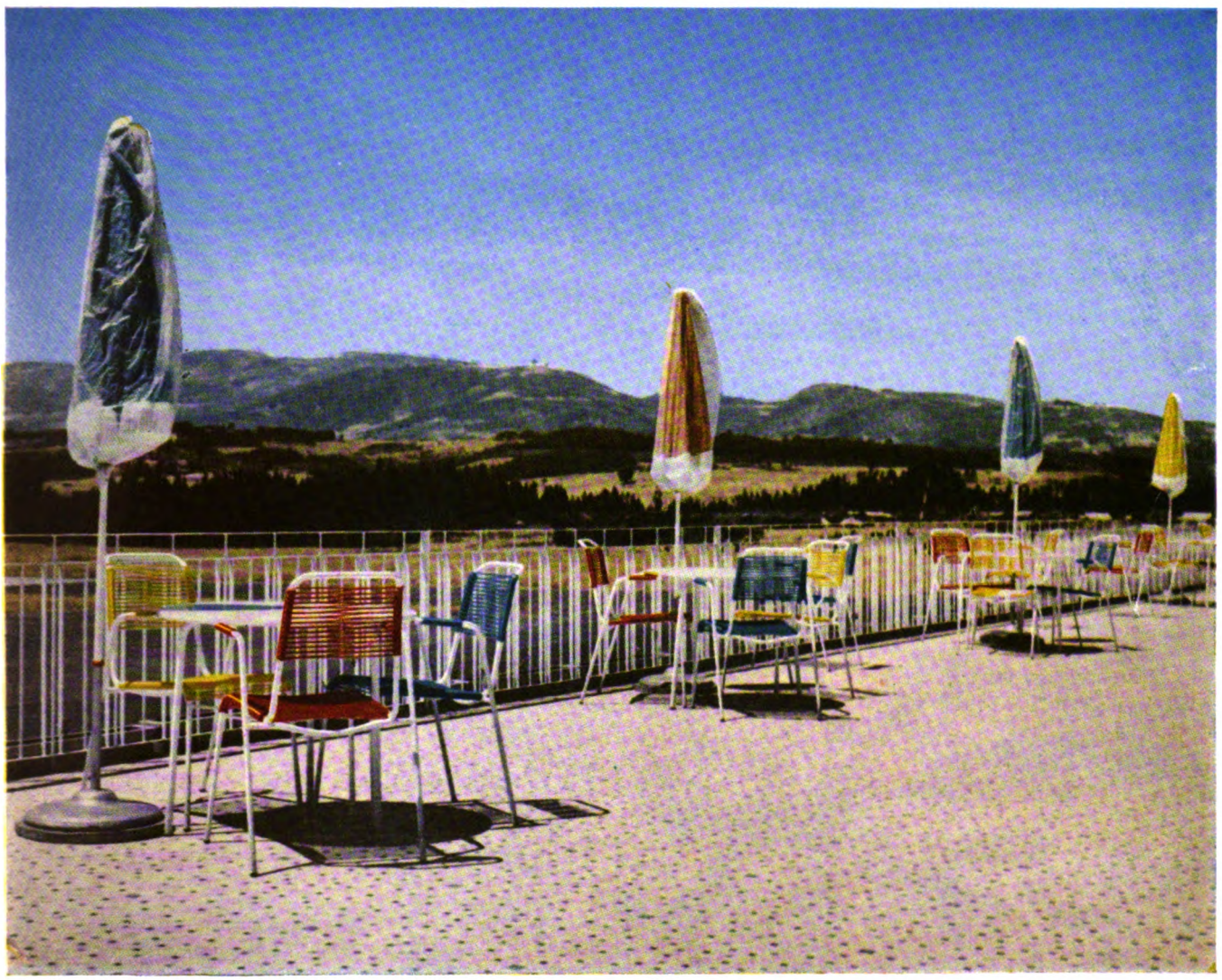

Part of the roof restaurant, Ethiopian Air Lines new terminal.

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Changing Face of Addis Ababa

By Sylvia Pankhurst

The "New Flower"

Travellers who journeyed to Ethiopia in 1941, the year of liberation, would scarcely recognise the city today, were it not for the eternal mountains and the lofty eucalyptus which grace every vista with unfailing charm.

Every year since liberation has witnessed great changes: new roads, new buildings, increased water supplies, extended street lighting and most conspicuous of all after nightfall is the brilliant fluorescent lighting.

Map of the City

We publish in this issue a map of Addis Ababa, prepared especially for *Ethiopia Observer* by the Ethiopian Mapping and Geographical Institute. We have reluctantly omitted from the map many important features which we desired to include, in fear that owing to its necessarily small scale our map would become too crowded for our readers to follow it.

Newcomers to Ethiopia and even residents of fairly long standing often have difficulty in equating the roads named on a map or mentioned in the Telephone Directory, because the street names are not affixed to the walls. We understand, however, that this will shortly be done. It will, of course, greatly facilitate the finding of personal residences and business premises: it will be useful to the ordinary citizen, as well as to the Government departments, particularly in the collection of accounts.

Our readers will notice that a number of the streets are named after British and other wartime personalities. These names were given in gratitude for the assistance these persons gave directly in the liberation of Ethiopia, or indirectly by their activities in defeating the aggressors in the Second World War.

The Air Terminal Restaurant

Reception Room at New Air Terminal

The New Air Terminal

The visitor to Addis Ababa who arrives in mid-winter from "darker, more northerly lands of frost and snow," descends from the 'plane in a blaze of sunshine to an entrancing scene.

The four-engined Douglas 6B aircraft, gaily painted white with its yellow lion rampant, and green and red decoration, has set down its passengers on the wide tarmac. The visitor sees around him the vast expanse of the sky and the wonderful mountains with dark eucalyptus woods clothing their lofty slopes in majestic terraces.

Away to the left, on the plain beneath the foothills, groups of newly erected dwellings with roofs of grey, pink and strong, deep Indian red. Looking tiny as dolls'-houses in this vast scene, they nevertheless impart their little touches of varied colour and human interest to the great landscape.

Wondrous spectacles of beauty on the grand scale are repeated continuously in the immense expanses of Ethiopia—an endless, ever changing series, beggaring the most famous scenic panoramas the beauty spots of Europe can afford.

The old air terminal which served the visitors of former years can still be seen on the edge of the tarmac, a low white-painted line of wooden buildings, destined, doubtless, to disappear with much other hastily contructed flotsam and jetsam left from the five years usurpation, now receding into the limbo of half-forgotten things.

The aircraft has alighted conveniently close to the new terminal, fronted by a pretty green lawn, intersected by paths leading to its entrances. It is surrounded by

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The Jubilee Palace, Addis Ababa

wide car parks and ably planned to fulfil every need of modern air travel. Architecturally, it is notable for lightness and brightness, in accord with the brilliancy of its lovely environment. On the ground-floor, the front and, indeed, most of the entire wall-space is of glass. The upper floor is so constructed as to be in large measure surrounded by flat-roofs, which serve as open-air restaurants and afford opportunities to survey the beauties of the landscape. Arriving and departing travellers pass into the large glass-fronted customs hall by different doors, arrivals to the left, departures to the right.

The floor of the interior and the piers supporting the roof are faced with mosaics, the latter of soft, sage-green, with occasional golden tesseræ. There are rows of comfortable armchairs upholstered in elephant-grey and here and there, between them, is a table with a white formica top, on which a tray or a glass may conveniently be placed.

There are numerous benches of suitable height to receive the baggage for inspection by the customs officials officials. These are painted white, but are topped with slats of polished wood for the baggage to rest upon, to protect the surface from scratching. Stand-up desks, intended for use in filling travel documents, are conveniently placed; each has its individual light, to be turned on at will. These desks are attractively painted a deep crimson, thereby bestowing points of rich warm colour to a department which is usually very drab and dull. There is a small private office where enquiries are made in special cases. In the customs hall there is also a buffet with chairs and tables laid ready for any who desire refreshment. The right side-wall is also one large window, from which the departing guest may gaze on the loveliness of the mountains he is leaving.

Air travel has brought with it a lightness and brightness of premises and equipment and an ingenuity in foreseeing and providing for the needs and comfort of travellers which was never evolved in railway transport. Architects and furnishers of air terminals specialise in producing whatever may conduce to the pleasure of passengers.

When the customs formalities are completed, visitors pass into the main waiting hall.

On the right is an up-to-date refreshment bar with the most modern facilities for supplying tea, coffee and other beverages of all kinds. An ample glass-case, conveniently placed for serving, keeps confectionary fresh; customers sit on high chromium-plated stools, upholstered in cream-coloured leather, but for those who prefer more luxurious seating there is ample accommodation. Within easy view of the travellers taking refreshment, is a black felt board on which the time-tables of aircraft arrivals and departures are prominently shown in white letters—no one can fail to

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notice it; on the left is a long counter for enquiries and for booking air passages. On the end wall, facing the entrance from the customs, is a large map depicting the route of Ethiopian Air Lines between Addis Ababa, Cairo, Athens and Frankfurt. The map is painted as a landscape in natural colours; the route of Ethiopian Air Lines is shown in tubes of scarlet light.

To the right of the map are post, telegraph and banking desks. To the right of the desk of the State Bank of Ethiopia (where foreign currency will be changed for Ethiopian) a door leads out to the office of the air station manager, the office of the clerks and the control room, for air traffic control, meteorological services and radio communications, which are operated from the new control tower at the top of the new terminal buildings. This has superseded the control tower of former times, most of its equipment being transferred here.

In the waiting hall are many rows of the elephant-grey armchairs. Brighter coloured, easier armchairs, each with its own small table, are placed here and there, apparantly haphazard, but actually with studied care. A side-table, where refreshments can be served, has a brilliant blue formica top. Large, pale blue-green wall spaces, without ornament, contrast everywhere with the brilliant points of colour in the few selected chairs and tables, while the restful quality of the whole is preserved by retaining the sober elephant-grey for most of the furniture.

The main entrance to the terminal, for travellers departing from Addis Ababa and for the numerous residents of the city who come to greet arrivals and to speed departing friends, is in the side wall left of the great map. Facing this entrance to the right, is a little green lawn, discreetly curbed by a miniature railing. To the left is the airport shop, where choice examples of Ethiopian handicraft are for sale. Here are gossamer-fine handspun and hand-woven muslins, bordered by exquisite woven ornament in many-coloured silks, delicate silver, ivory and hornware, the finest of basketry and lovely hand-made carpets.

On entering the waiting hall, one may visit the little shop and inspect its treasures at closer view. It is guarded by a low barrier painted in soft shades of blue and topped by a ledge of the natural warm golden-brown of some pleasant Ethiopian wood, varnished and polished, which serves as shop counter. A row of low cupboards of alternately white and yellow formica afford a gay and pleasant radiance within. Dainty wares are displayed in glass cases close at hand. Near-by is a stall where illustrated magazines, including "Ethiopia Observer", are arranged. The charming young lady who keeps the handicraft shop can easily attend, also, to this stall.

Just here is a passage leading to the barbers' and hairdressers' shops, and some of the many toilet rooms provided in the terminal.

White marble stairs, mottled with palest grey, skirted by darker grey mosaic, and hand-rails of deep blue-green wrought metal work, topped with Ethiopian polished wood, lead up to the first-floor offices, restaurants, indoors and out, and to the reception room. The landing, floored by a charming design of white and grey mosaics, leads to a passage wherein are several administrative offices, including those for immigration and for quarantine formalities.

Double doors at the head of the staircase give entrance to the main restaurants. Here again, the prevailing scheme is of pale greenish-blue, save for the long side-wall facing the large windows leading out to the roof; this is a warm pinkish terra-cotta of medium tone. The tables along this wall have on either side most comfortable seats for two persons, upholstered in deep blue and exceedingly well sprung. There are individual electric lamps for these tables, which diners can turn on as they please.

Each of the large windows leading out to the roof is set in a recess and its double lights are hung diagonally, so that in windy weather one of the pair can be opened without the wind blowing into the room. The floor of the restaurant is also of mosaic. The window curtains are decorated in large check; some of them are grey and white, others green and peacock-blue. One can see through the large windows the big red and yellow umbrellas, the white tables and the gay blue, yellow, scarlet and white chairs of plastic basketry and the wonderful mountains beyond.

The tables for four in the restaurant can be combined to seat a larger number. As the furniture was first arranged 120 diners could be accommodated, but there is plenty of space to add more chairs and tables: probably a further hundred guests could be seated.

In the near end wall, to the left of the entrance of the restaurant, a door opens into the well-equipped kitchen where tables, cupboards stoves and utensils are all of stainless steel. The cooks are spotless in their white uniform and tall white caps.

At the far end of the dining-room is a buffet where the shelves and other fittings are all of a rare Ethiopian wood, beautifully grained.

A door at this end of the restaurant leads out to the roof which faces the exit of the airport leading towards the city.

Two other doors, one opening from the restaurant, the other from the passage outside, give entrance to the Reception Room prepared for ceremonial occasions and distinguished guests. Great care and thought has been expended on every detail of the Terminal, but to this chef d'œuvre most particular attention has been given. The walls are palest grey, except that facing the big windows through which are seen the arriving aircraft; this is darker in hue and of a restful blue-green tint which adds cosiness to the room. The floor has a beautiful geometrical mosaic design in tones of purplish-brown on a cream-coloured ground. The carpet is a soft saxe-blue, wholly without ornament. The curtains to the south are of the large grey-and-white check, but those facing the large western windows, opposite the blue-green wall, are a rich red somewhat deeper than scarlet. The chairs and small sofas for two persons are upholstered in a lovely grey, pale, but somewhat darker than the walls, while a few of them are scarlet and others royal blue, imparting charm and gaiety to the whole.

We regret that our camera has not quite captured the colour.

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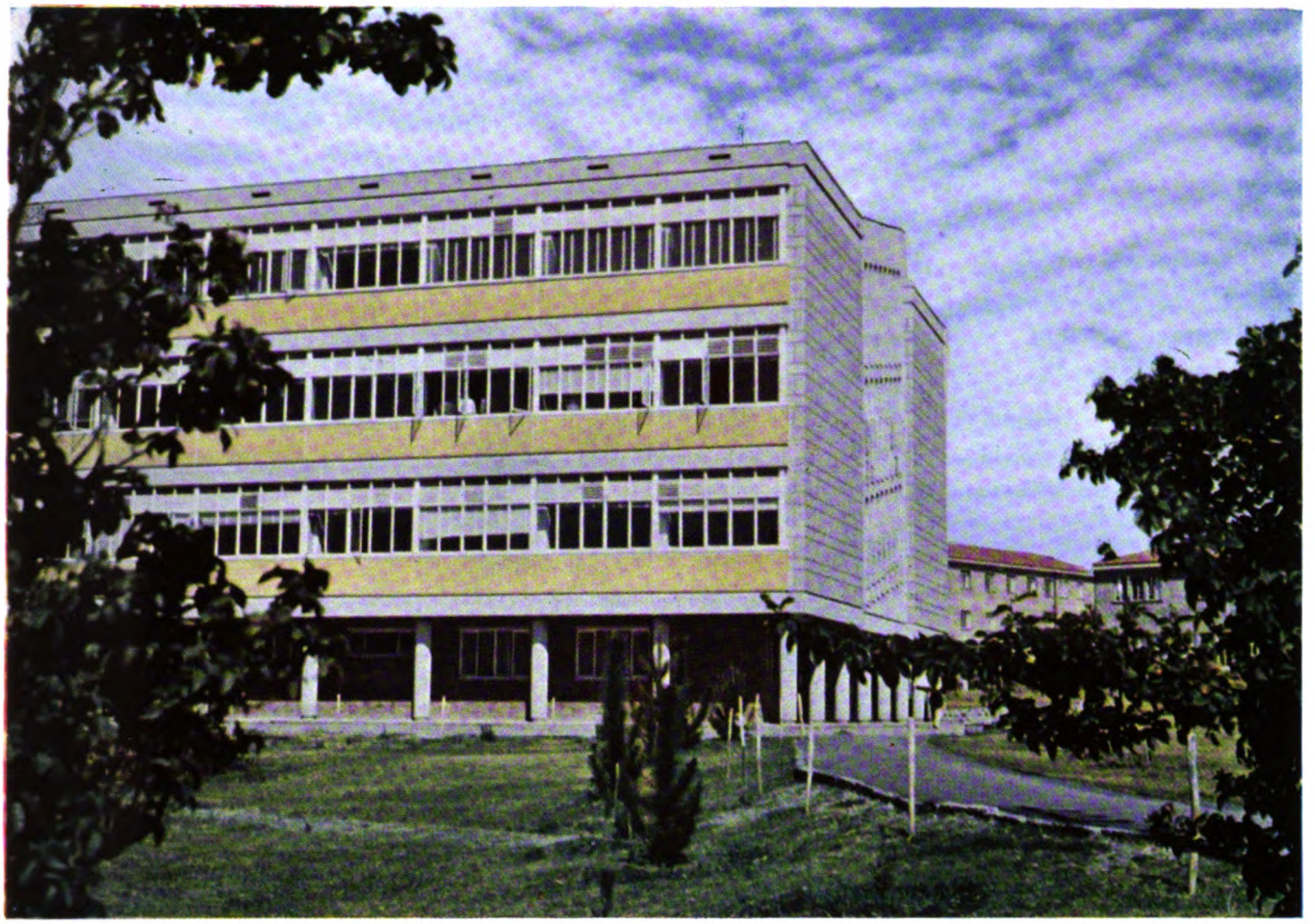

The Arts Building of the University College of Addis Ababa

Through the south and the west windows of the reception room one may step out onto the roof, which encompasses the building so that by stepping out at any of the exits, one may continue round to other points of vantage and may choose the side where there is sun or shade, or the view which seems most delightful. The visitor is enticed to rest here on the comfortable garden seats to view the lovely scene.

Everything at the new terminal is spotless; not a speck of dust is to be found. The humblest worker about the premises is zealous to preserve the beauty of this elegant creation. Women move solicitously around dusting and polishing.

Small, as compared with the air terminals of many of the world's capitals, this new terminal of Ethiopia is beautifully and ingeniously designed to meet all present needs. Commenced in September, 1958, the work has been planned and directed by the Ethiopian Ministry of Works. The architects and builders are Fanano and Mezzedimi, the Ethiopian firm which has executed many buildings for the Ethiopian Government, mainly in Eritrea, during the past few years since the Federal reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia. The mosaics are by the Eritrean factory of Tabacchi. The furniture, tables, chairs and carpets, etc., have all been imported from West Germany under the agreements made by his Imperial Majesty during his visit there. The woodwork is all constructed of Ethiopian timber. The cost of building was Eth. $467,013.38. Equipment and furniture cost Eth. $227,550.81 with Eth. $40,000 for anticipated additional work—a total of Eth. $734,564.19, approximately £104,937 sterling.

The new terminal was officially inaugurated by the Emperor on February 18, 1960, in the presence of all the diplomatic representatives in the Capital, pilots, co-pilots and hostesses of the Air Line and a large concourse of people. The Minister of Works and Communication. Dejazmatch Mangasha Seyoum, delivered an address, giving information concerning the cost and scope of the undertaking.

Certificates were presented by His Imperial Majesty to 45 Ethiopian students who have completed three-year courses as meterologists, radio mechanics, air navigators and radio operators at the International Civil Aviation School near-by. The students of the civil aviation school first to graduate numbered eight. The second batch to graduate were 18. The former graduates are now employed either on civil aviation or in the air force. Some of them have been abroad for further study. The 45 who have now received their

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certificates are all needed by the branches of civil aviation for which they were trained. The Emperor expressed his satisfaction that the rising generation of Ethiopia is doing its utmost in the field of aviation. The Ethiopian Air Lines has a duty, he emphasised, to care for the comfort of its passengers: it was therefore with pleasure that he inaugurated the new Terminal for the service of passengers and tourists of Ethiopia and foreign lands.

THE JOURNEY INTO TOWN

Leaving the new terminal by Ethiopian Air Lines omnibus, or by private car, we pass out by the recently erected new gateway into Field Marshall Smuts Road.

The new arrival to Ethiopia will be interested on approaching the exit of the airport to observe the residential staff quarters and the administrative offices of the Civil Aviation, housed in three large two-storey buildings of pleasant red-brick and grey trachyte stone quarried in the locality. These buildings and a fourth now used by the Addis Ababa Water Board, were left derelict and in an unfinished state at the collapse of the Italian occupation. They have been enlarged and transformed for their present purpose and are now very useful structures.

Field-Marshal Smuts Road has recently been widened and has an excellent metalled surface.

PRINCESS TSAHAI HOSPITAL

On the rising ground to our left is one of the most conspicuous landmarks sighted from the aeroplane—the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital, opened in 1951 with the Ethio-Swedish Children's Clinic, officially inaugurated in 1959 adjoining.

The cream-coloured walls of the Memorial Hospital glow in the sun. Architecturally an unusual edifice, it was originally built on a curve. Plans for its enlargement and adaptation to the needs of a hospital were drawn up by Messrs. Adams, Holden and Pearson, in London at the request of the Memorial Hospital Council. Additions were built at either end; a staircase and a lift were installed and a balcony extending the entire width of the main edifice; windows were enlarged and brought down to floor-level in order to serve as doors giving on to the balcony and to admit more light and air. Two large additional structures were added—one for the two operation theatres, the X-ray department, the main kitchen and stores; the other for the outpatients waiting-hall and consulting rooms and for the laboratories.

The interior of the main building, originally a mere shell, was divided into small wards for one, two, three or four adult patients and for children and infants, in accordance with modern ideas. Lavatories, bathrooms and all facilities required in a modern hospital were provided.

A nurses' training school, home and recreation centre, a laundry, equipped with electric machinery, and a mortuary were erected in the extensive grounds, where the dwellings of the hospital staff are also situated.

The hospital was erected in memory of the young Princess Tsahai, who trained and served as a nurse at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, and at Guy's Hospital, in London, during her five years of exile while the Italians occupied her country. She accomplished a great work for the sick and wounded of Ethiopia on her return in 1941 but died prematurely as the result of her exertions at the early age of 23—a very sad loss to her country and people.

Memorial Hospital Councils were established in Great Britain and in Ethiopia to build and equip the Hospital to her memory. Her father, the Emperor Haile Sellassie, presented the site and the partially constructed building.

The Ethio-Swedish Paediatric Clinic, adjacent to the Memorial Hospital, is a joint project of the Ethiopian and Swedish Governments under "Swedish Point Four," as it is colloquially termed. The Clinic was formally inaugurated by the Emperor Haile Sellassie in 1959, when Prince Bertil of Sweden was present to represent the Swedish Government. The local grey volcanic trachyte rock has been used for the clinic; bungalows of the same pleasant stone have been erected for the Swedish staff.

The gardens of both hospital and clinic are well maintained, and are gay with flowers at all seasons of the year.

The Building College

Field-Marshal Smuts Road takes us on to the Ethio-Swedish Building College, another joint project of the Swedish and Ethiopian Governments. In this case the purpose is to promote in Ethiopia a knowledge and practice of building techniques.

A block of flats for Swedish personnel, also on the left of the road, and the three large structures of the college itself, all of the grey trachyte, with a sparing use of local volcanic red tuff to relieve their severity, form an imposing block of buildings. They have been designed by Mr. Ingvar Eknor, the Director of the College, and his colleagues. An enclosed bridge, painted a rich green, joins two of the college buildings. The hilly nature of the ground, rising in natural terraces above the highway, has compelled the architects to improvise structural devices which add to the novelty and variety of the ensemble, but all is strong and durable and the terraces are made lovely with flowers. The sturdiness of these Building College structures is in striking contrast to the numerous frail erections, hastily put up by the Italians, which have proved on the whole a liability rather than an asset, because of the constant repairs involved by their maintenance; underpinning and the injection of cement into their inadequate foundations, rebuilding, total demolition and abandonment have been variously necessitated.

Numerous valuable experiments have been made by the Building College in the production of low-cost housing for use by low-income sections of the population.

This idea, long cherished by the Emperor Haile Sellassie, has borne fruit in the creation of the Imperial Savings and Home Ownership Association.

The College has also led its students in the investigation of traditional building methods and materials employed in various parts of Ethiopia. The results of

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Position of Ethiopian Ministry of Health Building showing New Malaria Control Department in Foreground (right)

some of these experiments are to be seen in the College compound. Private and Government builders frequently send samples of local building material to be tested at the College, which is well equipped with machinery for testing the strength and durability of stone, cement and other materials used in building construction.

On the right of the highway, the visitor may observe that many new dwellings have been erected; indeed, throughout the capital and its environs, new dwellings are springing up everywhere.

Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital

The road is now descending; at its lowest point we come to the Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital, staffed by the Russian Red Cross organisation. It is fronted by a row of lovely mimosa trees with delicate, pale yellow blossoms. These charming trees provide welcome shade for the numerous visitors who have driven here in two-wheeled horse-drawn garries and cars of all sorts, and are awaiting the hour when they may enter to greet their sick friends and enquire concerning their welfare. A large new wing to extend the hospital accommodation is in course of erection.

One cannot go into any street in Addis Ababa without seeing new buildings or the scaffoldng of others rapidly arising to cater for the needs of the expanding population. The great import-export firms have evidently no doubt that Ethiopia is, and will remain, a field where their energies and capital can be well spent.

The Technical School and College of Engineering

On ahead, at the top of the next hill, is the large, pale stone-coloured structure of the Ethiopian Government Technical School and the Imperial College of Engineering. An originally mean-looking structure, erected by the Italians as an open-fronted garage and workshop, was taken over for the Technical School, which immediately after the liberation was regarded as one of the essential priorities. It has been totally transformed and repeatedly enlarged since we saw it in 1944. It is now a huge complex of buildings of stone and brick, surrounding an interior square and extending around the corner into the neighbouring by-road on the left.

Here we come upon a big new block of warehouses and offices, the property of the British import-export firm, Mitchell Cotts.

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New Air Terminal: Glass Doors lead from Main Restaurant to Roof

Facing the Technical School and Engineering College is Mexico Square, where there is a round-about for the traffic, with a circular garden, attractively planted, and a central fountain. This square was so named because of the support given to Ethiopia by the Mexican delegate at the League of Nations in Geneva at the time of the Italian war.

Bearing to the right down Roosevelt Street, we find the offices of the Imperial Highway Authority which is responsible for the roads throughout the country—outside Addis Ababa. Here also is the Mapping and Geographical Institute. The Imperial Tobacco Monopoly (founded by Menelik II) has its factory here; it has been newly equipped since the War. There are also a number of post-war residential houses and flats in Roosevelt Street.

Handicraft and Commercial Schools

Returning to the round-about, to continue the journey by Field-Marshal Smuts Road, we come to a large petrol station standing at the junction of two roads. Keeping to Field-Marshal Smuts Road, on the right we see the fairly recently constructed shop of Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School, built of the grey trachyte. The numerous handicraft workshops to the rear are hidden by a stone wall. Further on, also to the right, are the exceedingly extensive new edifices of the Commercial School designed by Mr. Kimmins, principal architect to the Ministry of Education. These were erected only about three years ago. They form an important group of buildings planned on practical, modern lines, having fine, carefully lit classrooms and lecture theatres, with residential accommodation. They are dignified by appropriate sculpture and enlivened by colour.

Adowa Square

Ahead of us now the mountains come close to view, seeming to tower above a high block of offices which closes the vista as the road turns sharply to the left. Field-Marshal Smuts Road is now curving round toward the Haile Sellassie I Theatre and Adowa Square. In the angle of the road before reaching the square is a large new block of shops with offices and residential flats above. Only quite lately erected, they were occupied immediately on completion. They present an appearance of unusual brightness and gaiety; rich red brick is combined here with a band of plaster painted yellow under the first floor windows. Transparent plastic window blinds form a band of pale green. For the rest the framework of windows and doors is shining white. The cheerful modern shops, with large windows, include an office for the Dutch Airlines, a bar-restaurant, a grocery and provision merchant and on the first floor appears a dentist's sign. There is a useful space for parking cars in front. All these amenities no doubt prove useful to the tenants of the small flats who are in many cases bachelors. Cleaning and household services are supplied at a moderate charge. This is rather a recent innovation in Addis Ababa and indicates the spirit of modernisation which in many directions is transforming the life of the city.

Haile Sellassie Theatre

Driving on we pass the rear of the Haile Sellassie Theatre. At the entrance to Adowa Square is another of the large petrol stations which are so numerous in the city operated by competing firms: British "Shell", French "Caltex", American "Mobiloil", Italian "Agip". A road running uphill toward the National Library, the Ministry of Public Works, the Museum and the Ministry of Public Health is now seen on our left. Rounding the corner into Adowa Square, to the right, we are confronted by a huge and highly conventionalised bronze effigy of the Lion of Judah, Ethiopia's famous national emblem, the work of a German sculptor.

On our visit to Addis Ababa in 1944, and again in 1951, we saw at this point a gaunt and apparently rickety edifice, which the Italians had intended for an opera house, but had left unfinished. There was much discussion concerning the future of this forlorn structure. Among the various architects and builders consulted by the Ethiopian Government, opinion on the whole was inclined to advise its demolition. Most of the experts considered it too frail and flimsy to be safely completed without considerable strengthening; they argued that the cost of rendering it stable would be unjustifiably great. They considered the stone employed in the existing structure could be more profitably used elsewhere. So the years passed. However in 1955, the year of Jubilee, when many functions were being planned to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Emperor's accession and many visitors were expected, the need for a considerable building where entertainments could be presented was keenly felt. French architects were consulted and pressed to find a solution. They advised that by judicious reinforcement, the fabric could be rendered stable, and could be developed for use as a theatre and opera house, and also for exhibition purposes. The work was put in hand and completed in little more than three months. One of the most attractive centres for drama and music in the Middle East was thus produced. The interior decoration is particularly

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New Ethio-Swedish Paediatric Clinic (right), adjoining Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital and Outpatients Department seen through trees (left)

pleasant. The foyer is floored by black and white mosaics in a beautiful Grecian-style key pattern, supplied by the Tabacchi Mosaic factory in Asmara. The stone ceiling is perforated and set with a multitude of electric lights. A majestic staircase leads both to a hall for smaller gatherings and to the dress circle of the theatre. From the foyer also, a door leads out to a large open space beside the Theatre, usually unnoticed because largely masked by neighbouring shops. Here, according to time-honoured Ethiopian custom, a vast tent-like structure is erected on festive occasions for vast social gatherings, where a thousand or more guests may be seated to dine; an immense buffet is laid out; the guests are handed plates and make their own selection from the large and varied spread. Space must also be provided for a stage for musicians, and for a dance floor where ultimately the guests will dance to the music of a vivacious Ethiopian band.

The Haile Sellassie Theatre has its own company of players for drama and for folk songs and dances, and its musicians who play the traditional instruments: the begena, the masenko and the krar. Dramas by Ethiopian playwrights are occasionally presented. Among these were plays by Bitwoded Endalkatchew Makonnen and the tragedy of the Emperor Theodore by Girmatchew Taklehawariat. The works of foreign dramatists have sometimes been produced in the original language and in Amharic translations. Recitals are frequently given by foreign artistes. Donald Wolfit and Rosalind Iden gave excerpts from Shakespeare in 1959. The American Negro baritone, William Warfield delighted an enthusiastic audience by his rendering of Negro spirituals.

An exhibition of painting and sculpture by Ethiopian artists was held at the Theatre in the winter of 1959. The foreign communities of Addis Ababa sometimes hold variety or other concerts there in aid of local charities. In short the Theatre plays a useful rôle in the life of the city. It is fortunate in having the services of a Viennese electrical engineer, expert in the use of light for scenic effects. The battle songs of the Ethiopian mountain warriors and the funeral dirges of the remote countryside are thus given a setting more appropriate than could be supplied by painted scenery.

Ato Malaku Haile who spent seven years in Germany studying drama, will shortly present a play of his own on the battle of Adowa.

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Part of the Ethio-Swedish Building College

Churchill Road

Churchill Road extends from the Haile Sellassie Theatre to the terminus of the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railway. The railway station was built by the Emperor Haile Sellassie before the Italian War. An effigy of the Lion of Judah mounted on a lofty plinth which formerly stood in the square facing the railway station, was removed to Rome during the Italian occupation; it has not been returned, despite the stipulations of the Peace Treaty of 1946, that all such stolen objects must be restored.

Adjoining the Theatre in Churchill Road is the Italian-built Ras Hotel, which has been renovated and improved. Next to it is one of the many petrol stations of Caltex, where it is interesting to observe some gracefully dressed and very charming Ethiopian women servicing the cars along with the men. Women are advancing into many new occupations in Addis Ababa, as elsewhere. We recently saw a lovely young woman who had mounted a high scaffold at the College of Engineering, and was painting the window frames with complete self-possession at that giddy height.

Opposite the Theatre in Churchill Road are two blocks of new buildings, one of them a garage, the other the premises of Amropa Motors and of "Photolite", which, like all the photographic establishments of Addis Ababa, does a brisk business in films, cameras, ciné cameras, and developing and printing photographs. Addis Ababa and the places one can visit around it are of so much scenic interest and beauty, that this is a paradise for photographers.

Retracing our steps to Adowa Square we continue up Churchill Road and climb a steep hill to the main shopping centre of the city. This is one of the most crowded thoroughfares at certain times of the day, as well as one of the most picturesque.

The New Post Office

The blue flag of the United Nations is seen floating from the square tower of a large and lofty group of buildings at the bottom of the hill, which have been

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Technical School and College of Engineering

newly renovated and painted in pastel shades of pink and white. The United Nations flag draws attention to a new post office, which was opened in 1959, simultaneously with the inauguration of the United Nations Commission for Africa, to facilitate the work of the Commission. It is available also to the general public. Everything in this new post office is of the best and latest. The light is good both by day and by night. The tiers of individual post-boxes are of new polished wood. The officials are alert and eager to give efficient service.

The vista up Churchill Road is a blend of old and new. A wide-spreading Eucalyptus of the loveliest type, with heavy drooping leaves, graces the middle-distance, halfway uphill, while gleams of sunshine light the pale buildings crowning the summit. In the foreground a stall of oranges, bananas and glistening emerald-green and scarlet peppers affords a homely and welcome blaze of colour. On the right is a green garden enlivened by brilliant red canna. Further uphill to the left are humble old properties rendered pleasant by the yellow-flowering acacias planted before their doors. Further on still, to the right, purple and dusky-white blossoms and a bevy of other flowering trees show above high walls.

A grass-grown open space on the left, still only partially levelled, is fronted by a broad and imposing structure of grey stone pillars intended originally to give access to the University of Addis Ababa. It was subsequently decided that the site was too small for the University; the University College, built on a larger site, has in fact already expanded beyond the dimensions of this piece of ground. The site was subsequently discussed as suitable for the new premises to be constructed for the State Bank of Addis Ababa, and later still it was considered for the Prince Makunnen Memorial Hospital which would be a five-storey building. Both projects are still under consideration.

Ministries of Interior and Justice

Beyond the vacant site under discussion, Churchill Road is bounded by a deep gorge. Set far back beyond the gorge on rising ground are the two massive grey stone buildings, housing respectively the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior. The first of these was lent for a time to the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa, while "Africa House", which the Ethiopian Government is

The Commercial School

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Commercial School (another view)

constructing for the Commission, was in course of erection.

The two massive pre-war stone structures on the height, far from the road, with the trees surrounding them, form one of the most attractive of the older landmarks.

The French Lysée

About halfway up Churchill Road, on the left, is the Gabre Mariam School, better known as the French Lysée, a "laique" or lay school, on the French pattern, where no religious instruction is given. This is a co-educational school in all its departments; kindergarten, elementary and secondary. The kindergarten, specially designed and furnished with miniature chairs and tables, and other equipment to suit the toddlers for whom it caters, is a veritable paradise for little children. Originally housed in an old building, it has recently added two extremely modern new pavilions. As indicated by the photograph we publish here, the narrow end walls are built of stone; the long side walls have only narrow stone mullions between the glass windows which form the entire wall. One of these buildings, not yet completed when our photograph was taken, faces the road. The other stands at right-angles to it; high on the hill, it can be seen for miles around and is an exceedingly striking feature in the view which rises pleasantly before the spectator who advances up-hill from the cross-roads by the Theatre.

Ministry of Industry and Commerce

Next to the Lysée is the big sober-looking stone edifice, dating from before the Italian war, where the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is housed. A good deal higher up the hill are the offices of the Duke of Harar Memorial Fund, which is raising means to build the Hospital dedicated to the memory of the deceased Prince, so deeply mourned.

The upper part of Churchill Road is developing as part of the main shopping and business quarter. An emporium for motor cars, ladies' dresses at " La Femme Chic," hairdressers and restaurants. On one corner is the unusually elegant office of the French Commercial Attaché, bearing the word " France." A little higher up is the big new Premjee Building, which curves to the contour of the road and round into the side street, with

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The broad thoroughfare sweeping round towards Haile Sellassie I Theatre

large windows. Everything here appears competent and up-to-date. A restaurant with black and yellow striped curtains, shops for electric stoves and refrigerators and for china-ware, an office for the French Government lottery. The upper floors contain the offices of the Information Service of the British Embassy, the French Somaliland Shipping Lines and the Banque de l'Indochine.

There are several household furniture shops in Churchill Road; some sell imported goods, some locally made. There is also a furniture factory and a timber yard. Here and there are kiosks selling newspapers and magazines and divers small wares. On nearing the top of Churchill Road, it is necessary to make a detour as one-way traffic only is permitted here. We may pass around, if we please, by the Eteghie (Empress) Hotel to see this old hostel with its big golden crown, and afterwards come round to Yugo-Ethiopia, Addis Ababa's first department store. Here one has a chance of finding anything from a hairpin to a carpet, cameras, travelling bags, men's suits of clothes, women's ball dresses, bathing costumes and stockings, children's toys and Christmas cards in season.

Haile Sellassie Star Square

Turning now into Haile Sellassie Star Square, we may mount a number of steps to a florist, a restaurant, or to "Cinema Ethiopia." The visitor may be gazing around to discover the star which has given the square its name and which, he assumes, was erected by the Emperor. The visitor has guessed, in part at least, correctly; the Emperor erected a three-pointed star, symbolic of the Holy Trinity. It was one of the trophies taken by the fascists to Rome and has not since been returned. No doubt, when at last the Peace Treaty is fully observed and the star, with its fine pedestal is returned, it will be re-erected in this square.

Continuing along the same side of the square we come to one of the largest and loftiest buildings in Addis Ababa, five storeys high, erected early in the 1950s. Here are the offices of the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority. There are a number of shops on the

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New Service Flats (right) rear of Haile Sellassie Theatre (left)

ground floor, the most prominent of them is "Modanova," where costumes for men, women and children are displayed in spacious windows, very much in the style of Oxford Street, in London. Ato Johannes Haile, one of the most capable photographers in the town, has a shop and photographic studio here.

On one of the upper floors, served by a spacious lift and a broad staircase, there are two galleries where exhibitions of pictures and photographs are displayed, and receptions are held. One of these is occupied by Amitiés Françaises.

Haille Sellassie Star Square, like everywhere else in Addis Ababa, is affected by the varied ground level, which renders the city beautiful and at the same time creates many problems for the builder. The square is, in fact, a sort of trough. Moreover, the north side is considerably higher than the south. To harmonise the two levels, an island of one-storey shops occupies the centre of the square. Here we may find very tastefully displayed, jewellery and silverware, ladies' blouses and accessories, photographs and whatnot; and—somewhat isolated—St. George's Bar, where one can obtain milk-shakes and numerous other beverages and light refreshments—including Ethiopian-made wine.

The shops on the opposite side of the square are reached by mounting a steep flight of steps, which gives access to a high pavement common to them all. This feature enhances the picturesque character of the square, though it may lengthen the time required for shopping. The parking of cars, everywhere a growing difficulty, is inclined to be acute here.

The steps are worth mounting, for here we find the principal centres for purchasing literature; Giannopoulos and the "Saba," or Queen of Sheba bookshops. Both these stock a variety of literature, but the Saba Bookshop specialises mainly in French publications. Giannopoulos compares favourably with any high-class British or European bookseller. Books and periodicals from Britain and U.S.A., France, Germany, Italy, Greece and India, are to be seen on display and any others required can be obtained to order. *The Times*, *The Observer*, the *New Statesman* and other British periodicals are to be had as well as the leading news-

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Adowa Square, showing Haile Sellassie I Theatre

papers of the other countries above named. Most of the books people are talking of in London and Paris, New York, Rome, Athens and Delhi, can be had from Giannopoulos.

Within a stone's throw of this shop in Patriots Street, which runs out of Haile Sellassie Square westward, is the Mennonite bookshop (formerly belonging to the Sudan Interior Mission) where some general literature is obtainable as well as religious publications. The library and periodical exhibitions of the U.S.S.R. are also situated nearby in Patriots Street.

U.S.I.S.

At the east end of Haile Sellassie I Star Square are the library, offices and exhibitions of the United States Information Service. These are situated over the sales office of Ethiopian Air Lines.

Next to the Air Lines office is the State Bank of Ethiopia, also in Haile Sellassie I Star Square, but at the head of Haile Sellassie I Avenue. Opposite the Bank is a very fine shop for shoes and leather goods of various types and not far away you can buy all sorts of electric lamps.

Haile Sellassie Avenue

Haile Sellassie Avenue is one of the best places for clocks, watches and spectacles, fountain pens, and stationery. The Artistic Press has a shop stocked with all sorts of materials for writers, artists and architects as well as its printing workshop, reached by a steep alley on the left of the avenue going down the road from the State Bank. The Government Stationery Office where all the Acts of Parliament and proclamations published in the official gazette (Nigarit Gazeta) can be bought. The Commercial Press has also a stationery shop here, and a larger one in Cunningham Street. It is invidious to mention individual businesses in this sketch, penned to convey a general impression of the city.

There is a mass of new buildings in Haile Sellassie Avenue. The British Council occupies the first floor

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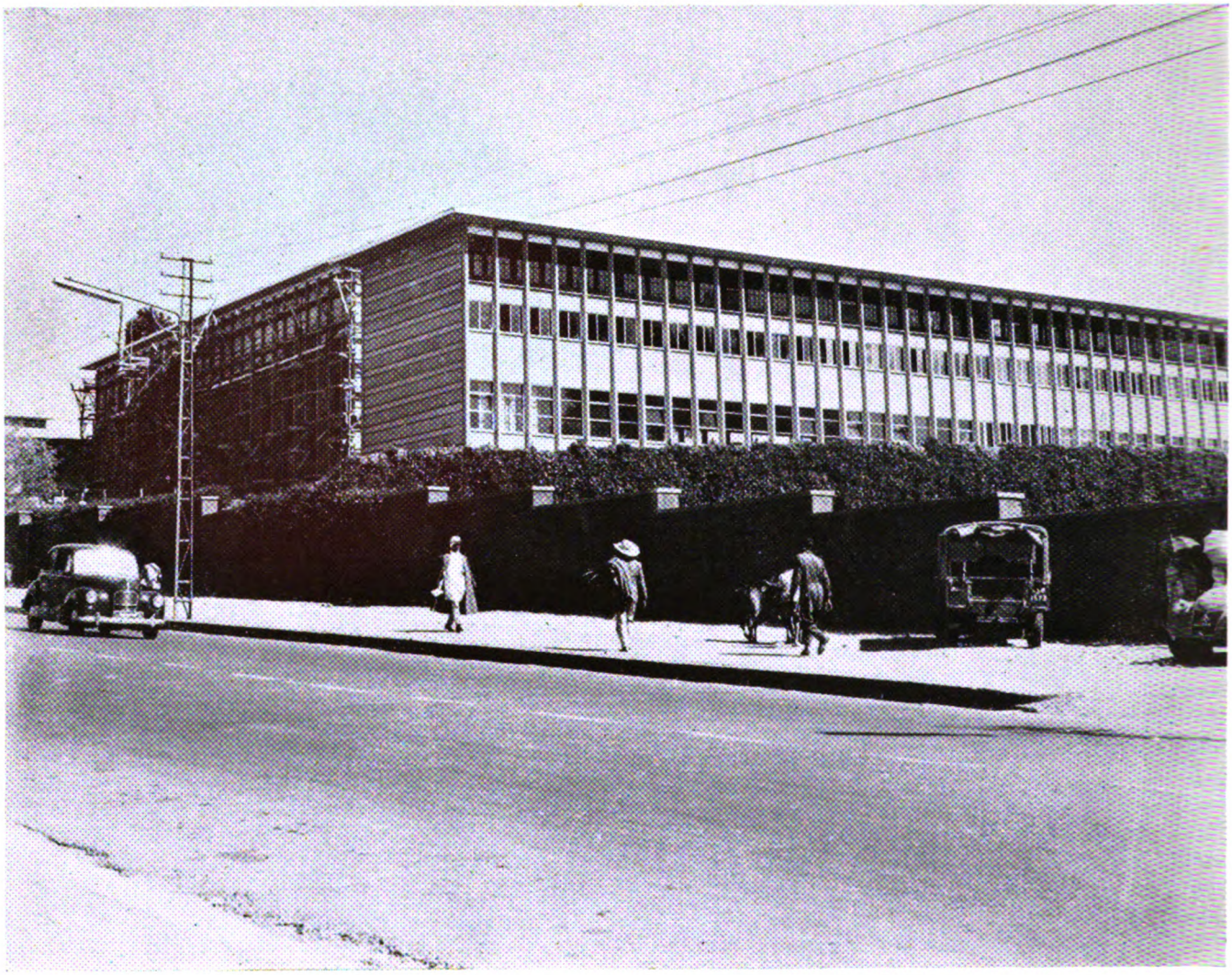

The French Lycée in Churchhill Road: the two New Pavilions

of one of the newest, which is five storeys high and has balconies and a flat roof whence the town may be viewed. The ground floor shops below the British Council include, among others, Fox Photographic Studios and "Novis" where there are interesting curios, fine Chinese vases and African carvings. One can find there also, household china and glass with the trade marks of well-known European firms.

British Council

The British Council has a small but good library. It arranges educational book-boxes for loan to clubs, societies, and local libraries, covering such subjects as Parliamentary Government, Social Services, Local Government, the Status of Women.

To inaugurate the Council's new offices the film of Shakespeare's Richard III, produced by Sir Laurence Olivier, was shown and a number of paintings by British artists were exhibited. The British Council, some years ago, withdrew from Ethiopia owing to the restriction of its funds; it has now returned in full strength. English teaching will be prominent among its activities.

From the balcony of the British Council offices after nightfall there is a charming view of Haile Sellassie Avenue with many buildings illuminated by their owners. One can see the Government Stationery Office with its pretty sign, representing the Lion of Judah holding a cross in his paw outlined in red, green and yellow light.

At Christmas it was interesting to see many shop windows decorated with tufts of cotton wool, to represent snow, while hot sunshine poured down on the busy folk purchasing their Christmas gifts.

Further down the road on the left, is another big new block whose architect, in accordance with the prevailing trend, has heightened the appearance of the structure by the introduction of bands of red among the prevailing pale stone-colour. Here are represented many activities of modern life; an auctioneer's office, a teashop with a

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paediatrician on the upper floor; Ariston, the ladies' costumier which has moved here from a by-street off Churchill Road and has also an establishment in Asmara, here occupies the space of three big shops, all with huge windows in the London style. Beyond Ariston are shops for radio end electrical equipment. Less modernly housed but growing apace, is Mosvold, the Scandinavian firm, which has a shop devoted to electric cookers, water-heaters and refrigerators. Mosvold is agent for Scandinavian airlines. No fewer than seven airlines have offices either in Addis Ababa or Asmara.

The demand for heaters, cookers and refrigerators by electricity, or by portable gas is so great that shops for supplying such equipment are to be found in all parts of the town. Electric standard lamps, table reading lamps and bedside night-lights are also immensely popular and coming to be regarded as household necessities, not alone by the Europeans of the city who number approximately 12,000, but by Ethiopian junior, as well as senior, officials and businessmen, and by the Indian, Armenian, and Arab populations.

The charge for electricity is considerably higher in Addis Ababa than in the United Kingdom, but it is hoped the hydro-electric power generated at the new Koka Dam on the Awash, which may be supplying Addis Ababa in 1961, or perhaps even the end of 1960, may reduce the cost. Coal gas is not produced in Ethiopia, but portable gas (called butagaz) is imported and is at present considered cheaper than electricity. In the long run however, as the gas is imported, electricity should become lower in cost. Moreover, the patriotic Ethiopian has the satsfaction of knowing that by using electricity he increases the revenue of his country.

At Mosvold also are supplied camping outfits, tents, sleeping bags, camp beds, garden chairs and tables. There is a growing demand for these as camping in the delightful country has become a week-end pleasure of growing popularity. At the "House of Sports", opposite Mosvold, there is also equipment for camping and gardens and for football, volley ball, tennis and other games. Plastic garden chairs and tables, such as are seen at the new air station, are beginning to appear in several shops; gaiety and freshness is the prevailing note of Addis Ababa today, in the bright sunshine of December, January and February, which are so dark and cold in Europe, as well as in full summer.. The national dress itself formerly all white, or nearly so, is constantly growing gayer and even in the coldest hours the young Ethiopian only needs to add a scarlet or other bright-coloured jersey under the big, white muslin wrap, the "Couta", to feel perfectly warm and comfortable. European dress is of course growing in popularity, and in this, too, the brighter colour schemes are found most suitable in this brilliant scene. Men, nevertheless, wear black on formal occasions and formal occasions are by no means less numerous in Ethiopia than elsewhere.

A crowded street scene in Addis Ababa is undoubtedly brighter by reason of the gaiety of costume than it would be in London or Paris. Moreover the mountains, the woods and the country landscape are

Haile Sellassie Star Square

continually breaking into the town environment. Despite the spate of building, this cannot be otherwise with the mountains all around the city, and there is an abundance of flowering trees along the roads.

Motor cars are tending, here as elsewhere, to oust all other means of transport. Riders on horse and mule are becoming infrequent within the city precincts, though numerous in the country outside. Cars are always becoming larger, as well as brighter in colour. All the latest notions in cars obtainable in Europe and America can be found in Addis Ababa. Parking and traffic problems are growing greater, as they are everywhere. The main thoroughfares are broad enough to allow of numbers of cars to be parked outside the State Bank, the Post Office and the shops, and for two or more streams of cars to proceed at the same time. Nevertheless there are narrow side-streets rising steeply uphill running out of some of the principal streets, particularly Haile Sellassie Avenue. These add greatly to the picturesque charm of the city. If we climb one of these rough stony streets, we are rewarded by a magnificent view over the town area—and away up the opposite mountains, brilliant sunlit green and gold, mottled by purple cloud shadows and varied by dark eucalyptus ranges and occasional white-walled buildings.

At the end of its chief shopping area, downhill, where the last of the newly erected blocks is still in its scaffolding. Haile Sellassie Avenue, now broadening to a first-class road, sweeps round to the right. On our left the land is now banked high above us; tiers of houses seem, as it were to peep over the top. Numbers of old buildings have here been swept away and more will shortly follow.

Ras Makonnen Bridge

We pass close to Ras Makonnen Bridge, over the Ginfile River, with its lovely little green lawns, recently laid out anew. The bust of the Ras evokes memories of a beloved and respected personality of former times. Father of the Emperor Haile Sellassie, Ras Makonnen is mentioned in all the books written by travellers to Ethiopia who passed through Harar, as most of them

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Attractive New Building in Haile Sellassie Avenue, showing British Council Headquarters

did, while he was governor there. All express their gratitude for his generous hospitality and kindness. They were all indebted to him for providing them with needed rations, mules for riding and transport of their goods, and escorts to help them on their way.

The by-road over the bridge runs at right-angles to Haile Sellassie Avenue up to the Ministry of the Pen, near the Guenet Leul Palace, the Emperor's office and residence.

The Avenue now continues past blocks of recently erected buildings and the remains of old ones where the demolition squads are at work. Broken façades are seen in their last fugitive hours while the buildings belonging to them are already dust and debris. Their site is being prepared for shapes to come.

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New Block of Shops and Offices in Haile Sellassie Avenue

Y.M.C.A. Addis Ababa Headquarters

Every week reveals some change. The premises of Blackwood Hodge, the administrative office of the Ethiopian Navy, flying its flag of traditional navy blue and those of several modern businesses are occupied and in operation. There is no waiting for tenants in Addis Ababa; firms are either erecting their own premises or booking them from the speculative builders in advance. Speculation in building is here no hazard; fortunes are being made. Full advantage is taken of the freedom from taxation for the first five years of new ventures and the freedom from import duty for initial equipment.

On goes the fine metalled highway of the Avenue to Arat Kilo, otherwise Miaza 27 Adibabai, or allowing for the difference between the Ethiopian and European calendars, it should be translated Fifth of May Square. This is an important anniversary in Ethiopia for it commemorates both the sad day on which the enemy marched into Addis Ababa in 1936, and also the day of rejoicing and triumph when the Fascist aggressors were vanquished and the Emperor returned to the capital at the head of the patriotic army of liberation. A double anniversary, of tragic memories and of rejoicing, is thus celebrated.

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The Cathedral of The Holy Trinity, Addis Ababa

University College

We are now in the heart of the University quarter. Commencing with a single structure, of which the foundation stone was laid in March, 1950, University College opened its first lectures on the following December 11. It now comprises seventeen buildings. The most striking of these is the Arts building, designed by Mr. C. A. Fallek—a five-storey edifice. By introducing continuous bands of windows below each of which is a band of brilliant lemon yellow, an element of vivid colour was brought into the architecture of this part of the city which other architects have not been slow to follow.

University College covers a wide area with its large array of students' domitories, quarters for the professors, administrative offices, laboratories for chemistry, physics, biology, its assembly hall, numerous lecture theatres and study rooms, its libraries, museum, and art studio, and the observatory which enabled the College to contribute to Ethiopia's share in the important researches undertaken during the International Geophysical Year, 1958.

Ministry of Education

The main entrance to University College is in Queen Elizabeth Street. A little further down the street is the Ministry of Education. Responsible for the erection of numbers of splendid schools for the rising generation, the Ministry has contented itself with a collection of old premises for its own headquarters. "All for the children" is obviously the watchword of the Ministry.

Theological College

Opposite the original nucleus of the University College is the more recently established Theological College of the Holy Trinity, designed by Mr. Kimmins.

The College provides a modern education in divinity for students desirous of entering the service of the Ethiopian Church and of qualifying for a Bachelor's degree in Divinity.

A Theological Secondary School to prepare students

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St. Luke from the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Addis Ababa

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Jubilee Palace, Addis Ababa

for this College has been established at Debra Zeit (Bishoftu).

Y.M.C.A.

The new headquarters of the Young Men's Christian Association of Ethiopia has been erected a little further down Queen Elizabeth Street. The Y.M.C.A. is an exceedingly active organisation; by its own efforts it has raised the requisite funds to build these spacious new premises where there is scope for its numerous activities.

The Sellassie Cathedral

In the immediate vicinity of the Theological College, secluded in a grove of trees, is the Sellassie Cathedral. Sellassie, in Ethiopia, denotes the Trinity, or as they say in England, the Holy Trinity. The baptismal name of the Emperor Haile Sellassie, signifying Power of the Trinity, may have prompted him to dedicate this Church to the Holy Trinity. He laid the foundations for it before the Italo-Ethiopian War, having sketched out a cruciform plan for the edifice.

During the five years of enemy occupation the site remained untouched. When the Emperor returned, he completed the Church.

The older Cathedral of St. George is octagonal and has a central sanctuary and two interior concentric ambulatories. The congregation are only permitted to enter the outer ambulatory; the inner ambulatory is

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closed to them except when they are taking the Communion.

This type of Church has long prevailed in Ethiopia and has come to be regarded as the typical Ethiopian Church The earliest churches erected in Ethiopia, as existing relics testify, were not of this form, but were basilican in plan, the congregation being thus assembled in view of the officiating clergy and being able to participate in the service more fully. The Sellassie Cathedral is constructed on this older plan as are many other churches erected by the Emperor Haile Sellassie. His preference for this type of church accords with the efforts he has made to bring the Church teaching nearer to the people by making the Bible in Amharic more widely available and encouraging the delivery of sermons in Amharic instead of in the ancient Ge'ez, understood only by the few.

The Sellassie Cathedral is known as the Church of the Patriots who fought for Ethiopian liberation during the Italian War and occupation. The writer of this article was present in 1944 at a poignant ceremony when the mortal remains of the patriots, recovered from the battlefields far and near (and even from the wells of the city, where they had been cast during the great massacre of 1937), were received into the vaults of the Cathedral amid the weeping of those who were near and dear to them.

The Cathedral, so ornate today, was at that time a simpler structure, almost devoid of exterior ornament; its austere walls were bare to every wind that sweeps across the plateau. In the decade-and-a-half which have passed, no effort of loving zeal has been spared to enrich both the exterior and the interior of the Church itself and to plant its garden with everything most suited to render it a peaceful and beautiful shrine. It is now a highly decorated example of late Renaissance architecture, with many pinnacles and parapets, ogave arches and circular and arched windows, every feature ornamented. There are innumerable small statues among the ornament and large sculptures of the Four Evangelists on the roof. Stained-glass windows lend colour to the interior.

The thicket of dense and sombre trees around it has been produced with surprising speed. Tall firs, even here slow in growth, have been induced to root in these precincts when almost of full height, along with more delicate and choicer shrubs. A lovely wrought-iron gate gives entrance to this restful haven. Tall, spare Ethiopian priests in their black robes pass to and fro in these solemn precincts.

Parliament

Returning to Fifth of May Square, we proceed by Empress Menen Street to the Ethiopian Parliament,

The Jubilee Palace (another view)

inaugurated by the Emperor Haile Sellassie in 1930, the year of his ascent to the Imperial Throne. This is the first national legislative assembly in Ethiopia's long history. There was no public demand for a Parliament; the Emperor's own study of history, his democratic ideals and aspirations for his people, had convinced him of the necessity of a Parliamentary constitution.

The present Houses of Parliament were constructed in time for them to be occupied by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies when the first session was opened in November 1930.

After the Liberation from enemy occupation in 1941, the Houses of Parliament were enlarged and redecorated. A clock-tower was added, at the summit of which a light is kept burning on nights when the Houses are in session. No doubt the Emperor Haile Sellassie, ever observant and desirous of adapting for Ethiopia anything he notices abroad which seems suited to the country, observed during his five years in England that when the "Mother of Parliaments" is in session at Westminster, a light burns above the great clock, commonly called "Big Ben", though that name properly belongs only to the great bell, weighing 13½ tons, which hangs in the tower, and was so named after

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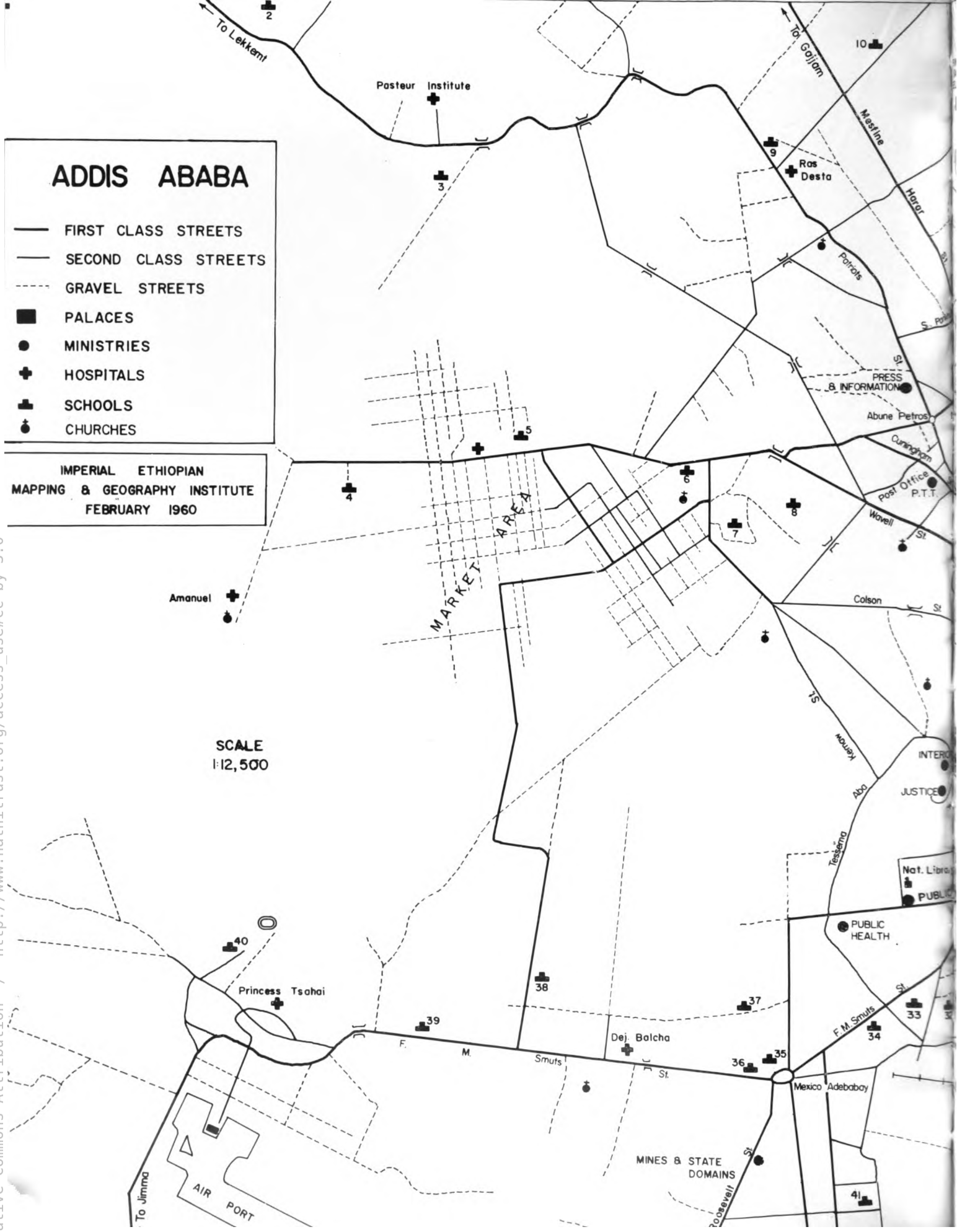

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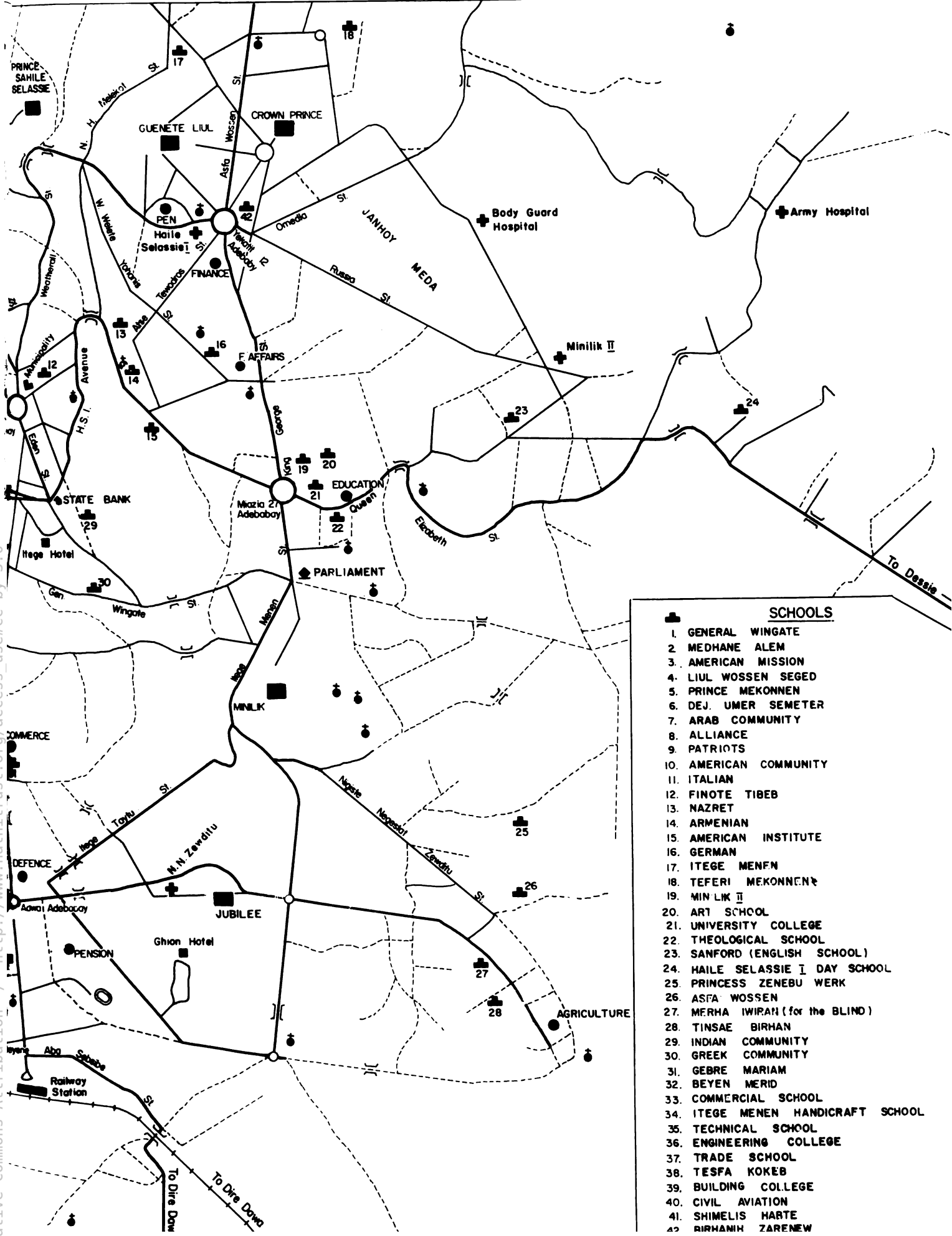

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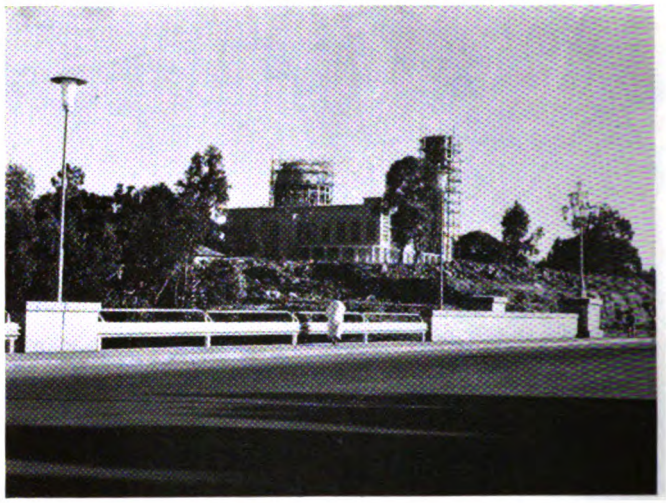
The House built in Addis Ababa for President Tito of Yugoslavia



New Church, not yet completed seen from Prince Makonnen Bridge on great new road

Sir Benjamin Hall, First Commissioner of Works in 1856, when the great bell was cast. The tower itself is named St. Stephen's Tower.

As in the United Kingdom, the Members of the Ethiopian Parliament are elected by Adult Suffrage; every man and every woman who has reached 21 years having one vote. Both men and women are entitled to stand for election to Parliament.

Like the British Parliament, the Ethiopian Parliament has a Second Chamber, in this case called the Senate. The Members of the Senate are not hereditary, like the Members of the British House of Lords; they are nominated by the Emperor from among what are usually termed "Elder Statesmen"—men who have given good service to the country as patriotic generals in war or have been devoted administrators in peace. No women have yet been appointed to the Senate, but several women were candidates for the Chamber of Deputies in 1955, the first election held under the new constitution. Two of them were elected, Waizero Senedu Gabru and Waizero Katela; the former was elected by a majority of her fellow members as Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, which is equivalent to the British House of Commons.

Legislation is usually initiated by the Council of Ministers, each of whom represents a department of administration: education, war, foreign affairs, etc. Though the Ministers generally introduce legislation, the constitution gives power to either Chamber and to any twenty individual Members of Parliament to in-

Rock face blasted for new road construction

New School of St. Joseph

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The great new road, Prince Makonnen Bridge

troduce Bills. When a Bill has been introduced it is discussed in turn by each Chamber. It cannot be submitted for the Royal Assent until approved by both Chambers. Each Chamber is entitled to move and carry by majority vote, amendments to projected legislation; they constantly exercise this right. Early in 1960, for example, a Government measure was introduced to render it obligatory for land-owners to obtain a Ministry of Agriculture permit before felling trees on their own land. The proposal was met with very considerable opposition from a large number of Deputies. The Senators were more disposed to agree in the interests of the country. The purpose of the measure was to prevent soil erosion as a result of excessive or unsuitable felling. The Deputies however, declared that the issue of permits would be subjected to obstruction and delay. As the Constitution provides, in the event of disagreement between the two Chambers, a joint session was accordingly held, whereat the Deputies carried no fewer than twenty-three amendments to the Government Bill. It will be noted that the Deputies do not accept automatically all Government proposals, but bring to bear upon them their own opinions and those of the voters who elected them in the constituences throughout the country. Exceedingly lively debates take place in Parliament.

The Menelik Palace

From the Houses of Parliament we proceed conveniently down Empress Menen Street to the old palace, or "Ghibbi", of Menelik II, founder of Addis Ababa. The Menelik Ghibbi was erected by Indian architects with the collaborotion of the Swiss civil engineer, Alfred

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Ghion Hotel

Ilg, whom the Emperor Menelik employed for many years and to whom, in 1894, he gave the concession for the railway, which was originally intended to run from Jibuti to the mountain height of Entoto. The Indo-Swiss influence is evident in the various edifices of the old palace, particularly in Menelik's own lofty eyrie, from which he surveyed his growing capital. The old Ghibbi in Menelik's time contained virtually the entire Imperial administration.

The severely impressive gate of the old Palace, set in the surrounding stone wall, and the little circular fort down the road, erected at that time to guard the city, belong to an older, now almost forgotten world of mediaeval chivalry when doughty warriors rode to war wearing headgear of silver filigree adorned with lion's mane, bearing round shields of hippopotamus hide with silver ornament, their prancing steeds caparisoned not less richly. Those last decades of that older Ethiopia, when already the motor car and the steam-engine were beginning to invade the ancient scene, appear infinitely more remote to us today than they actually are in point of time, for since Menelik ruled in Addis Ababa barely half a century has passed. The great banqueting and reception halls of the old Ghibbi, though more than once renovated and redecorated, are still used for great State functions in memory of former times. From the balcony at the entrance a wonderful view of the city and its hills can be seen in the splendid sunshine of the day and amid the lovely darkness of the night, when the moon is riding among the great clouds and the dark growth of old trees seems black and soft as velvet. Then the moonlight beams athwart the fair buildings on the hills and the sparks of warm light from these buildings contrast with the cold, bright, numberless stars of the wondrous sky.

Near the old Ghibbi stands the Menelik Mausoleum, erected by the Emperor Haile Sellassie to commemorate the city's founder—a dignified, neo-Byzantine edifice, crowned by silver domes, with a finely wrought recumbent bronze lion at each corner.

From the Menelik Ghibbi we may take the steep road downhill named after his proud, patriotic, consort, Empress Taitu, who boldly replied to King Humbert's ambassadors that Ethiopia's dignity would never permit her to accept the protectorate of Italy.

Jubilee Palace

Or we can proceed by the great new road to the Jubilee Palace, so named because it was the gift of the Ethiopian people to the Emperor Haile Sellassie in 1955, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne. All sections of the people contributed what they could toward this national tribute.

The Palace has proved immensely valuable in providing hospitality for the many heads of foreign States who of late have visited Ethiopia in response to the visits the Emperor has himself made to friendly countries and the cordial relations and exchanges of view he has thereby promoted. Moreover, since the second World War there has been in many quarters a tendency to develop closer international relations and this is particularly notable in Africa.

The Jubilee Palace, in 1959, received the delegates of the United Nations when the General Assembly met in Addis Ababa to inaugurate the Economic Commission for Africa which has established its permanent headquarters in the Ethiopian capital. With its numerous suites of sitting-rooms and bedrooms, its spacious, beautiful dining and reception halls, its balconies and gardens, the Jubilee Palace is an ideal centre of hospitality.

Emperor Inaugurates U.N.O. General Assembly

The sessions of the General Assembly were held at the Ethiopian Parliament, which was not then in session. The Emperor Haile Sellassie presided at the Assembly's first meeting and delivered the inaugural address. This was indeed an historic occasion. All present remembered that sad day at Geneva in June, 1936, when he had appeared before the League of Nations (predecessor of the present international organisation) and had uttered those profoundly stirring words: "What answer am I to take to the people of Ethiopia? . . . God and history will remember your judgment!"

From those depths, in which all seemed lost for Ethiopia—except to the valiant few who never abandon

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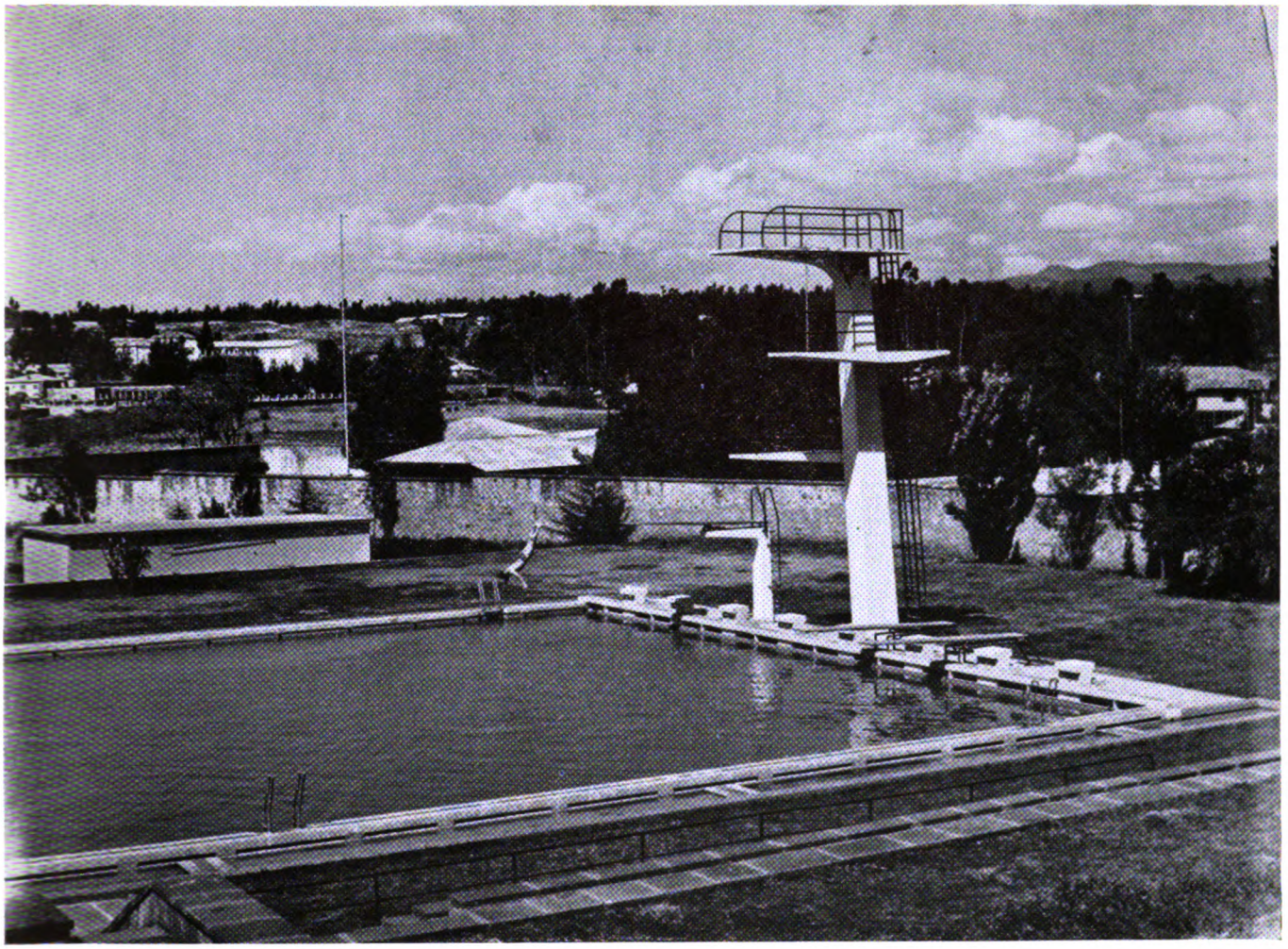

The Warm Water Swimming Pool, Ghion Hotel

faith that sight will triumph in the end—the scene had changed to the glitter and light of this Jubilee Palace, with the Emperor and Empress of Ethiopia the honoured host and hostess of the United Nations.

In the days of exile and travail it was said that some day, when international justice at last prevailed, the League of Nations, and when that disappeared, the United Nations would invite the Emperor of Ethiopia to preside over the General Assembly. The prediction had been realised, but in an unexpected manner which might mean much of value to all Africa.

The Great New Road

Outside the grounds of the Jubilee Palace, bordering the great new road, is a large public garden, planted with numerous varieties of the bright flowers from Africa, Asia and Europe, which grow luxuriantly in Addis Ababa. Here there are numerous seats where people can sit to rest.

Africa House

Beyond this public garden is the site for "Africa House," now being built by the Ethiopian Government as the permanent headquarters of the Commission for Africa. A model of Africa House, designed by Fenano and Mezzedimi of Eritrea was published in *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. III, No. 3. The structure itself may be completed before this issue is printed; buildings arise so rapidly in Addis Ababa nowadays. Already the residential quarters are completed and occupied.

Leaving the Jubilee Palace in the rear and passing over Prince Makonnen Bridge by the new road we are on high ground, with the level of the land falling away among the trees on the left. In this forest city among

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King George V Road showing Martyrs' Monument

the hills we are constantly surprised and delighted by scenes of unexpected beauty, revealed by contrasts in the land levels.

On the right, some distance from the thoroughfare, are the white walls and the white tower of the new Ethiopian Christian Orthodox Church of Keddus Istafanos (St. Stephen) now nearly complete. On the right of us is another new structure, not so far advanced, still enclosed in scaffolding, with busy labourers moving up and down, and to and fro behind the wooden framework.

As the road sweeps downward, we discern on the left an L-shaped building, with white walls gilded by the sunlight and brilliant panels of bright Cerulean blue. This is a new discovery. Driving down to it, we find a lately opened school; the workmen who erected it still occupied with final activities. This new school is St. Joseph's, maintained by a French-Swiss Franciscan Mission of "Christian Brothers." The architect is Mr. Fallek; the headmaster of the school had seen his work at University College, and desiring a gay and brightly coloured school for the children, had asked the Ethiopian Ministry of Education to lend his services to design it. Mr. Fallek is certainly doing his best for the children; he comes in daily to select new gaieties of colour. The interior as a whole, is white, but corridors, class-rooms and ceilings are enlivened by panels of all the brightest varieties in the paint-box.

Boys only are admitted; modest fees are charged. Beginning with the lowest elementary grades for the youngest boys, the school is adding a secondary class at the top for the elder ones every year. The curriculum of the Ministry of Education is followed; English is the language of instruction. The demand for education is so great that many parents are glad to pay anything they can in order to ensure school places for their

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The Martyrs' Monument by Anton Augustinic in Yekatit Twelfth Square

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children. The majority of the boys are Ethiopian, but there are also a number of French, Greek, Armenian and Lebanese

Hotels

Our new arrival in Addis Ababa may desire to book a room at Ghion Hotel, which lies in the hilly area between St. Joseph's School and the Jubilee Palace. Recently erected, the Ghion is Addis Ababa's most elaborate hotel. Its delightful gardens rise in terraces from the gate as the drive winds upward—on the level ground above there are rose gardens, tennis courts and an open-air warm-water swimming-pool, fed from the sulphurous springs of Filwoha, near-by. There have been Turkish-style baths at Filwoha since the time of Emperor Menelik II. Ethiopia's first modern physician, who graduated at Edinburgh University, the young Dr. Martin, or to give him his Ethiopian name and title, Azaj Workineh, advised the Emperor to build a hydropathic there for the benefit of sufferers from rheumatism and kindred ills, as the hot springs have curative properties.

The warm swimming-pool at Ghion Hotel, measuring 50 by 25 metres, with apparatus for diving from varied heights, is a great attraction. Bathing hours are from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. The charge is one Ethiopian dollar for adults and half-a-dollar for children, on all days save Saturday, when adults pay two dollars and children one dollar. Ghion Hotel has 70 bedrooms, each with private bath and telephone. There are five ball-rooms and other smaller reception rooms. The hotel is much in demand for weddings, dinner parties, conferences, and other functions.

One of Addis Ababa's many new Schools

Guenet Hotel, another post-liberation hotel, has actually the largest dance-floor in Addis Ababa and is popular on that account for dinner-dance parties. It is regarded as a family hotel because attached to it are a large number of flats, several with two or more bedrooms, sitting rooms and bathrooms. The charges are lower than those of Ghion and the Ras. There are well-kept flower gardens. Like the Ghion, the Guenet belongs to the Ethiopian Government and is under European management. European and Ethiopian-style meals are supplied.

The Itegue or Empress Hotel, distinguished by a large gilded representation of the Ethiopian triple crown on the façade. It is probably the oldest hotel in Addis Ababa and was the best place to stay when in 1935 a flock of foreign journalists arrived in the city to report the events of the Italian War. Less expensive than the other main hotels it is largely a rendezvous of students returned from abroad. Being near Haile Sellassie Star Square, it is conveniently situated.

Cunningham Street and General Post Office

From Ghion Hotel we may return to Adowa Square and the Theatre, and may drive thence up Churchill Road again and across Wavell Street to Cunningham Street where we shall find the General Post Office. Here also, there are many new buildings and many in course of construction. At the corner of Churchill Road and Cunningham Street is a tall building with shops and four floors of offices above, erected recently by Myriallis who is responsible for an immense amount of building in the town. Here is a studio for photostatic copies; orders for good half-tone blocks (clichés) will be executed. There is an office for the Italian airlines, Alitalia; a very good draper's "Alex", where one can purchase carpets, curtains, and materials by the metre, silks, satins, velvets, brocades, chiffons, nylon, ribbons, knitting wools and sundries. Near-by is another draper, Edward Garabiedian, who also has a large assortment of household furnishings and dress materials for sale by the metre.

In Cunningham Street, also one can obtain hats, gloves, underclothing, women's wear of all sorts, boots and shoes, radio sets, electric goods, stoves, lamps, water-heaters, etc., and the same equipment operated by portable gas; groceries, hardware—all sorts of kitchen and garden utensils, photographic supplies and all the wants you can name can be supplied. There are several pharmacists, all of whom speak sufficient English to understand your requirements; some of them make a speciality of supplying English preparations; others deal more heavily in European products. Here also, near the Post Office, is Velissariou, who has large

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Entrance to New Prince Makonnen School, Market Area, Addis Ababa

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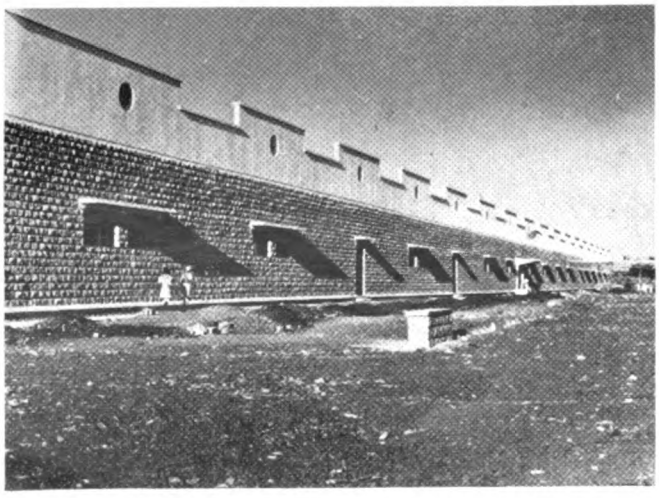
supplies of building materials, locks, bolts, nails, curtain rails and anything you may need in fitting up your house, as well as many accessories for your car. Big import-export firms, like Seferian, the Anglo-Arabian Trading Company, the International Trading Company, and Philips, supplying all sorts of lighting installations; cinema equipment and X-ray apparatus are to be found here. A large proportion of these firms are housed in premises erected after the liberation; the haphazard constructions of Italian times are fast disappearing.

Patriots Street

In Patriots Street are also many new shops and offices, one of them, actually just completed, has five floors of offices above, with large lofty shops below. Such many-storeyed structures have only appeared in the Ethiopian capital in very recent years.

Ministry of Information

The Ministry of Information situated in Patriots Street, has a new office block added to several older structures at the side and rear. The new block includes a hall of substantial dimensions, with a wide entrance fronting the street. Here interesting exhibitions are held from time to time; for example: photographs taken in the Emperor's tours abroad, the numerous architectural drawings for the new State Bank, designed by Chaumette, an exhibition of photographs of Addis Ababa and its environs by Max Ursin, a collection of Amharic books, many of them containing portraits of notable Ethiopians of former times, and other historically valuable illustrations.



New Indo-Ethiopian Cotton Factory at Akaki, near Addis Ababa

Further along the same road we find the Ras Desta Hospital, to the left, and beyond it the "Patriots' School."

There is also the new Church of St. John, of warm golden-tan coloured stone, with a dome and a tower, a charming little edifice of which there is a photograph in this issue. The foundation-stone of the Church was laid by the Emperor Haile Sellassie at the time of deep mourning for his son, Prince Makonnen, whose baptismal name was John.

Pasteur Institute

This road leads on past the Pasteur Institute, a branch of the parent Institution, which operates here by arrangement of the Ethiopian Government and the famous Institute in Paris. The Ethiopian Government provides a spacious building and extensive grounds, the Ethiopian personnel and meets other expenses. The Pasteur Institute supplies the French experts. A constant campaign against rabies is maintained. Valuable services are performed for hospitals requiring them, in analysing blood, sputum, gastric and pleural liquid, and so forth. Vaccines for protection against smallpox, tuberculosis and other diseases are manufactured and distributed through the Ethiopian Ministry of Health and the Addis Ababa Municipality, and administered to individuals applying at the Institute. Ethiopians are trained here as laboratory technicians. Thousands of samples of food, beverages and medicaments are taken to the Pasteur Institute for investigation.

This is a lovely part of Addis Ababa, the banks of soil bordering the road are deep red and the eucalyptus woods come right down to the edge of the thoroughfare. The Pasteur Institute, set far back in a grove of these tall, dark trees, is of sober grey trachyte. One might take it for some old family residence. It was constructed as a school by Swedish Presbyterian Missionaries before the Italian war and afterwards sold to the Government.

Medhane Alem

The road goes on through the district of Gulale and we come to Medhane Alem School, one of the largest in Addis Ababa, with about 2,000 pupils, boys and girls. The teachers and students, with great enterprise and public spirit, have erected with their own hands a school where 720 children of the locality receive elementary education. This school has been built on adjacent wooded land belonging to the main school. Students and teachers felled the trees. Those not required for building, were sold to pay for the roof. The school has

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Newly erected Church of St. John, Patriot's Street

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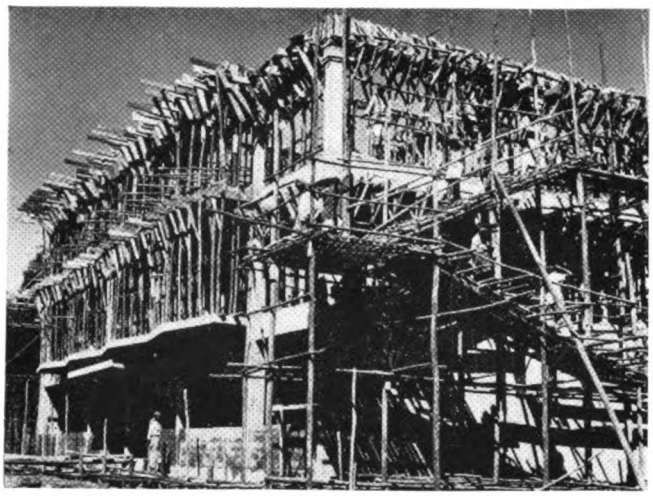
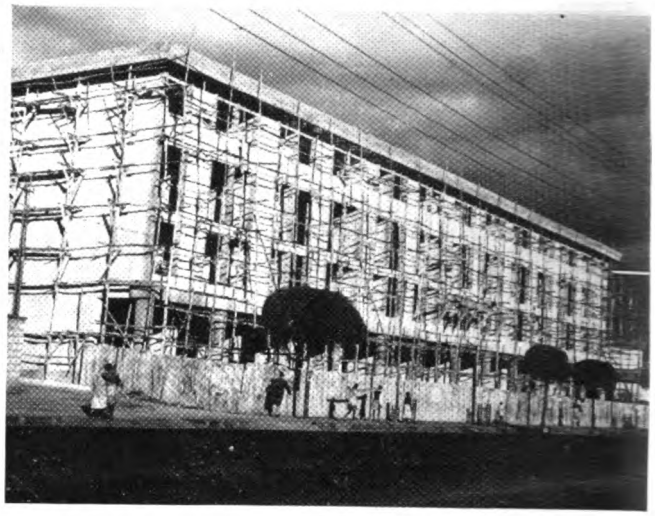
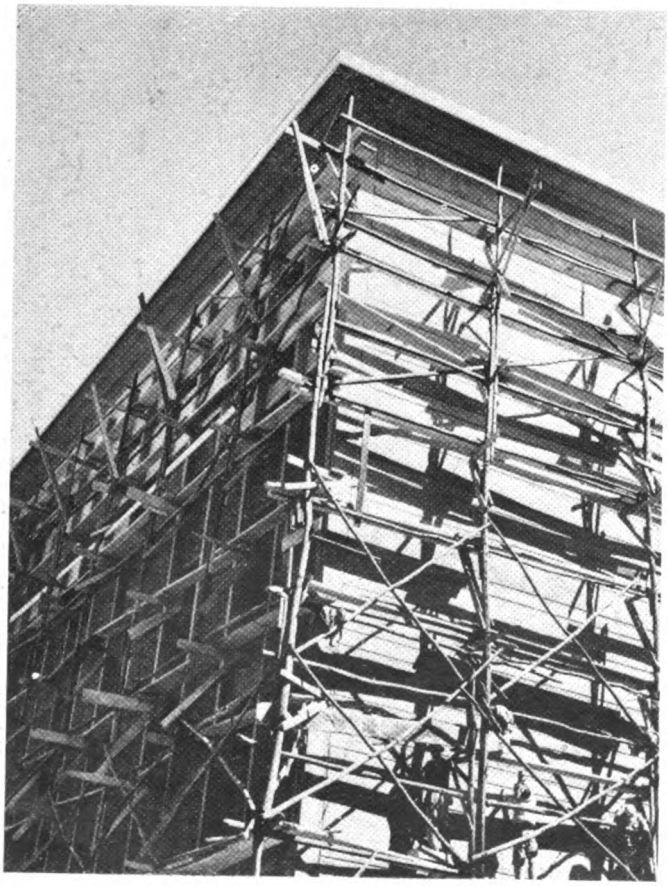
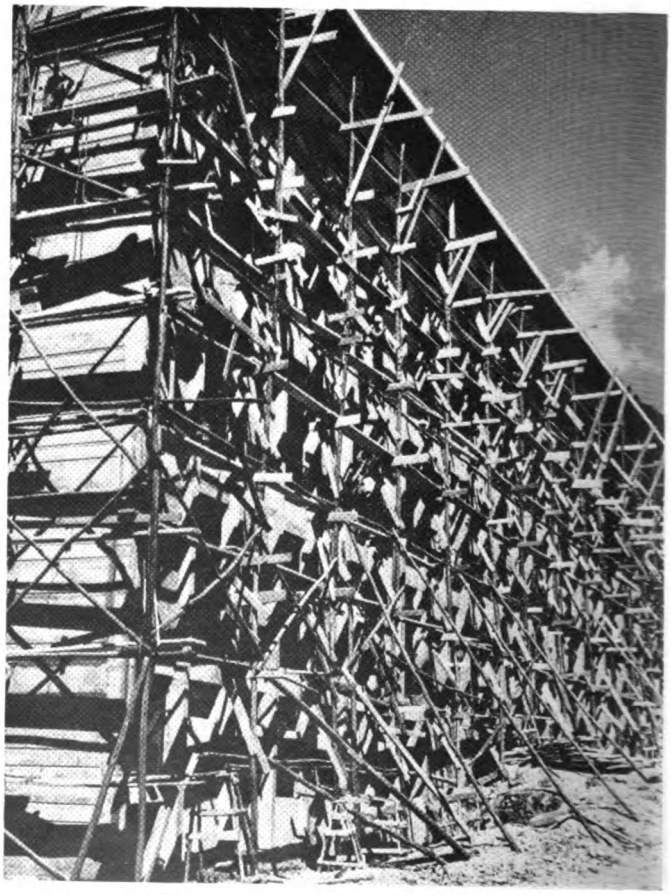




Some of the new buildings which are transforming Addis Ababa





More new structures springing up apace

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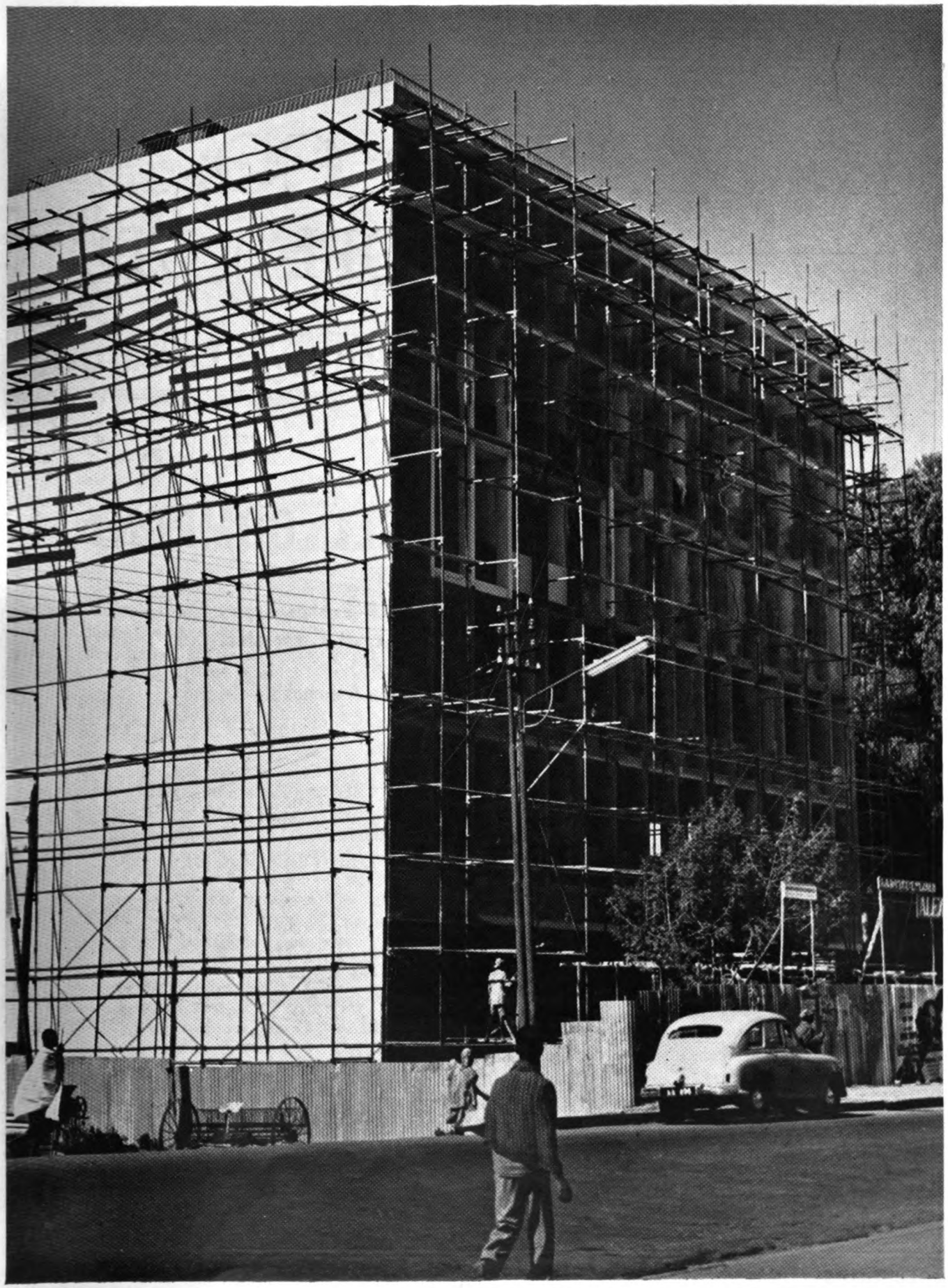

Addis Ababa buildings are growing taller

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In Ethiopia for more than fifty years and since the last century in the Red Sea

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also constructed an open-air theatre on the lines of a Greek amphitheatre, where plays are performed.

General Wingate School

Further on the same road we find the General Wingate Secondary School for Boys, named after General Orde Wingate, who served heroically and with loyal devotion to the Ethiopian cause, as Commander-in-Chief under the Emperor Haile Sellasie in the Liberation Campaign of 1941. The British Council has maintained a friendly support for the Wingate School by providing some of the teachers and making donations to the School library.

The Bishop Petros Statue

Returning along Patriots Road, past the Ministry of Information, we notice the statue of the martyred Abuna (Bishop) Petros, who was executed for refusal to sign an act of submission to the Italian Government. At the feet of the Bishop's statue is a representation of the machine gun with which he was killed.

The statue of the murdered Bishop recalls to us the remarkable rôle of the Ethiopian Church in maintaining the national morale during the enemy occupation; its support to the patriotic resistance, and the consolation and comfort given by the priesthood to the patriots in their suffering and peril.

St. George's Cathedral

Turning now to the left, we come quickly to Menelik II Square. Here an equestrian statue of Menelik II is enclosed within a small garden and the cathedral he built arises in the immediate vicinity. The Italians pulled down the statue and concealed it during their sway over the city. It was discovered and restored to its original position when the country was liberated. The cathedral also suffered attack by the Fascist vandals; an attempt was made to destroy it by burning and shooting during the massacre of February, 1937, ordered by Marshal Graziani on instructions from Rome. The strong, well-founded walls however, resisted the frivolous attempt; only the stained glass windows were broken and the superficial decorations were damaged.

Today, surrounded by the dense foliage of its old trees and girt by its massive basalt wall, it remains the most imposing and venerable relic of Addis Ababa's earlier period.

It has been recently re-decorated by two Ethiopian artists. Afewerk Teklé and Ye Mylaff Herouy. Afewerk, still under thirty years of age, was noticed when still at primary school as a boy of artistic talent. Later sent to England for higher education he became a student at the London County Council School of Arts and Crafts and subsequently at the Slade School of Fine Arts of London University. He was afterwards given opportunities of travel to study works of art in Italy, France and Spain.

Mylaff comes of an Ethiopian family of painters. All his training has been in his family circle and home country. He has broken away from the mediaevalism of the old manuscripts and church murals, but he has not been influenced by the present modern art movements in Europe. His style approximates rather to that of the nineteenth century painters. He has a good deal of skill in drawing and a sense of colour harmony.

Structurally St. George's is a typical Ethiopian octagonal church with the sanctuary in the centre surrounded by two concentric ambulatories, or passages, the outer of which alone is open to the congregation. It is this outer ambulatory the two artists have decorated, half the wall space being given to Afewerk, half to Mylaff; the two areas are entirely separate. When spectators are viewing the work of one artist, they cannot see the work of the other.

This is fortunate because the style of the two painters is entirely different. Mylaff's decorations form a genial harmony in greys with subdued blues and crimsons which blend soberly into the general scheme. He has painted directly on the cathedral walls having first attached a thin sheeting which served as canvas. This has long been a traditional method of Ethiopian mural decoration; it can be seen in the cave church of Zemedu Mariam which may date from the 13th century and the existing decoration, though probably later, is certainly old. True fresco painting on wet plaster existed in Ethiopia and is found in the 11th century monolithic churches of Lalibela. Canvas was probably used for re-painting when the walls were no longer sufficiently perfect for fresco.

The mural decoration of Afewerk Tekle is entirely different; he has a brighter, more intense colour scheme and has been influenced by training and travel abroad. He has introduced elaborate mosaic compositions at the top of the lofty walls. These he designed in his studio at the National Library (Studio Alpha). The material for the tesserae was made to his instructions at the Tabacchi mosaic factory in Asmara.

In order to be close to the factory while the materials for the tesserae were being made to match the numerous colours in his original designs, he worked in Asmara while composing the mosaics in accordance with his large-scale cartoons. The mosaics were then brought to Addis Ababa to affix to the cathedral walls. Below the mosaics Afewerk has a series of paintings. These he painted on canvas and fixed to the wall after com-

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ETHIOPIA:

A Cultural History

by Sylvia Pankhurst

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pletion in the studio. Only the "Last Judgment" was completed in the cathedral itself. Neither artist has attempted true fresco. They may do so in some future building. It should only be attempted if the walls are in first-class condition and the foundations absolutely stable.

Water Supplies

Leaving the cathedral after viewing the decorations and proceeding round the outer churchyard wall we come to St. George's Reservoir, a vital point in the Addis Ababa water supply.

Since the foundation of the capital the needs of the growing population have necessitated the extension of the water supplies every few years. A great advance was made in 1952 when the Lake Gafarsa Reservoir was connected to the city's water-mains by a series of great pipes.

The City Hall: Municipal Administration

Opposite St. George's Reservoir are the big gates leading to the spacious courtyard of the City Hall, which is necessarily large enough to accommodate numerous cars. The City Hall itself was built under the auspices of Emperor Menelik. The city has, to a large extent, outgrown it; nevertheless it is still a charming building, with its many gables and balconies and outside wooden staircases. Though on a larger scale, it has something of the welcoming, friendly appearance and the atmosphere of an old English country inn of the coaching days. By ascending to the first floor we find the "Mayor's Parlour" as we say in England, or the office of the "Kantiba", the Council Chamber, where the Councillors elected by the citizens hold their meetings, and a number of other offices. There are offices also on the ground floor. Municipal activities have necessitated the erection of a number of additional structures in the Town Hall grounds, which, fortunately were originally specious in accordance with the ample ideas prevailing at the foundation of the city. A project for a new Town Hall was considered in 1950, and plans were drawn, but other needs have since been considered more urgent and have therefore obtained priority.

While the Council Chamber and the offices are of the simplest in furnishing, the Kantiba, the Councillors and the Municipal Staff have nevertheless highly important duties to perform. All plans for new buildings are due for inspection by the Municipality before building licences are issued. The Water Department is a branch of the municipal administration; there are reservoirs at Entoto and Gafarsa. Existing city roads have to be maintained and new roads made. Mention of the various municipal departments will give some notion of their variety: legal, finance and accounts, personnel, inspector general, control, land, vehicles, security, archives, technical, chief engineer, engineering, town planning, garage, census, architects, typographical, taxation, hygiene, theatre, fire brigade with stations at Mexico Square and Menelik Square. There is also a municipal hospital for the poor and a rehabilitation centre for the destitute at Kolfé and a home for aged poor at Taklahaimanot. St. Paul's Hospital for the Poor is a separate foundation maintained by the Haile Sellassie Welfare Trust founded by the Emperor. The Municipal Department of Hygiene maintains its own clinics.

Leaving Menelik Square we may take the first-class road, called Weatheral Street, which crosses Negus Haile Melekot Street, commemorating the father of Menelik II. We may continue thus past the Ministry of the Pen to Yekatit Twelfth Square. Here is to be seen the beautiful monument erected in memory of the martyrs of the Italian War, designed by the Yugoslav sculptor, Anton Augustinic.

The slender white shaft of the monument with its two well-proportioned bronze hands of bas-reliefs, rises from a gracious base of marble steps and is seen against the pale grey stone wall of the palace garden and its trees, and the woods and mountains beyond. Whether the firmament is blue and sunlit, or dark and lowering, the monument is a thing of beauty, rendering this square the finest in the city. It is called Yekatit Twelftn Square in memory of the martyrs of the Graziani massacre of 1937.

Bearing to the right of the monument we come to the lofty white barracks of the Imperial Guard, recently built.

Near the martyrs' monument is the Haile Sellassie I Hospital, so named immediately after the liberation of 1941. It was the first hospital erected by the Emperor during his Regency, while he was known as Ras Tafari. Having built it in 1917 he named it "Beit Sada," "House of Health". It was the second of Ethiopia's modern hospitals; the first was built by Menelik II in 1908. Beit Sada, now Haile Sellassie I Hospital, has been many times enlarged. It has been kept abreast of the times by the Emperor's continual solicitude in providing new equipment. On his visit to Germany, he received for this hospital a gift of radium, a fine microscope and important physiotherapy equipment. There is a school for nurses at Haile Sellassie Hospital, maintained by the Ethiopian Red Cross Society.

A Splendid Thoroughfare

From Yekatit Twelfth Square, King George V Street leads to Fifth of May Square. In Sir Patrick Abercrombie's town plan for Addis Ababa, this splendid thoroughfare, flanked by graceful trees, was assigned as the official quarter of the city. On ahead we can see the gleaming silver domes of the Menelik Mausoleum. We pass the Finance Ministry, the office of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Office.

The New Art School

At Fifth of May Square we are in the scholastic quarter again; we have here the University College and the Theological College, and also the lately erected Art School, which contains a number of fine studios for the use of teachers and students, and has sufficient accommodation for holding exhibitions of numerous works of art. The Menelik II School, the first modern school opened by the Emperor of that name, is also near at hand; it is one of the largest in the capital and has elementary and secondary sections. It has been many times enlarged. The original building with its dignified main door is still the strongest and most weathertight. Several additional structures were hastily

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put up in the Italian times, but not for Ethiopian Education, as the Ethiopian schools were closed during the five years' occupation. These Italian-built structures will have to be replaced by permanent school buildings when funds permit.

The Tafari Makonnen school established by the Emperor while still Regent in 1922, and the Empress Menen School for Girls founded a little later are among the largest in the capital and are situated near the Guenet Leul Palace.

During our tour of the city, we may halt at one of the numerous cafés to enjoy a cup of Ethiopian coffee—the best in the world.

For more substantial meals there are also many restaurants, or the visitor may call at one of the hotels. At all these, except the very humblest, European or Ethiopian cooking may be obtained, according to the taste of the customer.

In this brief survey we have not covered a tithe of the city, which is more than eight miles across and contains some 500,000 residents, apart from a considerable floating population, coming to Addis Ababa for a time for various purposes, from all over the Ethiopian Empire and from countries abroad—commercial travellers and agents, members of international missions, scientists, journalists and tourists.

The Market

We must not omit a visit to the market, said to be the largest in Africa, where almost everything can be found which is displayed in the best of the shops and much the shops do not stock. The market is by far the most picturesque centre in Addis Ababa. Merchants and purchasers come there from all over Ethiopia, wearing their traditional dress—Somalis, Guraguies, Dankalis, Hararis, Wallamos, and all the rest. People come also from India and many parts of Asia; Arab costumes are common among the merchants at the stalls. The market is a place of colour, life and humour; one may purchase here, for a trifle, the Psalms of David written on vellum and enclosed in a vellum case to be slung over one's shoulder, or a canvas depicting the story of the Queen of Sheba. There are stalls for Amharic printed literature where you can find all the latest books and pamphlets of local Ethiopian authors. In the area devoted to silverware you may obtain pectoral and hand-crosses, bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, spoons, sugar basins and so forth, made in traditional style. Where pottery is sold you can purchase china and crockery from Europe, India and Japan, and the black and brown traditional ware of Ethiopia, great Gomboes for carrying water or storing grain, pots for making coffee, stew-pans with lids, jars and bowls for all purposes.

There are quarters for fine basketry, woven in gay patterns, the masob—a round table with a top forming a shallow bowl to hold the national dish, injeras (a sort of bread), and wat, a hot, red-pepper flavoured stew. A lid of the same basket-work keeps the stew warm. There are quarters for cereals, wood, metals, boots and shoes.

Pretty Ethiopian girls are buying dainty gauze squares to cover their lovely dark hair. These are part of the traditional national dress. The entire traditional outfit for men and women is also on sale in various qualities at various prices. Textiles for home furnishing or personal wear can be had in all, or almost all, the varieties to be found at the best shops in town.

There are special areas for the farm animals, but the goats, sheep and donkeys are often to be seen foraging around anywhere in the market. An old woman is stripping maize, and while her attention is occupied, her donkey and the goat she has just purchased are eating the heads of grain she has placed in a couple of tubs. Some children are rummaging among the debris.

JANHOY MEDA

Janhoy Meda (the Emperor's field) may be reached from Yakatit Square via Umedla Street. This name commemorates the Emperor's crossing of the Sudan-Ethiopia at the head of his Army of Liberation in 1941. Janhoy Meda can also be reached from Russia Street, which commemorates the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the Second World War and the help given by the Russian Red Cross to Ethiopia at the battle of Adowa in 1896. The Russian doctors were the only medical aids at the famous battle.

Janhoy Meda is in a sense the Hyde Park of Addis Ababa, being by far the largest permanent open park-like space in the city. It is, however, extremely different from London's famous park. It resembles rather a review and parade-ground, being mainly a great field, not laid out in flower gardens. Here in 1944 the present writer witnessed the decoration of the patriots, eight of them women, who had given gallant service in the five years of struggle for the liberation of Ethiopia, during the Fascist occupation.

"Timkat" (Epiphany)

Here every year on January 19 is held the greatest festival of the Ethiopian Christian year, called "Timkat" in Ethiopia. It commemorates the baptism of Christ in the River Jordan. For this ceremony a small artificial lake has been constructed with a wide cement pavement around it where the ceremony can take place. On the evening before the ceremony the clergy of the city come in procession from their several churches to Janhoy Meda.

In the procession from each of the churches is borne a representation of the Ark of the Covenant which contained the tables of the law received by Moses on Mount Sinai. In each of these Arks is the "Tabot," in memory of the Covenant, and of the Ten Commandments later received from Jesus Christ. The Ark is protected by a precious covering and in accordance with ancient tradition it is only brought out of the inner sanctuary at Timkat, once a year. The ceremony undoubtedly has been handed down from ancient times and has been preserved in the mountains of Ethiopia—though discarded elsewhere.

The clergy spend the night before Timkat (called Katarak) in chanting and prayer beside the Arks. In the morning they move in solemn steps around the Ark, in memory of the dance of David around the Ark of the Covenant. In Ethiopia we can still see the early Christian rites as they were grafted on to older Jewish ceremonies in early Christian times.

The Emperor, his sons and Ministers, and all devout Ethiopian Orthodox Christians of Addis Ababa participate in the ceremony. The clergy are wearing the richest

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of their many-coloured vestments. Bright, gold-fringed umbrellas are borne among them, a ceremonial tradition, but important to ward off the fierce rays of the sun during the long service. Each church has it own variety of embroideries and specially chosen colour-scheme. The massed clergy are assembled around the lake; their brilliant robes are reflected vividly in the water.

There are readings from a great Bible held by a young deacon wearing a golden crown and chanting by the Debteras. These are the learned doctors, wise in the Scriptures, the teachers, musicians and poets of the Ethiopian Church. They may be likened to the Levites of Israel, and perform similar functions, but their office is not hereditary, for they are not a caste or a tribe as were the Levites. A prolonged and exacting course of study is requisite to become a Debtera.

The water is blessed and a little wooden float, set with lighted candles, is launched on the lake. When the clergy have completed the service, the Emperor, his sons and Ministers advance to the head of the lake, where the Archbishop sprinkles them with its water to commemorate the baptism of Jesus by St. John the Baptist. When this has been accomplished a fountain rising from the lake is released and sends forth a column of spray. The faithful of the city now form a vast queue and hasten to receive a sprinkling of the water.

When all have been sprinkled, the people disperse to make merry for the rest of the holiday, but many of them first devoutly accompany the clergy in their returning processions to their several churches bearing their Arks.

On public holidays the people amuse themselves on Janhoy Meda; one sees swift horsemen galloping across the field.

Red Cross Festival

The Ethiopian Red Cross holds an annual bazaar here. The Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association has a restaurant furnished in the style of an old Ethiopian home where traditional foods are served. The Empress's Handicraft School displays traditional Ethiopian costumes for which orders may be placed and one can see the embroiderers of these costumes at work.

All the foreign communities take part in the show, displaying for sale the wares produced by their countries, the stall-holders wearing the national dress of their people in the numerous cases where it still survives.

Sports and Games

The Ethiopian Racing Club holds races on Janhoy Meda and has a charming pavilion here. The Rotary Club and many other organisations organise functions in these cheerful premises, glass-fronted, admitting all the gay sunshine and affording a splendid view.

Football and polo matches between Ethiopian and foreign teams take place here. The Ethiopians excel in polo; they have defeated both Aden and Nairobi here and on the home grounds of these other teams.

A portion of the Meda has been given to the Municipality to be equipped as a children's playground. Other playgrounds are in prospect.

Addis Ababa is a gay city; it has a tennis club and a good golf course in the neighbourhood of the airport.

THE ETHIOPIAN NEW YEAR; FESTIVAL OF THE CROSS

The Ethiopian year commences on September 10. This is often the loveliest season; the great rains which began in July should be drawing to a close, though sometimes they linger. Towards the close of the rains, all the flowers, shrubs and trees spring forth in new blossoms.

The month is called Maskal (the Cross), for now is commemorated the finding of the true cross by the Empress Helena of old, and the gift to Ethiopia of a portion of the cross on which the Saviour was crucified.

Unique in Ethiopia are the Maskal flowers; growing unobtrusively, unseen, for months before they now spring suddenly into bloom. They cover the hills and dales and every spot of grass in the city where they can find a footing with a blaze of buttercup-like gold. They are golden-yellow, like buttercups, but more abundant and more brilliant and depth to their brilliance is imparted by the fact that many of their petals bear a spot of golden-brown. Their sudden emergence overnight appears almost a miracle. Their growth varies in height from a mere eight or ten inches to eight, ten feet or more, where they have opportunity to strike their roots deep and to grow up during the rains without interference. Around the edges of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital grounds, and especially on the vacant space where the 25th Jubilee Exhibition was held, they attain immensely luxuriant growth and height.

Two Maskal celebrations take place; the first, called "Atse Maskal," is held on September 10, New Year's Day. This is also the Festival of St. John The Baptist. Now, all the school-children and many citizens and diplomatists go to the Palace to wish the Emperor and Empress a Happy New Year. Many Ethiopians present flowers or gifts of their own work. All Ethiopians now wear the white national dress as they do also on Ethiopian Christmas Day.

September 27 is Maskal or Holy Cross Day, commemorating the finding of the true cross. To announce her discovery the Empress Helena had beacons lighted and to commemorate the holy event, beacons are lighted throughout Ethiopia.

Addis Ababa holds the Maskal celebration in the spacious Menelik II Square. An awning and a dais of several steps are erected there close to the wall of the church and in the centre of the square is built the Maskal beacon of tall eucalyptus saplings rising to a great height. Erected on Maskal Eve, under the guidance of the clergy and protected by a rich cloth it is ready for the ceremony next day.

The Emperor, the Princes, Ministers and high officials of the Ethiopian Court and Government are seated under the awning. The clergy commence the ceremony. There is a sermon, Bible reading, singing and slow, measured steps by the Debteras moving to and fro. The Abuna blesses the still unlighted beacon. Then the Emperor, the clergy and the ministers pass sedately round the beacon. The people of the city, who have been gathering here for some hours now advance with long wands of eucalyptus, a dozen or more feet high, to which they have fastened bundles of Maskal flowers. They circle the beacon singing gaily; each adds his wand. For many hours the people add to the

(Continued on next page)

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ADDIS ABABA

By JACKSON N. KESSI of Tanganyika, now studying in Addis Ababa as a Haile Sellassie I Scholarship student.

" A damsel with a dulcimer,
In a vision once I saw;
It was an Abyssinian maid
And on her dulcimer she play'd . . ."

—Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

This is Addis Ababa, the New Flower, capital of Ethiopia, and one of the most beautiful cities in Africa. Unlike most of the other African towns which were in one way or another built by foreigners, Addis Ababa has been largely built by the Ethiopians themselves.

Addis Ababa is a unique city, lying at an elevation of about 7,800 feet. The amazingly magnificent mountains surrounding the city with its luxuriant vegetation, make unforgettable settings. Many people associate ideas of any portion of Africa close to the equator with thoughts of extreme heat and humidity, but in Addis Ababa, nothing could be farther from the truth. The finest climate in all Africa is the product of Ethiopia's geographical peculiarities. Mild days and cool nights are the rule throughout most of the year, the seasonal extremes of heat and cold being well within the limits of enjoyment. It is a town worth one's while to visit.

To those who still think that Addis Ababa and precisely Ethiopia as a whole, has not been developed as a tourist attraction, I can only say that Ethiopia is one of the most spectacularly beautiful countries in the world, and a major factor in almost everybody's life is the altitude. The mere conception that tourist facilities have not been highly developed, is in itself an attraction. For the tourist bored by the monotony of artificially glamorised areas, over-publicised and overcrowded, Ethiopia offers a welcome change from the exhausted paths.

THE PEOPLE

In Addis Ababa almost every race and nation in the world is represented. The usual habit of the foreign races in other parts of Africa is to segregate themselves, by imposing discriminatory and colour-bar measures on the indigenous people. This is never even dreamt of here; colour is completely forgotten. In fact, the word seems as if it does not exist at all. It is a place where the maxim that "human beings are equal" is wholly lived. You should not forget that Christianity is working at its best in Ethiopia, one of the earliest of Christian nations.

The Ethiopian national language, Amharic, is related to both Hebrew and Arabic and is largely of Semitic origin, closely akin to the ancient Sabaean of Southern Arabia. Generally, the Ethiopians are a handsome people, fine featured and boned, with dark eyes, thin lips and straight noses.

Ethiopians are very kind, polite, and friendly. The Italian imperialists attacked them in 1896, but they were so badly mauled at the celebrated Battle of Adowa that they retired. Never before had European invaders of Africa been beaten by an African State. It was not until 1935 that the Italians again attempted to conquer Ethiopia, after long preparation. They succeeded in entering Addis Ababa in 1936, by the use of poison gas. The Ethiopians, however, continued resisting bravely and remained at war. The outbreak of the second World War and Mussolini's decision to attack Britain and France in 1940, gave the Ethiopians their chance of victory against the Italians. This was secured in 1941.

The Ethiopians are a peaceful and free race. One can walk in Addis all day and night long without carrying a special pass, or anyone questioning your movements.

In Addis Ababa, as our friend Mr. Gunther once wrote, "the equation characteristic of colonial Africa is reversed. 'White men work for Africans, not vice versa.' "

The city is growing like wild-fire; new buildings are always being erected.

This is Addis Ababa, the "New Flower," is shooting out of the wilderness of Africa, throwing its light throughout the continent, discrediting the unfortunate description of Africa as a " dark Continent."

(Continued from previous page)

great bonfire, which is lit after dark and will burn till morning dawns. Its central pole of tough, strong wood is slow to fall.

The people are making merry and many small fires are lit wherever there is space for them throughout the town.

Twilight is brief; darkness is soon upon us. The tubes of fluorescent light in their high standards accentuate the steep undulaton of the roads and extend ahead of us in flowing curves. Occasionally the curve appears broken where it is hidden behind some steep descent, but it flows on again as we advance.

The big golden moon seems to be playing pranks with us. At times it is high above the horizon, at times it rests upon a mountain or is hidden by a lofty range only to jump up again suddenly seeming curiously near.

On all the hills around the city, in all the valleys of the plain appear sparks of yellow light shining from innumerable windows. The open doors of humble one-storey shops and dwellings bordering some of the roads where the working folk live and shop and have their being, send forth a ruddy glow. Sometimes one can hear a snatch of folk-song, and the music of the masenko or the krar.

The Haile Sellassie Theatre looks best in darkness when the rows of painted panels on its long side wall turned to the square are illuminated red, yellow and green. The flat-topped acacia growing there appears wreathed with red and yellow lights and the misty spray of the fountains playing in the shadows is touched with multi-coloured gleams.

Light-filled windows of hospitals, colleges, factories, dwellings, at varied altitudes, make cheerful patterns in the all-enfolding black obscurity. One catches glimpses of the new air terminal with its motto in coloured light, "Welcome to Ethiopia".

Sun or rain, night or day, Addis Ababa never fails to charm. Its garment of roads and buildings spread over these hills and dales in former times is being changed for a new, more elegant and in many respects, gayer dress. The eternal mountains and the ever-changing sky of these great heights bestow their transcendant beauty on the "New Flower" blossoming, changing and growing among these hills.

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The Development of Telecommunications

The growth of telecommunications in Addis Ababa is to a large extent an index of the development of trade and commerce, industry, cultural and all activities, which are taking place in the city. We are pleased, therefore, in this issue, to be able to give our readers some exact statistics of the rapid expansion in the telecommunications services.

Until the year 1953, Ethiopia's Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs were combined under a single administration. In that year, however, the Imperial Telecommunications Board was founded and since that time the telecommunications services have been operated separately by the Board, but with close liaison between it and the other communications services.

The president of the Board is the Minister of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs, H.E. Bitwoded Mengesha Wubie. The vice-president is H.E. Ato Tadesse Yacob, Vice-Minister of Finance. Other members are: H.E. Dejazmatch Zewdie Gabre Sellassie, Kantiba of Addis Ababa; H.E. Lij Mikael Imru and Mr. S. Kirkos.

The general manager is Mr. A. Lundquist from Sweden, who has kindly supplied us with the following data:

"At the end of 1959 the number of employees within the Board was 1640, of whom only 32 were foreigners. It is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that the total number of employees has increased since the end of 1956 by 100, the number of foreigners has decreased by 22. This is the result of our strong efforts to teach young Ethiopians in our Institute and to give them more responsible positions within the Board."

Ethiopian Trainees

Young Ethiopians desirous of working in the service must be secondary school graduates; they are selected by examination. They are then trained at the Telecommunications Institute where classes are held in English, mathematics, book-keeping, accountancy and typewriting, as well as in the more specialised technical subjects, Morse, radio, telephonic and telegraphic operations, the maintenance, repair, and even the manufacture of parts of the machinery used in telecommunications.

The chief of the Institute is now Mr. T. Watters, a United Nations expert. Two U.N. experts are working as teachers. With the ever-expanding development of Telecommunications in Ethiopia the number of trained personnel required is continually increasing. Each year more students are receiving training in one form or another at the Institute.

In 1959, 178 students were trained as compared with 143 in 1958. This upward trend is likely to continue for several years to come. For this reason arrangements are in hand for extending the accommodation available at the Institute to enable additional training to be undertaken in 1960. Needless to say, the United Nations experts cannot carry out training in all the required courses and their work is supplemented by part-time teachers drawn from either the International Board of Telecommunications Experts' Staff or from outside organisations.

The courses at present in progress at the Telecommunications Institute are as follows:

1. *Telephone Technician Course.* These students will complete their 2½ year course early in 1961, and will be employed in telephone exchanges, both automatic and manual, or on carrier telephony equipment.
2. *Radio Technician Course.* This group of students will also complete its training during 1961; it will be employed either in Broadcast stations, or in Radio Telephony Transmitting or Receiving stations dealing with International or Domestic radio circuits.

Enthusiasm and Success

The training of both types of Technicians is necessarily lengthy in view of the high standard of technical knowledge and skill which is required for modern telecommunications equipment. These students now have the opportunity to sit for International Certificates each year. Their great enthusiasm and aptitude have been matched by the successes they have obtained.

3. *Telephone Operator Course.* These girls are prepared for operating the switchboards at the various telephone exchanges throughout the Empire. Their training includes operating procedure, regulations and English, and lasts about three months.
4. *Radio Operator Course.* Staff required for Telegram duties are trained in this course. They are taught Morse, sending and receiving, typing for Teleprinter working, as well as English, Geography and International Regulations. This training takes about one year and will be completed next September.
5. *International Telephone Operator.* A small group of senior inter-urban operators are being trained to take over the more responsible and complicated work of the International switchboards. Their training covers international operating regulations, standard phrases, operating procedure and additional lessons in English.

Measuring the Growth of the Service

The growth of telephone traffic in Ethiopia can be measured by the following tables:—

OUTGOING INTER-URBAN CALLS, 1955

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	16,911	21,108	22,846	27,502	88,367
Asmara	33,841	34,218	33,101	36,100	137,260
Other offices ..	77,063	78,502	77,887	80,835	334,287
Totals	127,815	133,828	133,834	144,437	559,914

OUTGOING INTER-URBAN CALLS, 1956

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	32,181	33,556	36,127	38,540	140,404
Asmara	35,119	35,199	32,514	36,150	139,982
Other offices ..	97,211	94,287	91,335	99,200	382,033
Totals	164,511	163,042	159,976	173,890	661,419

OUTGOING INTER-URBAN CALLS, 1959

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	52,945	52,096	52,433	54,080	211,554
Asmara	38,221	39,638	38,795	44,270	160,924
Other offices ..	127,265	129,134	128,793	140,746	525,938
Totals	218,431	220,868	220,021	239,096	898,416

A considerable increase will be observed since the years 1955 and 1956. The increases in Addis Ababa are especially impressive:

URBAN CALLS WITHIN ADDIS ABABA, 1955

1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Total
726,558	769,590	1,123,668	1,247,162	3,866,968

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URBAN CALLS WITHIN ADDIS ABABA, 1956

1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Total
1,286,953	1,347,114	1,434,889	1,761,521	5,830,477

URBAN CALLS WITHIN ADDIS ABABA, 1959

1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Total
2,915,202	3,113,527	3,128,804	3,365,813	12,523,346

These figures are a good measure of the growing activity of the capital. The number of urban calls within Addis Ababa have more than doubled since 1956.

Telegraph Service

OUTGOING INLAND TELEGRAMS, 1955

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	17,196	17,271	15,551	13,021	63,039
Asmara	7,819	7,355	7,843	7,343	30,360
Other Offices ..	8,773	7,100	7,169	6,739	29,762
Totals	33,788	31,726	30,563	27,103	123,161

OUTGOING INLAND TELEGRAMS, 1956

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	18,490	18,360	18,227	17,143	72,220
Asmara	5,859	6,474	6,389	5,658	26,418
Other offices ..	10,237	8,399	7,696	6,928	23,260
Totals	34,586	33,233	32,312	29,729	121,898

OUTGOING INLAND TELEGRAMS, 1959

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	14,289	15,124	14,197	15,730	59,340
Asmara	5,233	5,290	4,714	5,129	20,366
Other offices ..	11,494	10,558	11,924	12,533	46,509
Totals	31,016	30,972	30,835	33,392	126,215

OUTGOING INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAMS, 1955

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	14,717	14,464	14,998	19,127	63,306
Asmara	7,482	7,174	6,682	7,260	28,598
Other offices ..	966	982	997	1,121	4,068
Totals	23,165	22,620	22,677	27,508	95,972

OUTGOING INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAMS, 1956

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	14,928	15,336	12,483	14,167	56,884
Asmara	7,051	7,076	6,365	8,418	21,591
Other offices ..	2,034	1,214	1,089	1,138	5,475
Totals	24,013	23,623	19,937	23,723	83,950

OUTGOING INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAMS, 1959

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Totals
Addis Ababa ..	21,076	20,881	18,910	22,381	83,248
Asmara	5,974	6,597	5,863	7,063	25,497
Other offices ..	2,642	2,371	2,231	2,467	9,711
Totals	29,692	29,849	27,004	31,911	118,456

Big towns switch from Inland Telegrams to Telephones.

Small towns sending more Telegrams.

The number of inland telegrams has decreased for both Addis Ababa and Asmara, in comparison with 1955 and 1956. This is no doubt due to improved inter-urban telephone facilities. The trend from telegrams to telephone calls is common in all countries as soon as telephone facilities are improved. The telegraph traffic in many of the smaller towns of Ethiopia has however increased to such a degree, that the total number of inland telegrams within the Empire has increased by some thousands.

Increase in International Telegrams

In international telegrams we can note a considerable increase in comparison with 1955 and 1956. International trade and cultural communications are evidently increasing.

The rapid development of telecommunications can also be seen from the number of subscribers in Addis Ababa. At the end of 1956 the number was 2,700 and now—only three years later—the number is about 4,500.

More than 10,000 Telephone Subscribers in 1959

The total number of telephone apparatuses within the Empire passed early in 1959 the figure 10,000. This fact was celebrated on June 20, 1959, when H.H. Prince Mikael Makonnen, second son of the late Duke of Harar, by drawing a lot appointed the 10,000 subscriber, who received his telephone free of the usual initial charge.

New Facilities: First Coastal Radio

In 1959 some new telephone facilities were extended to the public. New radio stations were installed at Ghimbi and Dembidollo, establishing telephone and telegraph connections between those towns and Addis Ababa. In April, 1959, a direct telephone circuit between Addis Ababa and Nairobi was opened. At the end of the same year Ethiopia's first coastal radio station was opened in Assab. This radio station makes possible telegrams and telephone calls between Ethiopia and ships in the Red Sea. This new facility is especially important for the harbour authorities, shipping agencies and merchants in Assab.

New Provincial Lines

In the middle of 1960 a new pole-line between Dilla and Modjo will be ready. This will give a good quality new day and night telephone service between Addis Ababa and important towns in the Sidamo province, such as Irgalem, Dilla and Wondo, and in the Arussi province, such as Shashamane.

Future Plans

The Board's new investment-programme for 1960-62 includes many important works. The automatic exchanges in Addis Ababa will be extended by 2,000 lines for anticipated new subscribers. Asmara will have a complete new automatic exchange for 3,000 subscribers. New main pole lines will be constructed as follows:—

Bati (Dessie)	—	Assab
Jimma	—	Bonga
Shashamane	—	Soddu
Carsa	—	Deder — Asbe Tafari
Alem Maya	—	Graua
Debra Sina	—	Molale
Agaro	—	Limu
Bahar Dar	—	Gondar
Gondar	—	Chilga
Mattu	—	Hurumu
Wondo	—	Aghereselam
Dilla	—	Chelelektu

The most important of these new lines is probably that between Bati and Assab; it will establish a day and night telephone service of good quality between Addis Ababa and Assab.

By means of the other lines, Addis Ababa will have new telephone communications with many important towns in the Empire: Bonga, Soddu, Deder, Graua, Molale, Limu, Chilga, Hurumu, Aghereselam, Chelelektu, etc.

The number of the existing telephone circuits between Addis Ababa and the other most important towns in the Empire, Asmara, Dessie, Massawa, Dire Dawa, Harar, Jimma, Gondar, etc. will be considerably increased; this will no doubt improve the inter-urban telephone traffic.

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Broadcasting to be Improved and Extended

During the same two years, 1960-1962, broadcasting will be considerably improved in Ethiopia. The intention is to install a powerful, modern medium-wave broadcasting station in Addis Ababa, another in Asmara, and about ten less powerful stations in other important towns. A powerful new short-wave broadcasting station for international service will also be installed in Addis Ababa.

Profits Increase Every Year

Parallel with the increased telephone and telegraph traffic the financial situation of the Board has greatly improved. During the first years of the Board's operations, 1953 to 1955, only losses could be recorded. Since 1956 there have been increased profits every year as is demonstrated by the accounts.

Year	Profit Eth. $
1956	161,325
1957	443,044
1958	877,433

For 1959 we shall no doubt see a profit of more than a million Ethiopian dollars.

With a new investment loan from the International Bank, amounting to 7.2 million dollars, now expected, the Board has full confidence in a prosperous future for Ethiopia's telecommunications.

Some Useful Statistics

MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA IN 1959

	Addis Ababa
Passenger Cars	
Private	6,005
Commercial	599
Government	1,021
Diplomatic	583
Total	8,208
Pick ups	
Private	658
Commercial	892
Government	542
Diplomatic	74
Total	2,166
Trucks	
Private	—
Commercial	1,193
Government	610
Diplomatic	27
Total	1,830
Buses	
Private	4
Commercial	79
Government	—
Diplomatic	1
Total	84
Motor Cycles	
Private	299
Commercial	296
Government	8
Diplomatic	1
Total	604
GRAND TOTALS	12,829

Source: Imperial Highway Authority.

ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES

(a) Passenger traffic:	Passengers carried			Passenger - kms. carried		
	Total	Domestic flights	Inter-flights	Total	Domestic flights	Inter-flights
	(in number)			(in thousands)		
Annual data:						
1955	67,023	32,485	34,538	48,989	10,864	8,125
1956	70,615	31,588	39,027	53,218	9,901	43,317
1957	87,605	45,886	41,719	62,703	12,538	50,165
1958	92,712	46,964	45,748	75,824	12,136	63,688
Monthly data:						
1958: Jan.	8,107	4,722	3,385	4,907	1,294	3,613
Feb.	7,263	4,266	2,997	4,643	1,136	3,507
March	8,224	4,740	3,484	5,292	1,218	4,074
Oct.	7,839	3,691	4,148	7,532	982	6,750
Nov.	7,046	4,489	3,557	6,171	859	5,312
Dec.	8,077	4,008	4,069	6,698	970	5,728
1959: Jan.	8,065	3,993	4,072	6,464	1,056	5,408
Feb.	6,530	3,149	3,381	5,069	795	4,274
March	7,711	3,574	4,137	6,747	899	5,848
April	8,232	3,988	4,244	7,323	1,013	6,310

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(b) Freight traffic:	Freight carried			Freight ton - kms.		
	Total	Domestic flights	Inter-flights	Total	Domestic flights	Inter-flights
	(in tons)			(in thousands)		
Annual data:						
1955	4,855	2,033	2,802	2,688	656	2,032
1956	5,061	2,324	2,737	2,817	689	1,969
1957	5,274	3,143	2,131	2,689	894	1,792
1958	5,614	2,566	3,048	2,909	673	2,236
Monthly data:						
1958: Jan...	462	260	203	200	66	134
Feb...	387	236	151	168	59	109
March	442	235	207	196	62	134
Oct...	568	244	324	303	61	242
Nov...	533	265	268	307	72	235
Dec...	553	258	295	304	67	237
1959: Jan...	542	252	290	264	62	202
Feb...	538	250	288	240	59	181
March	630	322	308	293	74	219
April	594	300	294	267	72	195

FOREIGNERS ENTERING AND DEPARTING FROM ETHIOPIA, BY NATIONALITY, 1955-1958

(for years ending Sept. 10th of years stated)

	Entries				Departures			
	1955	1956	1957	1958	1955	1956	1957	1958
TOTAL	2,134	4,053	1,997	4,172	1,066	2,126	992	1,330
Africa	87	225	58	97	73	156	32	59
South African	6	16	7	21	5	15	5	16
Sudanese	13	81	12	14	18	72	10	9
U.A.R.	68	128	39	58	50	69	17	34
Other	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
North & South America ..	286	584	339	464	132	291	191	210
American	242	532	311	424	120	280	177	195
Canadian	41	49	28	36	9	8	14	15
Others	3	3	—	4	3	3	—	—
Asia	231	580	285	723	89	303	142	192
Chinese	3	59	—	7	1	59	—	2
Indian	105	280	135	364	29	90	46	75
Iranian	4	19	14	3	1	11	10	3
Israeli	8	15	17	28	6	15	15	6
Japanese	24	44	32	54	24	38	20	36
Jordanian	5	23	11	20	4	23	8	8
Lebanese	19	22	11	45	5	16	8	18
Saudi Arabia	4	7	15	8	4	5	15	5
Yemeni	58	106	47	192	15	41	17	36
Others	1	5	3	2	—	5	3	3
Europe	1,510	2,632	1,297	2,770	763	1,361	618	852
Austrian	52	97	24	41	35	76	10	12
British (including overseas possessions)	389	602	335	624	262	360	188	236
Czechoslovakian	12	56	5	3	10	52	4	—
Danish	11	30	16	27	4	11	5	6
Dutch	134	135	91	150	39	55	28	44
French (including overseas possessions)	206	351	187	282	125	211	126	129
German	160	314	150	226	68	164	79	88
Greek	149	259	128	291	64	103	56	95
Italian	77	290	112	638	36	162	44	125
Norwegian	31	97	54	120	12	26	9	27
Russian	6	21	13	22	3	1	2	1
Swedish	132	200	90	167	19	43	28	39
Swiss	27	51	19	56	20	22	7	13
Yugoslav	99	86	35	74	55	47	13	20
Others	25	43	38	49	11	28	19	17
Oceania	11	25	10	22	7	12	4	16
Australian	9	22	8	10	5	10	3	6
New Zealander	2	3	2	12	2	2	1	10
Miscellaneous	9	7	8	96	2	3	5	1

Source: Security Department, Ministry of Interior.

STATE BANK OF ETHIOPIA

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET

AS AT

31st DECEMBER 1959

BANKING DEPARTMENT

LIABILITIES	E$
Deposits: Government	75,553,973
Banks	2,180,681
Other Current Accounts & Credit Balances	44,667,033
Savings and Time Deposits	21,483,381
Commercial Letters of Credit	15,691,470
Capital, Surplus and Undivided Profits	27,649,127
	187,225,665

ASSETS	E$
Cash	19,494,081
Balances with Foreign Correspondents	35,559,619
Foreign Bills Purchased	6,866,208
Discounts, etc.	3,550,740
Foreign Securities	44,462,237
International Institutions (Net)	1,175,070
Loans and Advances: Government	13,496,062
Other	49,505,229
Customers Liability for Letters of Credit	6,010,768
Other Debit Balances	1,609,023
Local Investments	5,405,135
Premises and Other Fixed Assets	91,502
	187,225,665

MEMORANDUM - ACCOUNT

Bills for Collection: Inwards	4,201,262
Outwards etc.	1,086,978
Guarantees	3,222,931
Forward Exchange Commitments	6,358,549
Uncalled Liability on Local Investments	150,000

ISSUE - DEPARTMENT

LIABILITIES

Notes Issued	126,825,492

ASSETS

Gold and Silver	14,064,314
Balances with Foreign Correspondents	11,160,000
Foreign Securities	14,601,178
Ethiopian Treasury Bills	87,000,000
	126,825,492

MEMORANDUM - ACCOUNT

Coins Issued	38,424,328

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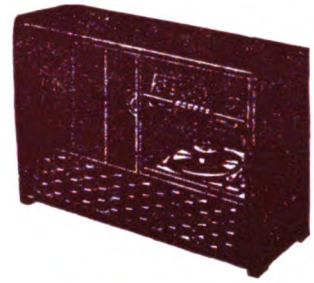

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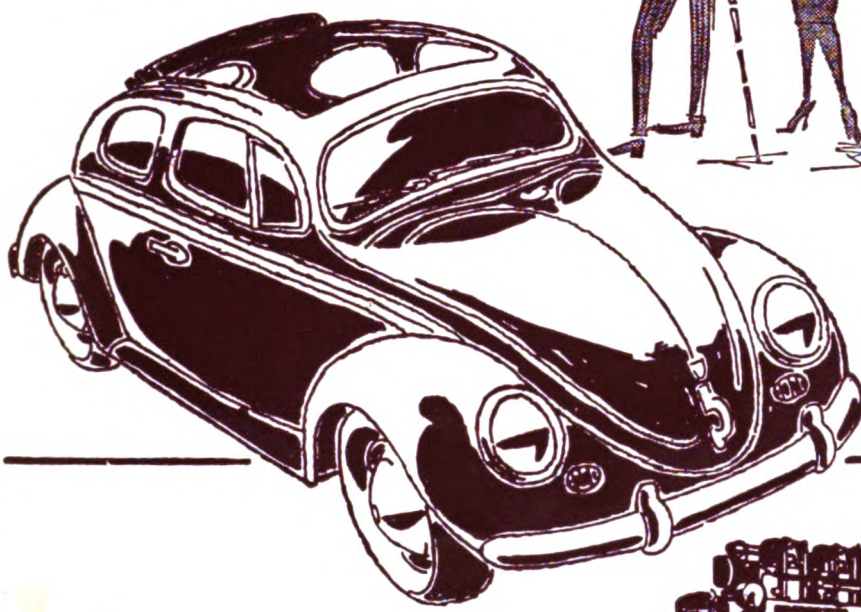

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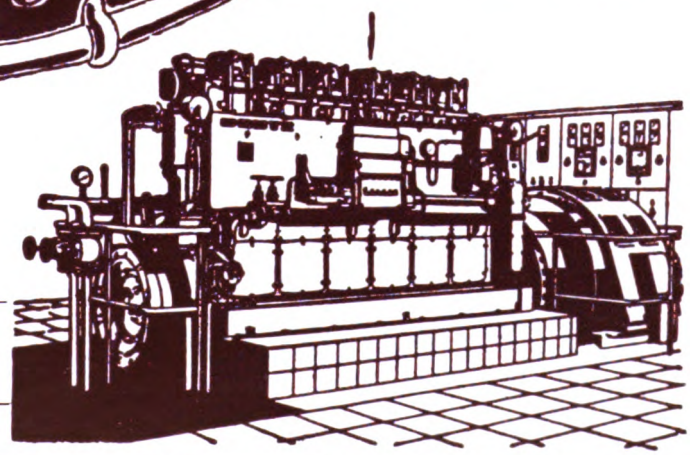

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ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

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Coffee Production and its Problems

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Next Month's

ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

will be a special issue on

THE MONOLITHIC CHURCHES OF LALIBELA

to be followed, a month later, by a special issue on

THE KOKA DAM IN OPERATION

This Month's Cover Illustration

Dr. Pierre Sylvain, the internationally F.A.O. coffee expert, examining Ethiopian coffee in the Jimma area.

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ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

JOURNAL OF INDEPENDENT OPINION, ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND THE ARTS

Published in Ethiopia and Britain **Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst**

Vol. IV No. 6 May, 1960

Emperor and Empress make a tour of inspection accompanied by their Grandchildren

COFFEE PRODUCTION AND ITS PROBLEMS

by the Editor

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Ethiopian Coffee

Samples of Ethiopian Coffee tested by experts of the Ruanda Urundi Coffee Office, and by the Kenya Coffee Board, revealed that Ethiopian coffees can compete with the best coffees produced in other parts of the world. When correctly processed Ethiopian coffee has a bluish to greenish colour, the roasted beans are glossy and the liquor is clear, slightly acid, light-bodied.

The superb "Ennarca" coffee of the forests in the Limmu area, the "Blue Mountain" type of the Kaffa—Jimma groves, the "Mocha" of the Sidamo plantations and the "Bourbon" quality of Harar and Arussi are all first-class, high-quality coffees. The characteristics of these fine coffees give them a potentially high value in the most discriminating markets of the world. Ethiopia's economy depends on her coffee; the National Coffee Board appeals to all concerned with the industry, growers, cleaners and graders and merchants to co-operate in eliminating malpractices, in establishing the best modern methods in dealing with Ethiopian coffee, so that it may resume its rightful place as the best in the world.

Today, in the Ethiopian coffee growing areas, coffee is cooked in butter and salted to make flat cakes. The unripe green cherries are roasted, ground and salted and mixed with butter. The fresh parchment cover of the bean is used as a vegetable, and the ground and roasted bean is eaten as dessert. The beans after being ground are infused with aframon, cloves and other ingredients.

Needs of the Coffee Industry

In the Seventeenth Century when coffee was in its heyday in England and the entire world supply came from the Yemen, its preparation for the market was extremely simple. When the berries were ripe, cloths were laid on the ground under the trees. The branches were shaken and the red-ripe berries fell. Presumably the unripe berries did not fall. They would be brought down later by another shaking of the tree. If ripe and unripe berries came down together, it was unlikely that the buyers of those days would complain; the coffee tasters of to-day who exercise control of the market had not yet appeared.

When the berries had been shaken down, they were spread out on mats to dry in the sun. When thoroughly dried, the shrivelled pulpy sweet outer covering of the fruit and the membrane enclosing the seeds were broken off by beating with a pestle in a mortar, with stones or, later, with heavy rollers of wood or iron.

When thus freed of its husk, the coffee was again dried in the sun and finally winnowed with a large fan to clear it of the remnants of husk which were mingled with it. It was then gathered up into baskets or bales for shipment abroad. The choicest qualities went to the Eastern markets to delight the connoisseurs in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, and other Eastern adepts. What could be spared from the East was traded to Europe to supply the grosser, less accustomed palates of northern climes.

In Yemen the plants were raised from seed, planted out in nurseries and carefully tended on sloping ground; little rills of water were conducted to their roots which at certain seasons required constant watering.

In Ethiopia, cultivation was similar in the Harar coffee plantations though a more ample rainfall facilitated growth. In the forests of the west, the coffee flourishing under protecting shade trees scarcely required cultivation. All that was necessary was to shake down the berries at the time of ripening and to dry and decorticate them as described above.

So matters proceeded with comparatively little change in the method of preparation. until a great innovation was introduced in processing the famous "Blue Mountain" coffee of Jamaica, late in the nineteenth century. This was the "West Indian" or "wet" method of processing, which, as yet, has been adopted only by a minority of the world's growers.

Other highly complicated and costly procedures have also been introduced, even in dry processing: hand-picking to eradicate defects, machine removal of the outer coverings, machine winnowing and polishing of the seeds, grading to size. Above all, highly skilled coffee tasters and blenders now exercise a control over the flavour of the coffee when processed and roasted, which, by the power to fix buying prices, involves a retroactive control over the whole range of cultivation, harvesting, processing, transportation, warehousing, and marketing.

Nowadays a nation's coffee industry cannot command high prices and a ready market unless the greatest care is exercised at every stage. The industry can no longer succeed if it is abandoned to the haphazard management of an untrained peasantry or to the low-paid labourers of absentee landlords; it must be subjected to expert guidance at every stage of production. The industry requires one of two alternatives: intelligent government direction; not only control of the product, but the provision of capital to purchase modern equipment and enforcement of its use with the guidance of resolutely devoted experts who fully understand the technical aspects of the industry and are prepared to devote themselves wholeheartedly to promote it—who make their life's career as coffee experts.

The other alternative which can produce success is a strong co-operative movement, where the growers themselves join together to provide capital, to employ expert guidance, and who formulate rules for the direction of

(Continued on next page)

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How Ethiopian coffee spread through the world

The coffee which provides 90 per cent. of the world's coffee crop is botanically termed Coffea Arabica and though classed as Arabian coffea, its original home was Ethiopia.

Modern research has confirmed this ancient tradition by practical considerations.

Coffea Arabica grows wild in Ethiopia and, so far as is known, in no other part of the world.

The forests where coffee still grows wild are mainly in Kaffa, Jimma, Wollega, Ilu-Babor, and Camu-Gofa provinces. The area is mainly between 6 and 9 degrees north latitude and between 34 ad 38 east longitude. The altitude of most of these forests is between 4,920 and 6,132 feet. The average temperature is 98 degrees fahrenheit. There is little variation of temperature between summer and winter, but the nights are considerably colder than the days. The coffee grows as a relatively small evergreen tree, from 14 to at most 20 feet high, and flourishes beneath the shelter of taller trees These shade it from excessive sunshine and also protect it from the night frosts which occasionally occur even in Africa so near the equator. The coffee in these bland and favourable areas has the rich soil and the abundant but not excessive moisture it requires, the yearly rainfall averaging 60 to 78 inches. No more than three to four months at the most have less than two inches of rain.

In Yemen there are no similar forests; coffee is not found wild there. There is not the abundant and well distributed rainfall of the Ethiopian highlands which is essential to Coffea Arabica and which, if it does not occur naturally, must be substituted artificially if Coffea Arabica is to prosper. In fact when grown commercially in the Yemen it is always artificially irrigated. The conditions do not exist in Yemen which would allow this type of coffee to grow as a wild plant without cultivation by man. Consequently the experts consider

Ato Lemma Frehywot and Mr. Robert Maclean at the Coffee Centre

it could not have originated there. Moreover the trees prevalent in the area are not of the type naturally associated with Coffea Arabica because they grow under similar conditions. The trees of the Yemen are mainly drought resistant, able to survive with sparse rainfall, spiny types of tamerisk, acacia and zyziphus which flourish in dry lands where coffea arabica could not survive.

These facts were gathered by the F.A.O. coffee expert, Dr. Pierre Sylvain,* during surveys he made in the coffee producing areas of Ethiopia and of Yemen.

Moreover Dr. Sylvain has noted among the ten or more varieties of coffea arabica; he found in Ethiopia many with persistent calyces. This he considers a primitive character which has disappeared in later varieties, further: he did not find in Yemen as many types of coffea arabica as he found in Ethiopia, nor did he discover in Yemen any examples of the primitive type with persistent calyces which are common still in Ethiopia.

The period at which Ethiopians began to use coffee as a beverage is unknown. It has been surmised—but this is merely a surmise that the sweet, cherrylike, dark, red ripe fruit was first picked and eaten, while the kernel which provides the now world esteemed beverage was either discarded, or broken up and chewed between the teeth, when found to be pleasant in flavour and stimulating. The people who live in the Ethiopian coffee growing areas today infuse either the

* Pierre Sylvain: **Yemen and its Relation to World Coffee Production.** A. E. Haarer: **Modern Coffee Production.**

(Continued from preceding page)

the industry and in practice fully abide by them. In such a co-operative the growers must be resolute to succeed and prepared to sacrifice present profits by returning them to the industry for the purchase and construction of irrigation equipment, fertilisers where necessary, improved seed and processing equipment, warehousing accommodation, means of transport, even feeder roads to the government-constructed highways.

The countries where coffee production is most successful, employ both methods, government support and guidance and co-operation among the growers.

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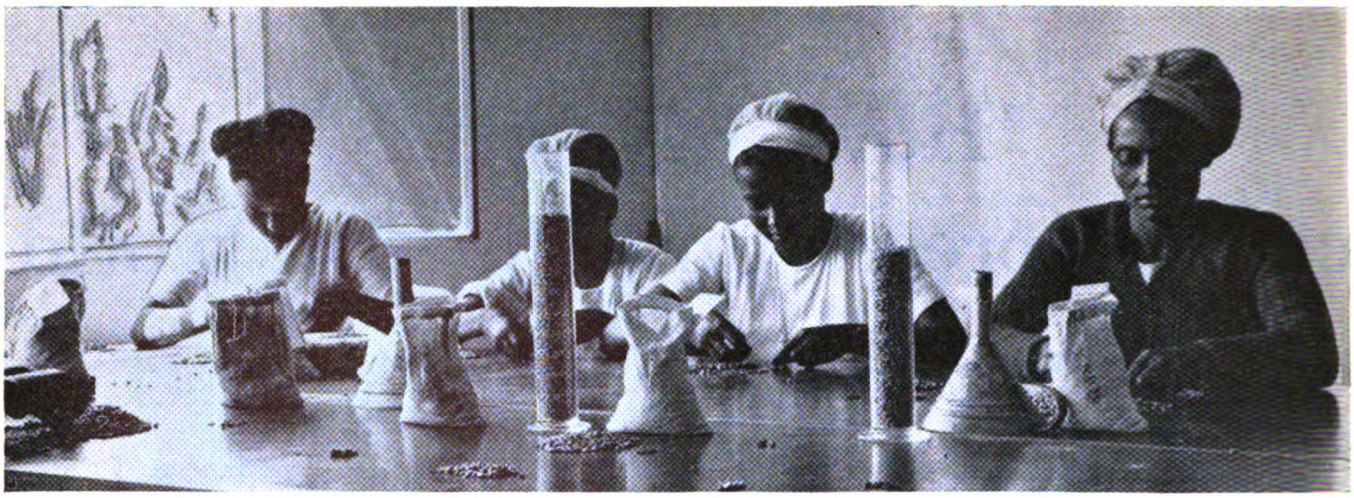

Hand-Picking at the Coffee Centre, Addis Ababa

leaves, or the outer skins and the sweet pulp of the fruit in water, to form a beverage. They also chew the seeds. Sometimes they grind the seeds to powder, mix this with butter and roll the mixture into balls about the size of a walnut, just as they do with sun-dred, powdered meat and cereals to sustain them when travelling. Such balls of powdered meat, butter and cereals were the traditional rations of the soldiers and were used up to 1941, if not later.

James Bruce in his " Travels to Discover the source of the Nile " page 226, volume II, assumes that coffee was first used in Ethiopia by the Gallas ; He says referring to the Gallas:

" It is not a matter of small curiosity to know what is their food, that is so easy of carriage as to enable them to travel immense deserts, that they may, without warning, fall on the towns and villages in the cultivated country of Abyssinia. This is nothing but coffee, roasted till it can be pulverised and then mixed with butter to a consistency which will suffer it to be rolled up in balls and put in a leather bag. A ball of this composition, between the circumference of a shilling and a half-crown, about the size of a billiard ball, keeps them, they say, in strength and spirits during a whole day's fatigue, better than a loaf of bread, or a meal of meat. Its name in Arabia and Abyssinia is Bun, but I appreciated its true name is Caffa from Caffa, the south province of Narea, whence it is first said to have come; it is white in the bean. The coffee-tree is the wood of the country, produced spontaneously everywhere in great abundance from Caffa to the banks of the Nile."

In Uganda the chewing of the type of coffee indigenous there was already an established practice among the Baganda when the first Europeans arrived in the eighteenth century. It seems likely that it may have been used in one way or other by people living where coffee grew wild from very early times.

The date at which coffee was just exported from Ethiopia is also unknown. The " Periplus," written in the 1st Century A.D. and the " Christian Topography " of Comas, written in the 6th Century, make no mention of coffee. This is not surprising for coffee was not yet a commodity saleable abroad, since none of the other countries yet consumed it. The merchants who wrote the " Periplus " and the "Christian Topography" mentioned only the saleable commodities of their trade: gold, ivory, tortoise-shell, civet, myrrh, cinnamon and other products in demand at their time."

In Ethiopia itself coffee consumption in any form, was probably still confined to the areas where it grew and was regarded as of small importance as compared with the highly esteemed honey-wine, "tedj" resembling the Anglo-Saxon mead, and the humbler, but nevertheless popularly appreciated cereal—brewed " talla " or beer. These were consumed throughout Ethiopia by the Christian majority, if not by the Moslems, to whom Mahommed had prohibited intoxicants. Coffee in time was to be pre-eminently the beverage of the Moslems everywhere, but by no means confined to them.

The Portuguese Chaplain, Francisco Alvarez, who chronicled the doings of the first Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia, which sojourned there from 1520 to 1927, is silent concerning coffee. Again this is not surprising : coffee was not yet known to Portugal at that time. Alvarez and his colleagues, as honoured guests, courteously received, were given the best available everywhere; tej was the noble drink considered worthy of presentation to the guests of the Emperor, and where tej was not available talla would be offered. The same applies to the experiences recorded by the Jesuit Missionaries who followed Alvarez.

There is reason, however, to believe that coffee had been carried from Ethiopia to Yemen earlier than the first Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia. An Arabian Sheikh in a treatise written in 1566 declared that a mullah, named Djimaleddin Abou Elfrager, introduced Ethiopian coffee into Arabia in the fifteenth century, where it was regarded as superior to an infusion formerly made from the leaves of celastrus edulis, chat. Others would place the importation of coffee from Ethiopia as

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early as the fourteenth century, but this claim appears to have little to support it.

Coffee as a beverage spread among the moslems of Arabia to their holy cities of Mecca and Medina and thence to Syria ; from Syria and Aden it passed to Cairo and throughout the Middle East by the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Coffee arabica however became a source of friction in the world of Islam, and was denounced as an intoxicant. It appears the brew was at that time made from the cherry-like fruit, not yet from the seeds within, as now. The fruit was liable to ferment and no doubt it often did, and so would become intoxicating and accordingly would conflict with orthodox Moslem religions tenets. In 1511 coffee drinking was forbidden in Mecca by the governor of the holy city, Kaine Beg. His successor however permitted it to be resumed, though this was not the end of the controversy. Coffee drinking reached Turkey about 1554, in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent under whose rule the Ottoman Empire reached its greatest extent. The conquering Turks undoubtedly carried the knowledge of coffee to Eastern Europe.

The preparation of coffee had by this time improved ; the seeds were dried and ground to powder, coffee had become the favourite beverage of Moslem courts and kings. There were coffee houses in Damascus, Aleppo and Constantinople now known as Istanbul. The coffee houses of the Levant were often richly carpeted; the customers reclined on the cushioned divans, diverted by singers, dancers and story-tellers. Luxurious as were the public coffee houses, the houses of the Turkish State Officials were infinitely more magnificent. Here coffee was served in cups of the most exquisite china with golden saucers, as described by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the British Ambassador to Turkey, in her "Turkish Letters" of 1717-18.

A German named Rauwolf was the first to bring news of coffee to Europe. He tasted it in Aleppo in 1573 and described it on his return to Germany. A Venetian, Pietro delle Valle, brought coffee from Turkey to Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century and soon there were numbers of coffee houses in the Piazza San Marco. Coffee was on sale in Rome in 1625.

Before coffee actually reached England English seafarers had brough news of it. In the Shakespeare plays much is heard of the courts and kings of foreign lands. An echo of the fame of coffee, which had not yet actually reached England, so far as we know, is found in " The Tempest " believed to have been produced in the year 1611.

In Act 1, Scene 2, the words of the monster, Caliban, appear to refer to coffee, a decoction of " berries in water," which was so marvellously delectable as to win the monster's affection and induce him to reveal the secrets of the isle.

" The island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
" Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest first.
"Thou strok'dst me and made much of me; wouldst give me
" Water with berries in't and teach me how
" To name the bigger light, and how the less.
" That burn by day and night; and then I lov'd thee,
" And showed thee all the qualities o' the isle."

The Hand Coffee Pulper, for processing by the wet method, shown to growers at the Coffee Centre, Addis Ababa

In 1669 Sulieman Aga, the Turkish Ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV, brought coffee to Paris. Isaac D'Israeli, in his " Curiosities of Literature " describes Sulieman Aga's elaborate coffee parties. " On bended knee the black slaves of the Ambassador, arrayed in the most gorgeous costumes, served the choicest Mocha coffee, hot strong and fragrant, poured out in tiny cups of eggshell porcelain with saucers of gold and silver, placed on embroidered silk doilies, fringed with gold bullion, to the grand dancers, who fluttered their fans with many grimaces, bending their piquant faces, berouged, bepowdered and bepatched, over the new and steaming beverage."

It was said that at his coffee parties Sulieman Aga sought to learn from the gossip of the French nobility and men about town whether the Sultan in the further advance against south-eastern Europe he contemplated, could safely assume that France would not intervene. There was certainly abundant food for gossip in the Paris of Louis XIV and plenty of reason to anticipate that the king would be far too much occupied with other matters to permit of his sending forces to combat a Turkish attack on other nations. The king was already deeply involved with sections of his own French subjects and had also foreign wars of his own to wage. In 1667 he had begun the long series of wars with Spain which continued with little intermission till the end of his

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reign. His overweening ambition plunged him into war also with Holland in 1672. His most devout Roman Catholic subjects were estranged by his conflict with the Pope. He was embroiled with his Protestant subjects, whose citizen rights and freedom to exercise their religion had been guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes in 1598. He was already beginning to restrict these liberties thereby he was rousing the bitter hostility of a large, prosperous and industrious section of French society who would presently emigrate abroad to the detriment of the French economy and the advantage of rival nations. Moreover he was rousing a smouldering storm of hostility in England and all Protestant Europe which would come to a head in due time.

All this the Ambassador learnt at his coffee parties. It was welcome news to Turkish ruling circles. Clearly in view of his other wars and embroilments Louis XIV would be too much occupied elsewhere to impose any obstacle to the Turkish advance. Accordingly Turkish forces marched to beseige Vienna in 1863.

Nevertheless, though the powerful French sovereign gave no assistance to the weaker nations, under the leadership of John Sobieski, King of Poland, they were victorious; the Turks were heavily routed.

Their fleeing troops left behind great stores of booty. Among the masses of goods of seemingly greater worth—and here is the point of the story—were hundreds of bags of coffee. No one cared for these bags of green berries, except a Pole, named Kolschitzky, who had done service during the seige and requested these strange beans as his share of the spoils. With this booty he opened Vienna's first coffee house. In after years when the beverage had become one of the essentials in the life of the gay city a statue was erected to honour Kolschitzky by the Guild of Coffee Makers.

By this time coffee houses had already become popular in England. Though originally regarded as a medicine for the sick, coffee had early established itself as a delicious and stimulating beverage in intellectual circles. Jacob Jacobs is said to have opened the first English coffee house in 1650 in the University City of Oxford at the Angel in the parish of St. Peter in the East. In 1652 a London merchant, Daniel Edwards, who traded to Turkey brought home with him a quantity of green coffee. He instructed his servant, Pasqua, a Greek youth from Smrna, who understood how to roast and prepare the coffee and to serve some to his friends. They became so enamoured of the new beverage and called so often to share it that the merchant decided to establish Pasqua in a regular coffee house.

It has been said the venture was first opened in St. George's Yard, Lombard Street, but the London coffee buyers' association, in presenting a plaque to commemorate London's first coffee house declared the original site was in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. The plaque was affixed there and was unveiled in 1925 by the Lord Mayor of that year.

Thus Ethiopian coffee, by way of Arabia, made its way in Europe. By 1675 there were 3,000 coffee houses in England. They were centres where wits, poets and politicians gathered to discuss their special interests, and the events of the day. They were welcomed as centres of intellectual conversation where the beverage was stimulating. Newspapers were provided for the patrons to read there. Coffee could be purchased for one or two pennies a cup. The coffee houses were known as " penny unniversites,' as entrance cost only a penny, and it was considered much could be learnt from the literature customers could read and more could be imbibed from the learned conversation in which they might participate.

Charles II, in the thick of his conflict with Parliament, conceived the idea that the coffee houses were centres of political agitation. He issued a royal proclamation declaring they were the resort of disaffected persons "who devised and spread abroad divers false, malicious and scandalous reports to the defamation of His Majesty's Government and to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the realm."

Nevertheless by 1715 there were more than 2,000 coffee houses in London alone. Attempts to prevent the importation of coffee were defeated by smuggling and were accordingly abandoned.

When England had settled down after the apheaval of 1688 which had replaced James II by William III, coffee houses were regarded as highly reputable among all ranks of society. The upper classes drank coffee for breakfast and in the evening after dinner. London was said to consume more coffeee than any city in the world.

The famous Dr. Samuel Johnson was no " wine bitter" as Lord Macaulay has recorded. This was sufficiently remarkable at a time when drunkenness was common among the nobility and gentry and educated men considered it no shame to fall inebriated from the table and be carried to bed by their valets. Dr. Johnson on the contrary was an habitue of coffee. With a group of eniment men he formed a club at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street where coffee was the habitual beverage which stimulated the brilliant conversation Dr. Johnson enjoyed, in company with companions who, as he said, could " throw the ball back " to him. Macaulay declares this club became so formidable in the commonwealth of letters that its verdicts on new books " were speedily known all over London and were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in a day or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk maker and the pastry cook." The members, to quote Macaulay once more, included : " Oliver Goldsmith " the representative of poetry and light literature, Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the arts, Burke of political eloquence and political philosophy. There, too, were Gibbon, the greatest historian and Sir William Jones the greatest linguist of the age. Garrick brought to the meetings his inexhaustible pleasantry, his incomparable mimicry, and his consummate knowledge of stage effects." Two others Macaulay mentions as " among the most constant attendants " of the club : Bennet Langley " distinguished by his skill in Greek literature " and his friend Topham Beauclerk " renowned for his amours, his knowledge of the gay world, his fastidiuos taste and his sarcastic wit." James Boswell whom Macaulay dubs " little more than an habitual sot," " a coxcomb and a bore " " regarded with little respect " by the others was nevertheless for twenty years Dr. Johnson's constant friend and disciple, and as all the world knows, was subsequently the biographer who has done probably more to keep the learned doc-

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Lorries laden with Coffee wait their turn at the Addis Ababa Coffee Centre

tor's memory green than any of his own writings. David Garrick had been a pupil of Dr. Johnson and they had gone up to London from Lichfield together in 1737.

The club at the Turk's Head continued until 1783, when it was followed by the Essex Head Club, whose members erected a statue of its founder in St. Paul's cathedral.

Dr. Johnson was early interested in Ethiopia. His first book was a translation of Father Jeremy Lobo's "Voyage to Abyssinia," "Rasselas," his most popular work, was written in 1759. This romance was based on "A New History of Ethiopia" by the learned Ludolphus.

It may be added to Samuel Johnson's credit, that he was in advance of his age in opposition to the slave trade which so long disgraced Europe.

It is said "The Spectator" was initiated over the coffee cups and that the formation of Lloyd's great insurance company was laid at the coffee house of Edward Lloyd about 1698. Swift, Pope, Addison Dryden and Pepys whose names are still famous were habitués of the coffee houses in the heyday of these institutions.

Coffee was destined to be largely supplanted by tea, but in the seventeenth century tea was both scarce and expensive; it was occasionally sold as a rarity in coffee houses. It was first advertised for sale in 1658 at the Sultanese Head Coffee House in Sweeting's Rents by the Royal Exchange. Thomas Garraway, founder of the coffee house of the same name, is said to have been the first English dealer in tea. The East India Company however became extremely active in promoting the sale of tea and the new beverage became so popular that by the end of the eighteenth century the annual consumption exceeded 2 lbs. per head of the population.

While coffee consumption in England had been reaching its climax, the beverage had been spreading in Europe. In Germany it had some difficulty in making headway against beer and at first was more popular among women than among men. Nevertheless its progress throughout Europe was continuous, and except in Russia, its popularity was never seriously threatened by tea. Coffee houses were opened in Holland in 1664, in Hamburg in 1687, in Leipzig in 1684, in Danzig and Gothenburg in 1700, in Berlin in 1721, in Sweden and Denmark in 1756 and Moscow somewhat earlier.

In Paris there were many famous coffee houses. Their frequenters were probably more given to political agitation than their contemporaries in London. Voltaire Marat, Robespierre Danton and Napoleon Buonaparte are all said to have frequented the Café Procope. Beside politics and the newspapers, chess and variety entertainments diverted the patrons of various coffee houses; food was also added, and the café became a permanent institution in France and other continental coutries.

Coffee gradually spread to America. The emigrants there were from the coffee drinking countries of Europe but heavy duties as yet rendered what was to be America's favourite beverage too expensive to become popular. The first American coffee house was opened by a woman in Boston in 1690. It was not until the "Boston Tea-Party" of December 16, 1773, when three cargoes of tea were thrown into the harbour as a protest against the British Government's tea tax, that coffee became the American drink, as it is today.

This delectable coffee which was winning popularity throughout most of of the world was all coffee arabica which had originated in the Ethiopian highlands, the seeds of which the Arabs of Yemen had imported and were growing in their mountain terraces. They were still importing it from Ethiopia, as well as growing it in Yemen. They were exporting two types of coffee—one

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with long seeds, such as that grown at Harrar, one with rounder seeds' like those of the coffees of western Ethiopia. The young leaves of some of the plants were bronze tipped; in others the young leaves were green tipped; both sorts were found also in Ethiopia.

Up to the close of the seventeenth century the Arabs of Yemen kept the coffee trade almost exclusively in their own hands. The Ethiopian ports had been occupied by Turkey in the middle of the sixteenth century. Ethiopia was consequently hemmed in and prevented from maintaining direct commerce with the outer world.

The resources of the Yemen would in any case have become too restricted to supply the world demand for coffee. Moreover the European nations which had acquired colonial possessions in tropical and sub-tropical countries where coffee could flourish were not disposed to remain dependent on the Yemen for their supplies of so profitable a commodity.

The Yemen was in regular seafaring connection with India and Ceylon ; it is not surprising therefore that coffee seeds were transported and planted in those countries. A Moslem pilgrim, named Baba Budan, is said to have procured some coffee seeds in Yemen and to have planted them near his home in Chikmagalur in the mountains of Mysore. Coffee was subsequently transported from Yemen to the Malabar coast. The British in India became active in growing coffea arabica to replace the inferior indigenous coffees. By 1900 Arabica was being cultivated under their auspices in Mysore and Coorg, on the southern slopes of the Western Ghats, in the Nilgiri Hills, in Travancore and in the hilly areas of Madras. In the course of this cultivation a hardy, disease-resistant variety of arabica was developed, known as "Kent's" coffee, which has been successfully grown in other parts of the world as well as in India.

The Dutch had however been earlier in the field of coffee than were the British. They are said to have started planting in Ceylon in 1658 and to have taken seedlings from the Malabar Coast to Java in 1695. Three years later all these plants were destroyed by earthquake and flood, but more seeds were immediately procured from the Malabar coast. From these plantings all the East India colonies of the Netherlands were supplied with seeds. Moreover a first consignment of 894 lbs. of coffee was shipped to Amsterdam in 17011. Five years earlier, in 1706, a coffee plant had been sent from Java to the botanical gardens in Amsterdam. It flourished there and produced seed and seedlings which were distributed to botanical gardens in other European cities.

In 1714 a young plant about five feet high of this coffea arabica introduced from the Malabar coast to Java and thence to Amsterdam, was presented by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam to King Louis XIV of France. The king had it transferred to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. Some of the progeny of this plant were despatched by the king to the French colony in the island of Martinique which he was advised had a suitable climate for coffee cultivation.

Lieutenant Desclieux was charged with the duty of conveying the plants to the island. Setting forth in 1723 he tended the plants with every care, but the voyage by the sailing ships in those days was protracted by tempest succeeded by calm. All save one of the seedlings withered and died. On the sole survivor the Lieutenant lavished infinite solitude, sharing with it his own meagre ration of fresh water. On his arrival in Martinique he planted it on his estate there. Its seedlings provided the source from which cultivated coffee on the island originated. It was probably the ancestor of the vast plantations of Brizal, as well as of those of French Guiana.

The Governor of Jamaica, Sir Nicholas Lawes, introduced a coffea arabica to Jamaica in 1718, some say 1732, from whence it was spread through the British West Indies. About the same time the Dutch planted coffee in Surinam.

The French commenced efforts to grow coffea arabica on the island of Réunion in 1708, when seeds were obtained from nocha. These however failed to germinate. When a second batch was brought only two plants sprouted, but at a third attempt a small plantation was produced. The coffee thus raised on Réunion named "Bourbon," and from it was propagated one of the two principal varieties of coffea arabica known to world commerce.

The story of the progress of coffee in the western hemisphere is intricate and the records are conflicting. Coffee is said to have reached Santo Domingo in 1735, Cuba in 1748, Poro tRico in 1750, Costa Rica in 1779, El Salvador in 1840, Guatemala about 1750, Mexico in 1790, Vera Cruz in 1817, the Hawaiian Islands in 1825.

The French are said to have introduced it to Tonkin and Indo-China in 1887. Coffee planting is said to have begun in Queensland, Australia in 1896.

Thus Ethiopian coffee spread by way of Arabia throughout the world. The earliest European plantings were chance specimens obtained in the Yemen, mainly of the variety classed botanically as, *coffea arabica* Linnaeus var. *arabica*. *Coffea arabica* Linnaeus, var. *bourbon* which the French cultivated on Réunion Island. Dr. Sylvain in his researches in Ethiopian forests, where coffee grows wild, found types resembling bourbon coffee very plentiful there, but after all, bourbon coffee had come from Yemen and the Yemen coffee had all originally been transplanted from Ethiopia.

In supplying coffea arabica to the world Yemen was first in the field. The West Indies then became the largest supplier, Java next took the lead and was later supplanted by Brazil and other South American countries, Brazil supplying approximately three-quarters of the world's consumption and controlling the market.

At the dawn of the twentieth century the United States of America habitually consumed half the world's coffee crop, the average consumption being eleven to twelve lbs. per annum per head, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia consumed only about one lb. a head each year. Germany used 6 to 7 lbs. per head, France 5 lbs. a head, Austria, Hungary 2 lbs., Holland 14 to 15 lbs. a head, the highest per capital consumption of any people. Consumption in Norway and Sweden was also high.

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Drivers' Rest-House at the Coffee Centre, Addis Ababa

Coffees not derived from Ethiopia

COFFEA CANEPHORA (ROBUSTA)

While coffea arabica is the main coffee sold in the markets of the world, there are also other types of coffee. Of these, the most important commercially is Coffea Canephora, known to the trade as "Robusta", which supplies approximately 10 per cent. of the world market. Its flavour is regarded as inferior to arabica; it is mainly used as a "filler," to blend with choicer and higher priced types. Robusta is indigenous to certain parts of Africa; it is found growing wild in equatorial forests extending from the West Coast to Uganda. It requires a warm humid climate and a rainfall spread throughout the year. It flourishes well on the West Coast on the shores of Lake Victoria and in suitable areas of the Belgian Congo.

Though a so-called "mild," non-bitter coffee, its quality is rated much below that of coffea arabica. It grows at lower altitudes and is a larger tree than arabica for it grows to a height of 15 to 30 feet and may have in certain situations a trunk of eight inches in diameter. The white flowers are large and sometimes flushed with pink. The fruit and the seeds within are larger than those of coffea arabica. Robusta will bear two years after planting, whereas arabica takes five years to mature.

The Africans of Uganda were already cultivating robusta beside their homes when the first Europeans arrived. They were, and are now, accustomed to chew the beans, especially when travelling on long journeys. They use robusta in their ritual of blood-brotherhood. Two men desirous of establishing perpetual fraternity between them will take one of the coffee berries, break it open and take out the two seeds. Each of the two men will smear one of the seeds with his own blood. Then the seeds will be exchanged and solemnly eaten as the symbol of mutual brotherhood.

Originally it appears the Baganda, when desirous of growing coffee near his home, would simply cut a branch about three feet long and an inch thick from a tree in the forest, and bending it like a bow would plant either end in the ground; stems and roots would

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Coffee production and its problems

Coffea Arabica needs very careful cultivation. It does not thrive in the moist hot atmosphere of the tropical lowlands; it needs the cooler air of the highlands. Nevertheless it must have sufficient moisture and this is more essential to it than any amount of manure. Abundant, well distributed rain is therefore necessary. Its growth is not encouraged by heavy, continuous rain, but such rain at the appropriate seasons is necessary in order to provide moisture in the subsoil on which the plants may depend in the drier parts of the year. Many growers have found a mulch of grass or leaves helpful in conserving moisture in the soil. The coffee growers of Harar where the best Ethiopian coffee is grown and, where the coffee is carefully tended, practice mulching as part of their time-honoured tradition.

In its natural surroundings, where it is found growing wild under the shade of tall trees, coffee is protected from the full blaze of the sun and also from wind and night frosts which have proved disastrous on more than one occasion in Brazil. Shade is particularly necessary to seedlings and young plants.

Where coffee has to be artificially planted the question of what shade cover to plant with it is in constant debate. Whether the shade cover should be temporary in the form of crops which will only be used while the coffee plants are young, or whether trees which will overtop the coffee and remain permanently should be used is a question which has been decided in different territories in different ways. If permanent shade trees are to be planted what trees to use and how far apart to space them are matters of difficulty requiring long experience and much experiment in the actual locality where the plantation is situated. The shade trees must not compete unduly with the coffee for root space, moisture and nutriants. They must grow healthily in the environment selected. Their foliage must not be too dense to allow of sufficient light filtering through. They must not be subject to pests and diseases which injure coffee and they must be of a type beside which coffee can grow comfortably, which is not the case with all types of trees.

In the coffee forests of Ethiopia all these difficult questions have been solved in the course of nature. The wild coffee trees and the tall wild trees towering above them, all beautiful in their kind, have grown up in their natural home. Soil and climate are perfectly suited to them and they are in harmony with each other. These forests are indeed lovely and one may see there the charming Goreza monkeys, with their black plush-like fur and long white silky mane, playing happily among the green branches.

Owners of these forests possess almost inexhaustible wealth ; if they will but occasionally prune the tall trees to prevent the shade cover from becoming too dense and will remove such of the undergrowth as may interfere with the branching of the coffee, and if they will give occasional care to the coffee trees themselves, these wonderful plants will continue flourishing and bearing, new trees gradually replacing old, as they have done for countless generations almost untended.

There is in fact nowhere else in the world where the owner of coffee trees can make money so easily as here in these immemorial forests. Without expenditure of capital the owner can have his coffee harvested by engaging some humble folk to gather the coffee for him, on the promise that they may keep a proportion—say a third of the fruit to sell on their own account.

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grow from either end of the bent branch; a bush would form and in a couple of years would fruit. It was customary for guests to plant each a tree beside the home of their host; it is said few Baganda planted their own coffee as this was almost invariably done by their friends.

Coffea Liberica

Liberian coffee is of lesser economic value than either arabica or robusta. It has large fruit which is black when ripe and grows vigorously in hot and moist tropical regions, where arabica could not thrive. Its flavour is, however, considered inferior, though it is liked in Liberia. A fairly small quantity of it is exported for blending on account of its lower price. It grows up to 40 feet tall. Its fruit also is larger than that of other coffees. Its big glossy leaves, when young are tinged with pink. Its large flowers are white. Indigenous to the Monrovia neighbourhood, it has been planted in other parts of West Africa. In ornamental gardens it is prized for its handsome appearence. Liberian coffee is grown in Malaya, British and Dutch Guiana, on the Ivory coast, in the Spanish island of Fernando Po, Spanish Guinea, and other parts of the West Coast of Africa.

Excelsa Coffee

Coffea excelsa, alone of all the coffees, will flourish in hot semi-arid areas. It grows from 20 to 50 or even 65 feet high, with a clean trunk, the lower branches disappearing. Excelsa was first discovered in the region near Lake Chad. It is found near the Sari River and is sometimes called Shari coffee. The flowers are white or pinkish with green stamens. Neither flowers nor fruit are larger than those of coffea arabica. Little excelsa coffee is marketed on account of its inferior quality.

There are numbers of other coffees in Africa: Senegal, Ibo, Zanquebar, Inhambane, Ghirinda, and others, but all these are of little or no importance to international markets.

Indigenous Asiatic Coffees

Coffees of sorts were indigenous in Central and South India, in the more tropical areas of the Himalayas, in Bengal, Assam, Siam and Java before coffea arabica was introduced. Four nearly allied species are identified by botanists as Coffea Bengalensis, C. Travencorensis and C. Fragrens. Bengalensis seems to have been cultivated on a small scale before the advent of coffea arabica, but neither bengalensis or any other indigenous Asian coffee obtained a position of importance in the markets of the world.

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In situations less fortunate than in these forests where growth and reproduction is a natural process, coffee is propagated from seed, by cuttings and by budding or grafting. Propagation by seed is nowadays usually preferred. Apparently coffee seeds rapidly lose their viability. Tests made at the Lyamungu research station in Tanganyika showed that 95 per cent. of seeds seven weeks old germinated in ten weeks. Of twenty-five weeks' old seed only 60 per cent germinated and these only after twenty-three weeks. For commercial success it is wise therefore, as far as possible, to sow new seed.

In starting a coffee plantation the soil and the situation must be carefully selected. The beds should not be more than four feet wide with paths three feet wide between them so that the cultivators may pass between the beds and may reach over them for sowing, weeding and watering.

Shade for the young plants is provided by various methods. At the Jimma agricultural school under the direction of Dr. Hugh Rouk in 1957, shade for the seed-beds was provided by a framework of local bamboo made by the students, cut grass was used to cover the frames, as it could be easily adjusted to let through more or less light as required.

A. E. Haarar, who has had a life-long experience in coffee growing in East Africa and has studied the methods employed in many countries recommends a low shade of 18 inches over the beds containing the seedlings. The uprights of the shade frames are spaced at intervals along either side of the beds with support runners of wire or wood connecting them. On these supports mats eight or ten feet long are laid. This matting may consist of spilt bamboo, sorghum stalks, or strong reeds fastened side by side with interstices for the light to filter through. The mats being wider than the beds, rest on the runners. They can be rolled back in cloudy weather or when the beds are being watered, also for hardening the seedlings to sunshine in early morning and late afternoon.

The question whether permanent shade is necessary or is only required while the plants are quite young probably depends to a large extent on the climate and the altitude. In Colombia and Costa Rica permanent shade is considered necessary. In Brazil and Kenya shade is used only when the plants are quite young. The Columbian planters hold that shade trees not only give protection from too powerful sunshine, but also prevent soil deterioration. They argue that in Brazil where shade is not used the trees bear well for a few years but the sun burns from the soil elements the trees need. Therefore the coffee trees of Colombia where the soil is protected by shade are consistently heavier producers than trees of the same age in Brazil where shade is not used.

Haarar and others however claim that if young plants are gradually hardened to grow in the sun they grow more sturdy than when grown under permanent shade.

When sowing coffee the seeds are either sown somewhat thickly in batches or rows and the seedlings planted out in proper spacing as soon as possible, or they are spaced at the proper distance when sown.

A Plantation of Young Coffee Trees at Jimma

Great care has to be taken that the soil is neither too wet nor too dry when the seed is sown and that it is kept at a proper degree of moisture during the germination of the seed. The transplanting of the seedlings requires both skill and care. Coffee growing is in fact a highly technical matter at every stage. The hole where the seedling is planted should not be less than three feet in width, nor should the trees be too close together. In areas where rainfall is less than 50 inches a year the trees should not be less than 10 feet apart. Some authorities declare mulching, weeding, pruning and topping to prevent the trees growing too tall for easy harvesting the fruit necessary. These are all matters which require experience, care and thought.

Coffea Arabica is an evergreen tree. The leaves are oval, somewhat like those of the laurel, and are usually from four to six inches long and from one and half to two inches wide. They are of a deep, rich green with a glossy surface The lovely white or cream, Jasmine-like flowers grow in clusters from the axiles of the leaves. They have a tubular, five pointed corolla and five stamens. The coffee tree in bloom is extremely lovely. A plantation, still more a grove of coffee in the forest is a scene of delight. The perfume has a rare, delicious fragrance.

At the Porto Rico Agricultural Experiment Station trials have been made with a view to using coffee flowers to manufacture scent. It was found the flowers could be gathered at the rate of one lb. per hour per man ; the average extraction of oil was about 0.5 per cent.

In Ethiopia where coffee grows so readily and where the civet cat, the producer of one of the main ingredients of perfume, is reared as a domestic animal, the manufacture of an exquisite coffee-flower perfume might be practicable. Ethiopia has however an abundance of sweet scented flowers which are of no known commercial value.

The lovely flowers of the coffee last only a few days. They are succeeded by clusters of glistening green berries showing pale among the dark leaves. Gradually they turn yellow, then golden-brown and eventually a deep cherry-red. Hence they are commercially termed " cherries "—coffee cherries—more precious than their well-known namesakes which flourish in Europe.

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Though in Ethiopia, as elsewhere, the ripe coffee berries are usually deep cherry-red, rose-pink and even whitish-pink berries are also found, as was demonstrated to us by Mr. Hugh Rouk at the Jimma Agricultural School. Whether from these pale coloured berries coffee can be produced of a quality equal to that made from the red we do not know. It may possibly be that they produce a more delicately flavoured beverage.

Though the berries of Coffea Arabica resemble the true cherries in colour and general appearance, they are slightly smaller, less round and more elongated. The Harar variety is larger and longer than the coffees of western Ethiopia. For this reason it became known to the trade as "Harar Longberry". Formerly the coffees of western Ethiopia were known as "Abyssinian" coffee and the coffee of Harar, the Chercher Highlands and the Arussi province were termed, "Harari," "Harar Mocha" or "Harar Mocha Longberry." Ethiopian coffees are now better known and consequently more accurately designated.

The coffee "cherry" is covered by a thick, pulpy skin, within which is a mucilaginous yellowish jelly, sweet to the taste. This encloses two seeds, the coffee "berries" of commerce, rounded on the outer side and flat where the two seeds fit together in the centre. Each of the two seeds has a groove down the centre from which germination takes place. Each seed is enclosed separately in a membranous cover or "endocarp," resembling parchment in colour and brittle when dried. This is commercially termed the "parchment." When the skin and the jelly have been removed and this membrane is still adherent, the coffee is commercially known as "parchment coffee."

Inside the parchment is a delicate seed-skin, or "spermoderm," commercially termed the "silverskin."

The seed when stripped of all these outer coverings is a soft, bluish green and is hard and tough.

Occasionally malformations occur; instead of the berry containing two seeds with flat sides facing each other, it may contain only a single seed, completely circular or oval called a "peaberry." Or the seed may be of unusually large size and irregular shape, being literally two seeds joined together ; this type of berry is called a "monster." A rudimentary speck of tissue is often found next to the peaberry. This is the second seed which on account of some accident was not fertilised at birth, or did not mature because it did not receive sufficient nutriants.

When the coffee has been gathered there are two methods of processing it, known as the "dry" method and the "wet" method. When processed by the dry method the coffee is either laid out to dry in the sun or subjected to artificial heat in a mechanical dryer. Sun-drying is most frequently used, as it is most economical. The coffee is exposed to the sun on ground sheets or mats, as was formerly usual, but nowadays it is considered preferable to dry the coffee on tables or trays raised from the ground with a basis of fine-meshed wire-netting or of some substance such as split bamboo which has no smell and permits the air to pass through the interstices to assist the drying.

Coffee should never be dried on the ground itself, for thereby the flavour is spoilt. The professional coffee-tasters employed by the coffee buyers detect what they describe as a "groundy" flavour. The coffee is accordingly declassed and will not obtain a high price, whatever may have been its merits when growing on the tree, or it may be rejected altogether, moreover coffee which has fallen to the ground is apt to get small stones or crumbs of dry earth mixed with it and these cause trouble later.

In Brazil and some other countries the coffee is dried on large cement floors called "barbecues." However if it is sun-dried, the coffee must be thinly spread and must be constantly turned to enable it to dry evenly.

When fully dry the "cherries" must be "hulled" or "decorticated" by removing their outer coverings. This was anciently done by pounding with pestle and mortar, or with stones or heavy rollers. Nowadays hulling by machinery is considered necessary, as by pounding many seeds are broken.

After the hulls have been removed the seeds must be winnowed to clean them of the fragments of the outer coverings which may adhere to, or be mixed with them. Moreover if the coffee is hand-picked after machine cleaning it will fetch a better price. Hand-picking is done by placing the coffee on slowly moving belts, beside which skilled women hand-pickers are sitting and are keeping a keen look-out for deformed, broken, or discoloured seeds, seeds of other plants and pieces of earth or stone which the machine cannot differentiate and which it is their business to remove.

In the dry method of processing coffee, the outer red skin, the mucilaginous jelly, the "parchment" and the "silverskin," all after being dried by the sun, are removed together. Anciently this was done by pounding. In Ethiopia this was, and to a certain extent, is still done with a pole-like pestle in a wooden mortar. Such primitive methods have long been out-classed. Apart from the fact that many beans are broken in pounding and many are imperfectly stripped of their outer covering, pounding by hand is far too slow a method of dealing with the large quantities involved in modern commerce. The grower who has taken the trouble to grow and to gather a good coffee crop should never attempt to decorticate it by primitive means. If he is unable to procure adequate machinery he should send it to a licensed cleaner and grader to be decorticated. He is handicapped if the commercial cleaner and grader is not equipped for dealing with his coffee by modern methods.

This is where Government or Co-operative assistance to the coffee growers in the establishment of modern processing plants is invaluable.

The wet method, introduced originally in the West Indies for processing the high quality "Blue Mountain" coffee grown there, has now superseded the dry method of processing for high class, highly priced coffee. It has brought about the institution of central processing plants instituted with government or co-operative assistance and various types of hand-processing plants which farmers in some areas are helped to purchase.

The wet method is much more costly than the dry method and if care and good judgment is lacking it introduces much graver hazards to the ultimate flavour of the coffee than the mere breaking of beans.

However coffee processed by the wet method, called "washed" coffee, alone obtains a good price in the world market today. It is important to note that experi-

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ments in Kenya in processing Coffea Arabica by the dry method, though the greatest possible care was taken at every stage, the final product was in no case classed as good quality coffee. It was rated to a lower value, both when raw and roasted, and when sampled in the cup was pronounced " sourish " to " sour."

The dry process is frequently applied to Robusta coffee; the trees are usually so tall that hand-gathering is difficult. The coffee is therefore often allowed to dry on the tree and is simply shaken down on to mats or cloths Even though dried on the tree, the coffee requires further drying in the sun before it can be hulled. Coffee gathered from the accessible branches when ripe should never be mixed with that dried on the trees; it should be hulled and sold separately, as its flavour is greatly preferred to that of coffee dried on the tree which has to be sold for a lower price.

Coffee should always be gathered when fully red-ripe and juicy—neither over-ripe nor under-ripe. To mix green, brown and yellow cherries with the red-ripe ones fully matured will spoil the taste and the appearance of the coffee. It is here that the absentee owner of a coffee forest who leaves coffee and shade trees absolutely untended and leaves the gathering of the coffee to unsupervised and untutored local villagers suffers reduced profits for himself and conduces to producing a poor reputation for the national coffee product. His shade trees have become too dense and his coffee too tall for lack of pruning; the coffee can only in part be gathered by hand and the undergrowth is too dense to allow of sheets being so placed as to catch all the coffee shaken from the tree ; thus a quantity falls on the ground.

To avoid gathering unripe coffee, taking only the ripe " cherries," and leaving the unripe to mature further, necessitates returning three, four or five times to every tree. Untaught, illiterate, unsupervised gatherers cannot be expected, and do not in practice, take all these precautions. Thus the coffee of the splendid coffee forests, despite all the natural advantages of its situation, may prove as a beverage inferior to that grown with infinite difficulty in less favoured lands.

The dry process is used to a large extent in Brazil and also in Ethiopia and Yemen. The harvest in Brazil is so vast that to use the wet method would involve very great capital expenditure. Ethiopia and Yemen, the ancient producers, have been deterred by the conservative ideology of owners and planters and by lack of capital from introducing a new, more costly and complicated method except to a small extent.

The Ethiopian Government during the past decade has endeavoured to improve and to extend the cultivation of coffee, to ensure that it shall only be gathered when ripe and to introduce the wet method of processing.

The Development Bank of Ethiopia has made loans to coffee growers. Coffee experts employed by the bank have been stationed in the coffee growing areas to advise the growers, a coffee processing plant was erected by the Bank at Suntu for the benefit of the growers.

The Jimma Agricultural School, opened in September 1952, was staffed by the college of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in Oklahoma, U.S.A., under a contract made with that College and the American Mission to Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Government provided two gashas of land and the buildings for class-rooms, students' dormitories and recreation rooms, quarters for the staff and farm buildings, as well as the running expenses. the American Mission paid the salaries of the American staff.

The Jimma Agricultural School established several coffee plantations under Dr. Hugh Rouk, who had worked with Dr. Pierre Sylvain, the F.A.O. coffee expert. Dr. Rouk has since taken his doctorate in the U.S.A., specialising in coffee production. The Jimma Agricultural school taught coffee processing by the wet method and endeavoured, with some success to inculcate the method among the farmers of the locality. Nevertheless much more will have to be done to secure its widespread acceptance among the coffee growers of Ethiopia, both by teaching and by the provision of equipment or the means to procure it.

Washed Coffee

In the processing of the so-called " washed coffee " several operations are necessary. The coffee cherries, instead of being dried, must be processed, as soon as possible, while still fresh and juicy. They are either carried to the processing plant in sacks or where possible are floated there in water channels. On large, well managed coffee estates where modern equipment has been installed and water is abundant, all the various operations from gathering from the tree to the completion of curing and packing are arranged to proceed from a higher to a lower level at every stage in order to take advantage of the gravity flow of water downward and to avoid carrying heavy loads uphill. This involves careful planning and arranging that where water is available it is issued to the fullest possible extent.

Coffee cherry, the experts declare, should be pulped within twenty-four hours. If kept in bulk it soon becomes overheated and will ferment ; its ultimate flavour will be thus be spoilt. If it was to be kept longer, the sacks should be placed in tanks of cold water, or better still in a running stream, but even with this precaution it would be unwise to keep it more than a day longer. Where water is scarce the difficulty of operating the wet process on a large scale is considerable. Stagnant swamp water should in no case be used, for this will taint the coffee; the coffee-taster will immediately detect any stagnant taint.

When floated to the factory of a modern estate the coffee enters the building through a large hopper and passes into a large tank. Here the heavy cherries fall to the bottom and are siphoned up to the pulper. The light cherries float on the surface of the water and flow away through a high level outlet and either collect on a drainage table or pass direct to a smaller pulping machine. Small stones, if any, are trapped at the bottom of the tank so that they may not be siphoned with the large cherries to the major pulping machine.

If one end of the ripe cherry is pressed between the fingers, the two seeds burst out at the other end. This is the principle of the pulping machine. It causes the coffee seeds to burst through their skins and to pass off in one direction while the skins are drawn away and fall at the back of the machine and pass into a channel and flow to a place where they are drained and heaped for use as compost.

Coffee pulpers range from small hand-operated to power driven machines. It was estimated that by the small

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hand-operated pulpers used at the Jimma Agricultural School a ton of coffee could be decorticated in a day. On a large estate, where a great number of trees are grown, a small decorticator of this type would not be sufficiently rapid to deal with the harvest which must be disposed of as rapidly as possible to avoid the deterioration of the coffee. The principle on which the hand-pulper operates is, however, the same as that which governs the larger machines. The coffee berries are poured into a hopper where they are steeped in water. As the machine is turned they are floated to a grinder which removes the hulls, leaving the seeds enclosed in their parchment, still sticky with the jellylike mucilage.

At Jimma, for some time, on the advice of foreign agriculturalists, the mucilage was removed by whisking round the parchment coffee in a weak solution of caustic soda. This apparently simple method of removing the mucilage in a matter of minutes has since been discarded; to the eye it appeared perfectly satisfactory, though a trifle primitive and time-consuming for dealing with a large crop. To the cup taste of the coffee however, the caustic soda expedient was a wholly different matter. The professional coffee-tasters declared the caustic soda had altogether ruined the flavour of the coffee. The use of caustic soda has in consequence been wholly discarded. The processing of coffee is indeed highly technical and requires much practical experience. An experiment which is not tested as far as roasting, grinding and tasting the coffee may produce disastrous results.

So much for the caustic soda and the hand-pulper. Among larger power-driven machines there are vertical, barrel or drum pulpers and horizontal disc-pulpers. The former type has a rotating drum with a sheet of copper attached to it on which are projections, punched by the maker, of type and sizes to suit the kind of coffee cherries to be processed. The drum rotates against the breast-plate. There are grooves to guide the cherries to openings through which they will pass when pressed by the drum, while the punched projections on the drum drag the skins away to the back of the machine.

The disc-pulper has copper sheeting with similar projections attached to both sides of dics, or the disc may be of cast-iron with the projections cast on the surface. The coffee is pressed in the same way as by the drum on the breast-plate.

The makers of the machines have to be informed of the type of coffee to be processed in order that the punches on the drum or discs may be of suitable design.

Repassing machines are needed for dealing with small cherries which pass through the openings suitable for those of normal size without being stripped of the pulpy skin, the hull as it is called.

Separators remove any pulp still floating among the beans after dehulling and separate small or light-weight beans from those of normal size and weight. There are various types of separator, all directed to removing small defective beans which are not tolerated among first-class coffee in these highly sophisticated times.

Having been freed of its outer, pulpy skin the coffee must be cleaned of its mucilage. This has until recently, been, and still is to a large extent, a long and complicated process. It has been effected by steeping the coffee in water till the mucilage ferments and loses its sticky, adhesive quality, so that it can be washed away. The peasant with his hand-pulper does this in a smallish tank close to his pulper, or even a box.

On large estates the equipment is often elaborate. Concrete channels are built from the pulper to a series of large fermenting tanks, usually rectangular with round corners to facilitate cleaning them, the tanks should be cleaned out every day ; much water and much labour are involved in this process; if the crop is large many tanks are needed, for there must be tank-space for each dav's freshly gathered coffee.

The tanks are usually 3 feet deep at the inlet end and 3 feet 6 inches deep at the outlet end, they allow for an average depth of coffee in the tank of 2 feet 6 inches. The mucilage takes from 12 to 80 hours to ferment according to the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere at the time.

Fermentation is undertaken purely to remove the sticky mucilage. Great care must be exercised that the coffee is kept in the tank long enough for the mucilage to ferment, but not long enough for it to be over-fermented. The coffee beans must be washed and drained as soon as fermentation has proceeded far enough for the mucilage to be washed away. If an attempt is made to dry the coffee before the mucilage has been wholly removed, it will cause the beans to stick together; they will not dry, but will remain tacky attracting dust and moisture. A further, and harmful, fermentation may take place among the sticky beans. On the other hand if left too long in the fermenting tanks the coffee will acquire an unpleasant taste. Hence the process of fermentation calls for great care, much experience and good judgment. There can be no question of the manager absenting himself before the coffee is safely out of the tanks and dried; only then is it secure from the risks of rapid deterioration.

Attempts have been made to hasten fermentation by using yeasts, enzymes and other devices, but these, on the whole, are condemned by the experts. As we have seen, caustic soda was tried but has been totally discarded.

The Aqua Pulper

Ethiopians who had acquired small hand-pulpers have since been advised by Coffee Board and Development Bank experts to use fermentation for removing the mucilage, good results having been obtained by this method in East Africa, South America and elsewhere, despite the fact that it is a "tricky" method. The small Ethiopian growers accordingly have little tanks, large enough for their crops, close to the pulper. Being easily made, boxes filled with water serve as the least expensive and most readily available type of tank and produce equally good coffee.

A modern machine, called the "Aqua Pulper," which altogether eliminates the fermentation process with its elaborate tanks and washing channels has been invented. It is made by E. H. Benthall and Co. Ltd. of Heybridge in England ; it pulps ripe cherries, removes the mucilage and washes the parchment clean in a continuous operation. This is effected by rubbing off the mucilage, using much water—clean water alone—nothing else. If there is a drawback it is that much

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water is required, which, in some situations, may not be available. The machine is of course costly, but when the risks and expense of construction and labour involved by the fermentation process are taken into consideration, the Aqua Pulper may be found less costly in the long-run.

It is stated by some professional tasters that the coffee processed by Aqua Pulper has a slightly different taste to that which has been fermented to remove the mucilage.

If that is actually the case the claim must be dismissed that fermentation only removes the mucilage and does not affect the taste of the coffee. In any case the difference between coffee fermented and coffee processed by the Aqua Pulper is admittedly so slight that only a highly expert professional coffee taster could perceive it. As the public are not expert coffee-tasters, and will not detect the difference, it would seem there is nothing material against the Aqua Pulper unless it be the initial cost of purchase and its possibly greater consumption of water.

The Aqua Pulper was purchased by the Development Bank of Ethiopia and installed at Suntu. Unfortunately the big owners of coffee forests fought shy of the new machines ; they were expected to pay a moderate fee for the services of the machine which would greatly have increased the value of their coffee and the profits they would have made. But by continuing in the old way, employing the local villagers to gather and sun-dry the coffee and simply allowing them to keep a proportion of the coffee the landowners were not obliged to advance any money ; they found the old method convenient, though their gains by it were small, and perhaps, in fact, they were short of ready cash to pay for the coffee to be machined.

Matters being thus, the Development Bank of Ethiopia in 1957 formed a separate company, the "Suntu Processing Corporation," to operate the Aqua Pulper in partnership with A. Besse and Company (Ethiopia) Ltd., one of the largest coffee exporters in the country. The share capital of Eth. $%90,000 was issued in preferred stock Eth. $%860,000 and in common stock Eth. $%30,000, Messrs. Besse taking up Eth. $%26,900 of the common stock. The Development Bank itself took up all the preferred stock and also Eth. $%83,000 of the common stock. The Managing Director of the Corporation received the remaining Eth. $%100 of the common stock.

The Aqua Pulper performed excellent service ; the manager of A. Besse and Company was delighted by the excellent coffee processed for his firm and even more delighted by the premium be received in the export market for this first-class coffee.

Unfortunately the big landowners still held aloof ; they either lacked cash, or were sceptical of the real value of the strange new machine. Moreover the roads of the Santu area left much to be desired at the time the company was formed. The Highway Authority, however, has applied its activities to improving the roads of the locality and the main road connecting it with Addis Ababa.

Though the Aqua Pulper at Suntu has not been used to the full, landowners in other areas have realised the value of this new machine, having seen its performance. Consequently a further five Aqua Pulpers have recently been imported for use in other Ethiopian coffee-growing areas. An expert suggests that the Aqua Pulper may be the solution of the problem of how to convert Ethiopian coffee-growers to the wet processing method—a central Aqua Pulper for each coffee-growing area would relieve the growers of a heavy load of anxiety ; they would only have to concentrate on the proper gathering of the fruit and on transporting it to the pulpery—all the rest of the processing would be carried out by expert management at the pulpery. If a central marketing board were established to take over from the pulpery, as is done in several other countries, the coffee grower would only have to await payment for his coffee, which should be much greater than he gets at present.

In colonial territories, with governors exercising more or less supreme power on behalf of imperial governments, all coffee is without difficulty collected by order from the growers, processed by the wet method at a central pulpery and marketed by a central board. All landowners and growers obey government orders decreeing these procedures. Colonial government establishes controls over industry to an extent not found possible in the United Kingdom, or in Europe generally, except in war-time. In Ethiopia, as in many other countries, a benevolent laissez-faire has hitherto left absolutely freedom to landowners and coffee growers to do as they please. The Kenya Government, having placed all coffee growers under strict control, has secured for the coffee industry, which had barely commenced effectively

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in the 1920s, and has mainly taken root since the second world war, a reputation and a price value equal to the best Colombian "washed" coffee, these two being now regarded as the best in the world.

The hitherto low payment of African labour has unboubtedly retarded mechanisation in many directions. While high labour costs in America, and to a lesser extent in Europe, have rendered mechanisation an economic necessity there. The development of the African personality will eventually, however, produce the same result throughout Africa.

Benefits of Central Control

Under central control, experts in the various branches of cultivation can be made available. Experiments in hybridisation by pollination to secure higher yields and greater resistance to disease, pest control by such expedients as importation to the coffee plantation of the mealy bug, as was done in Kenya with good results, and much else can be accomplished by experts supported by the resources of a central board properly financed by a share, not too niggardly, of the wealth made from coffee. Much can be done centrally which is totally beyond the resources of a poor untutored individual grower, and is impossible even to the more prosperous grower who has had no training in such matters.

The study of plant-life, its cultivation and propagation, especially of an industrial plant, such as coffee which is vital to the economy of several nations, offers a field of infinite fascination. It opens sources of never failing interest, capable of absorbing the energies of the most brilliantly talented youth and of evoking a joy in work and achievement which can never come to the numerous young people of the world who are employed frittering away their lives in uninteresting, almost useless routine, or in so-called pleasures which do not occupy the higher faculties and become progressively more stale.

After this digression we must return to the coffee which has been steeping in the fermenting tank, the Aqua Pulper not having been used.

When fermentation is complete, the coffee must be washed in clean water to remove the mucilage. On large private and co-operative estates it has been usual to allow the coffee beans to pass out of the tank through sluice-gates into the washing channel which inclines so that the water will flow gently. The coffee which is all still in its parchment, is now roughly divided into large medium, and small sizes. The larger, and heavier beans are stopped at a certain point, while the smaller and lighter ones continue flowing onward, for example a washing channel in Kenya which was four feet wide and 100 feet long had a fall of 3 per cent. in the first 50 feet and 1 per cent. for the rest of the channel; blocking-boards, to check the flow of the heavier coffee at 50 and 75 feet roughly divided it into three grades: bold, medium and small, or heavy, medium and light. The three types were separately washed out through openings at 50, 75 and 100 feet onto draining platforms.

The coffee in parchment must now be dried, either in the sun or artificially. This may be done on trays of convenient size—say three feet by six feet, with wire-mesh matting which will allow the air to pass through, or on cement barbecues; the latter are not so satisfactory. In any case the beans must be covered at night to aviod the dew, for if they absorb moisture during the drying process their taste will deteriorate and they will become spotty in appearance.

Having been cleaned and dried the coffee,still enveloped in its parchment and delicate silver-skin, must have these covers removed; this is called "peeling" or "shelling." Two machines are frequently employed, one for shelling, the other for polishing the beans and removing any traces of husks which may remain.

Several processes are accomplished in a continuous operation by some of the newer machines.

When shelled and polished, the coffee must be graded. It is passed over screens with holes of various sizes which allow the smaller beans to fall through till only the largest remain. The coffee is thus standardised. In New York, the world's largest coffee market, much of the coffee is sold by screen number. Low-priced Brazilian are graded by weight, thickness and length. Peaberries are graded according to thickness and length. They are not well regarded, and obtain a lower price, but are liked in countries where mechanical roasters are not used, as, being round, they roll over easily when shaken and so become evenly roasted without difficulty.

Machines called "Catadors" classify coffee according to density by passing the beans through an air current and are found economical where coffee contains many defectives.

All these machines can only be rendered economically profitable where large quantities are dealt with—another advantage which central pulperies have as compared with individual handling by many small growers.

The difference in value between coffee which has been hand-picked and that which has not may first be gauged by the fact that only hand-picked coffee is exported from Ethiopia to markets abroad.

The prices for coffee sold in Addis Ababa for coffee for export and domestic consumption, published in the Ethiopian Herald of April 7, as supplied by the Ethiopian Coffee Board, were as follows: **Quotations C. and F. New York, hand-picked coffee per lb.:**

Jimma Coffee (immediate shipment)	33.75
Jimma Coffee (forward prompt shipment) ...	32.50
Jimma Coffee Spot	34.00
Harar Coffee (immediate shipment)	35.75
Harar Coffee Forward (prompt shipment) ...	35.50
Harar Coffee Spot...	37.50

These quotations may be compared with quotations for Brazilian Santos 4, Brazil being the large producer which rules the market. March 30th, 1960: Spot per lb. U.S. cents 36.50.

Quotations from Europe: for Jimma coffee, March 30th, 1960, £225 per metric ton, shipped weight C.L.F.; for Harar Coffee, £282 per metric ton, shipped weight C.I.F.

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Local Quotation per Frasula
Not hand-picked—March 30, 1960

	Eth. $
Jimma Coffee	21.25—21.00
Sidamo Coffee	21.40—21.25
Dembidolo Coffee...	21.50—21.25
Ghimby Coffee	21.75—21.50
Harar Coffee hand-picked	25.50
Harar Coffee not hand-picked	23.00

On reaching the importing country coffee is sampled and tested before being offered for sale. Tasting or "liquoring," as it is called in the trade, requires long experience. The raw coffee is first examined for size, smoothness, weight, etc, and especially for colour. If it is not the approved bluish or greyish green, it is relegated to the position of a low-priced coffee. If the centre groove in the bean is not straight, it is declassed as "ragged."

Before it can be tasted the coffee must of course be roasted, ground and brewed. The colour after roasting will be closely scrutinised and may be condemned, according to the trade terms, as "pale," "semi-pale" or "full-pale." The failure in colour after roasting may be due to the cherries being picked unripe or the tree having suffered from drought during the ripening process. When tasted the coffee may be rejected as "tainted." It may have acquired an unpleasant flavour at any stage of processing, or in the ship's hold from being shipped alongside hides and skins, cloves or sisal—all likely to be included in the same cargo and all having distinctive odours and tastes inimical to the flavour of coffee. A so-called "woody" flavour, as termed by the trade, may be acquired from the fibre sacks in which it has been packed. A "common" flavour is simply a poor taste, lacking in the desired aroma. There are also "harsh," "earthy" and "musty" flavours. The last is due to the coffee being piled too thickly during sun-drying, to being packed when not sufficiently dry, stored in a damp warehouse or otherwise brought into contact with moisture. A "fruity" flavour is acquired from the taste of fermenting pulp or mucilage and may be due to the coffee in parchment having remained too long to the fermenting tank, or to the cherries having been picked when over-ripe. "Sour" and "sourish" flavours result from various faults in processing. "Green," "greenish" and "grassy" tastes arise from defective drying or storing. "Strong," "unclean," "foul" and "brickish" flavours are also known to the professional coffee tasters. The last is said to be owing to the use of an insecticide at some period during the growth of the coffee tree on the soil near the roots. All these adverse qualities are attributed by the tasters to coffea arabica which has suffered some lack of care in growing, gathering or processing. Other coffees rated as inferior to coffea arabica may also have suffered some disadvantage in their processing.

In short it will be seen that the coffee offered for sale today has to face rigid security by exceedingly exacting tasters. When, as at present, there is an excess in world production over world requirements and there are lowered prices in consequence, the high-class coffee is alone certain of obtaining an assumed sale at a good price.

This being evident efforts are made by governments to secure a good standard of coffee growing and processing and this is particularly necessary in countries like Ethiopia where coffee is the main crop on which the national prosperity depends.

Where coffee is a country's main crop and the principal source of its prosperity to refuse to spare some of the wealth it provides to maintain and improve its quality would be indeed a short-sighted policy.

Coffee growers all over the world are more and more understanding that they are involved in a keenly competitive marketing and that they must either apply themselves energetically to produce a good quality product or fail in the contest.

Governments of coffee producing countries are more and more finding themselves obliged to assist the coffee growers by supplying expert advisers, seeds and seedling of tested value and central processing. As in Colombia they find it necessary to improve the living conditions of the grower by providing him with fresh water supplies and adequate housing as well as with better farm buildings. Governments are interesting themselves also in improved means of transport for the coffee, better roads, air transport, shipping lines.

Governments assist the coffee industry, either directly, or through semi-official organisations, supported by taxes on the coffee, on which the growers themselves are represented and by establishing co-operative organisations.

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Coffee cultivation and Government assistance in various countries

Uganda

Robusta coffee is native to Uganda. It grows wild in the Southern and Western forests there and often predominates among the smaller trees. When mature it reaches fifteen to twenty feet and has often a trunk up to eight inches in diameter.

The Baganda people of Uganda were long accustomed to chew the coffee and to use it for their ceremonial purposes. To save the trouble of journeying to the forest the people took to planting coffee among the bananas near their home.

The British Government proclaimed a protectorate of Uganda in 1894. In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston was appointed Special Commissioner, Commander-in-Chief and Consul-General for Uganda. He favoured the development of plantations under European management, and grants of land were made at excessively low rates for this purpose from 1900 to 1916.

The Colonial administration, instead of promoting the cultivation of the robusta coffee, native to the area, imported coffea arabica seed from Nyasaland. Planted at Entebbe in 1901, this seed promised well; it was distributed throughout Uganda and further; arabica seed was imported from the Blue Mountain region of Jamaica and Guatemala in 1903.

Businessmen believed coffee would be highly profitable in Uganda. They purchased estates in the territory and induced capitalists in the United Kingdom to supply finance for the development of a coffee industry. The estate owners acted as managers and export agents. They knew little or nothing about coffee cultivation and processing and had to gain a knowledge of the first rudiments of agriculture, as well as of coffee growing, while they struggled to found an industry.

By 1920 a good deal had been learnt about coffee cultivation. The officers of the Department of Agriculture gave helpful advice; information was exchanged at regular meetings of planters, and modern methods of processing were employed. Many planters had power-driven machinery. Africans were also encouraged to grow coffea arabica.

Nevertheless this type of coffee did not prosper in Uganda except in some specially favourable localties. In general the maximum temperatures were too high and the rainfall insufficient. Cultivation reached its peak in 1920 when 20,783 acres were planted by the European growers; from that time forward it steadily declined. In 1935 the area planted had fallen to 6,286 acres. The cured coffee beans were unsatisfactory in colour and the plants were little able to resist disease.

At the Government plantations in Kampala experiments were meanwhile being made with robusta coffee, as the locally indigenous "coffea canephora" is termed in the coffee trade. Local seed was mainly used, but seeds were also imported from Java. When a type of robusta which was favourably received by wholesale coffee buyers in England had been developed, seed was distributed both to European and African planters.

In 1923 it was resolved to begin a large-scale distribution of robusta coffee seedlings to African growers. Nurseries were prepared from which the seedlings were distributed free of charge. Insruction was given on the spacing and cultivation of the trees.

The European planters were also turning to robusta coffee. At first their plantations covered a considerably larger area than those of the Africans, but in a few years the positions were reversed. Thus in 1925 Africans had 338 acres planted with robusta coffee, while the Europeans and Asians together had 946 acres so planted. Ten years later African plantations covered 17,000 acres; European and Asian plantations together covered 5,975 acres. At the same time the Africans still had upwards of eleven thousand acres under coffea arabica, while Europeans and Asians together had five or six thousand acres of this type of coffee.

Robusta coffee grown on the European plantations was prepared by the wet method and shipped to London in "parchment" during the first two decades of the present century. The tasters in London often complained of the flavour because the arrangements for drying the coffee were frequently inadequate and swamp water was often used for washing it. The Africans who lacked the expensive machinery owned by European planters, picked the coffee cherries when ripe and dried them in the sun, usually raised from the ground on a framework of cane covered with matting. The dried cherry was either sold intact or hulled by pounding in a wooden mortar.

African-grown robusta and Arabian coffees were sold to merchants in Kampala and often left Uganda in an unsatisfactory condition at that time. A Coffee Board was therefore established in 1928 to advise the growers and merchants. In 1930 a Coffee Grading Ordinance was enacted, but its provisions were not enforced until 1932, when a newly elected legislature insisted that all coffee to be exported must be processed by licensed curers. Rigorous standards of quality were established for both arbica and robusta coffees. All coffee was now purchased from the growers by licensed buyers who resold it to the curing works where it was hulled and graded for export as (1) F.A.Q. (fair average quality); (2) U.G. (under grade); or (3) "Triage" (broken and under-sized beans).

New rules introduced in 1955 have however established five grades for robusta coffee, which are designated 5, 10, 15 and 20, indicating the percentage of defective beans allowed for each grade. For arabica coffee, the percentage was 5, 15 and 30. The robusta "washed" coffee obtains a premium higher than the price paid for "cherry-dried" coffea arabica.

Bulk-buying by the British Ministry of Food after the second World War resulted in the establishment of marketing organisations and co-operative selling agencies in the British Colonial territories in East Africa,

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and these organisations remained when the United Kingdom Government controls were removed.

The introduction of central mechanical processing stations in Uganda has produced a great improvement in the African-grown coffee. Under the Uganda Coffee Industry Ordinance of 1953 the Protectorate Government invited African applications for permission to erect six new curing works. Successful applicants were required to provide the machinery necessary to process not less than 1,000 tons of the best coffee annually. The purpose of this Ordinance was to improve marketing facilities for African producers, to encourage African participation in the processing of coffee and to establish a Coffee Board to organise the industry. An export tax on all coffee exported from Uganda replaced the tax formerly levied on African exports alone.

Bugishu-grown Coffea Arabica

The Bugishu African people of Uganda grow coffea arabica on a narrow belt on Mount Elgon at an altitude of from 4,200 feet to 7,500 feet. Strict Government control is imposed. In 1930 private coffee nurseries were prohibited; only persons who accepted Government instruction and control were permitted to plant coffee. Cultivation, processing and marketing is directed by a Board of Control. The growers sell their "cherries" to a number of pulperies, to which hand-pulpers are supplied by the Board and where the coffee is subsequently dried. It is then transferred to the Central curing works for "shelling" and grading for export and is afterwards marketed by the Board of Control on a co-operative basis. Good coffee is produced by this method in Uganda. The many faults which occur in unco-ordinated peasant production are eliminated.

Kenya

Coffee growing was commenced in Kenya during the early nineteen-twenties. Research began at the Scott Agricultural Laboratories in Nairobi in 1922 and later was extended to the Jacaranda Coffee Research Station at Ruiri.

Until recent years the Kenya Government prohibited coffee growing by African farmers. Latterly, however, Africans have been licensed to grow coffee in some localities in grouped associations. Government controls now apply to both European and African growers. The Kenya Coffee Board publishes a monthly bulletin and controls the marketing of the whole crop. In 1946 it was made compulsory to sell all coffee through the Board. Sampling and tasting is executed by the Board before the coffee is offered for sale in order to maintain a high standard.

The African-grown coffee is marketed separately under its own designation. There are central pulperies and curing centres for African coffee, and the growers are obliged to conform to the officially recognised standards of cultivation, preparation and pest control. The African-grown coffee is of high quality. All Kenya coffee is processed by the wet method. It commands the highest price and has an assured sale in the London market where the best of Kenya coffee is sent for sale. Inferior qualities are sold in Nairobi.

Average prices for Kenya first grade coffee per ton in pounds sterling for the years 1950-53 were as follows:

1950-51	1951-52	1952-53
£521	£484	£470

A fall from year to year has latterly occurred, in accordance with the general fall in world coffee prices. Nevertheless the price of Kenya coffee remains relatively high.

Tanganyika

The Chagga Africans of Tanganyika grow coffee at an altitude of 5,000 to 6,000 feet on Mount Kilimanjaro. In 1925 the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association (K.N.P.A.) was formed on the initiative of A. E. Haarer, who had been employed to improve the coffee production of the area. The growers agreed to put together all their coffee in parchment to be sent to London and to share the proceeds when payment for the sale reached the territory. Regular dates for delivery to the centre were fixed and the coffee was graded before being shipped. It was sent in parchment to London where there is excellent equipment for the further processing. The quality being standardised and the consignments large, London buyers soon recognised the K.N.P.A. trademark and found it attractive for re-export to the continent. It realised top prices, sometimes above those paid for coffee from the best European plantations. The growers had to wait for their money, but when it came they were pleased to find it much more than they had previously received. The name of the association was latterly changed to The Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union. A European manager was employed. By 1953 the Co-operative had built a headquarters at Moshi, at a cost of £150,000. It held a half share in the local curing works.

In the Bukoba district of Tanganyika both robusta and arabica coffees are grown. In 1930, a Coffee Grading Ordinance was established, which made the grading of coffee compulsory before shipment. Subsequently a Native Production Board was instituted to organise co-operation among the growers and to control the processing and sale of the coffee. All coffee plantations and their trade marks are registered annually. The Plant, Pest and Disease Control Ordinance provides for the prevention and eradication of pests and diseases to which coffee is liable.

Belgian Congo

In the Belgian Congo coffee is processed by both the wet and dry methods. The "Raoneg" pulping machine is used. This machine rubs away the mucilage covering the parchment so that fermenting, with all its hazards and the time and expenditure it involves, becomes unnecessary.

It is compulsory for all coffee exports to be submitted for examination and for grading according to size and quality. Only the best coffees are exported; they are assembled in the grades required by the importing countries.

Coffee exports from the Belgian Congo rose from 113 tons in 1920 and 1,537 tons in 1930 to 30,901 tons in 1952.

British West Africa

Sierra Leone

In 1952 the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board took control of the export of coffee.

(Continued on next page)

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Coffee production in South America

Growers Federations and Government Aid

In countries where coffee production is successful strong support is given to the growers by the Government. The South American countries whose coffea arabica is not indigenous are nevertheless the world's principal producers of this most important type of coffee. The governments of these countries have understood that coffee being the main crop and therefore essential to the economy to those States, the government must be active in promoting its success.

The coffee growers of these countries are organised into federations supported by governments. These federations teach improved methods of cultivation and maintain teaching and experimental stations and central curing factories. While there are some large estates the bulk of South American coffee is produced by small-holders.

The history of coffee production in Brazil, the world's largest producer of coffee, reveals how essential government support has been to the industry. Coffee growing is Brazil's chief industry and coffee its principal export. The States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas, Geraes, and Santos contain the main coffee growing areas in Brazil and of these Sao Paulo is the most important.

When coffee prices had fallen disastrously in 1906, owing to over production, the governor of Sao Paulo took the initiative in stemming the crisis. 11 million bags of coffee were purchased on behalf of the State to save the farmers—and incidently, the State—from ruin. To make possible these extensive purchases the governor contracted loans to the value of $75 million from a company of European and American bankers on the security of the coffee stored in the warehouses. When more money was needed he borrowed on the security of the railway. Three-quarters of the crop was thus removed from the market but the harvests of 1907 and 1908 were tremendous and more purchases had to be made to maintain prices. It was not until 1913 that the last of the coffee stored from 1906 had been sold, but the governor's initiative had preserved the industry from disaster.

The international trade depression of the 1930s and the increase in coffee production again caused a serious fall in coffee prices. The Federal Government of Brazil, through the Permanent Coffee Defence Institute it created, again rescued the planters from ruin by purchasing coffee, building coffee storage warehouses, limiting coffee exports and prohibiting the export of coffee except to fulfill orders already obtained. After the Coffee Defence Institute followed the National Coffee Council and later the National Coffee Department through which the government took direct control of the industry. Between 1931 and 1944 more than 78 million bags of coffee were purchased and burnt to maintain coffee prices and save the farmers. Though the efforts of the government were thus extensive, hardship was only partially obviated; the price the government paid for the coffee destroyed did not allow of the importation of fertilisers to maintain the plantations in their former condition. Many plantations were deserted; 1,400 million coffee trees were left untended; thousands of small farmers flocked to the towns in the hope of finding employment as labourers.

The rise in coffee prices during World War II put new heart into the coffee growers, the people returned to their old coffee lands and new plantations were commenced.

The Brazilian Coffee Institute now guides and assists the planters and endeavours to protect the industry from the hazards of competition and over-production. An Agricultural Research Institute at Campinas also advises and aids the farmers. It has developed new varieties of high-yielding and disease resistant coffee.

"The Coffee Institute of the Federal Government's Department of Agriculture direct the nation's coffee business," says Andrés Uribé.*

Loans for coffee cultivation are negotiated from national and international banks. Millions of dollars are spent on importing fertilisers, agricultural machinery and steel for the constructions required by the coffee industry. The farmer is not a mere isolated individual, fending for himself as best he may; he is part of an industry important to the national economy and particularly essential to the economy of the State of Sao Paulo. When, in 1953, two days and three nights of frost destroyed millions of coffee trees the Coffee Institute sent teams of specialists to assist the farmers in saving many trees. Despite all efforts the losses were enormous, and the result was a world coffee shortage. Coffee prices were high at the time; they now mounted to unprecedented heights.

Brazilian capitalists were opening new lands to coffee culture; Andrés Uribé wrote at this period: "Maringa was developed by Brazilian capitalists who specialise in opening land for coffee culture. Agronomists survey a proposed tract by analysing the soil for qualities needed by coffee and determining the supplies of water. Transportation facilities are measured. Once an area is purchased, teams of engineers move in and lay out the city. Roads, water-mains and sewage lines are placed and housing plots and farmlands, usually averaging 80 acres, are marked off and the area is opened for sale. Fazendas can be purchased for 30 per cent cash, 10 per cent a

* **Brown Gold**, by Andrés Uribé, C., page 98

(Continued from preceding page)

Gold Coast

The Agricultural Produce Marketing Board in 1954 created a scheme to control the coffee trade. Licensed purchasing agents were appointed to accept the crop at coffee stations at minimum prices, for type I, £252, and for type II, £242 13s. 4d. Coffee is graded as Type I (superior quality), containing less than 20 per cent. by count, of defective beans, including not more than 8 per cent., by count, of black beans. Type II, average quality, containing not more than 25 per cent. of defective beans.

Planting is encouraged by the sale of seedlings raised by the Agricultural Board at ½d. per plant, or 100 for 3/-.

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year later and three annual payments of 20 per cent, with interest at 8 per cent."†

Coffee lands are known in Brazil as "fazendas."

Brazilian coffee is not regarded however as of highest quality; it is known as "hard" in the coffee trade and is used for blending with less bitter and choicer types which are commercially known as "mild". Nevertheless the immense quantities of coffee produced in Brazil render it the most convenient and normally the inexhaustible source from which the coffee trade can be sure of obtaining ample and regular supplies.

Brazilian coffee is exported from the seaports of Santos, Rio de Janeiro, Paranaguá and Victoria, but mainly from Santos. The keen business men who process and sell the coffee are exceedingly prosperous. Brazil is streamlined for the sale of coffee. Santos is the worlds greatest coffee port. It has three miles of wharfs and quays and space for fifty ships to load at the same time. Great warehouses afford storage space for 5 million bags of coffee. Lines of great lorries transport the coffee to the docks; the bags are tipped into holes in the pavement and descend to rubber belts designed to convey them to the holds of the ships which will carry them to markets far away. Coffee sales are transacted in an immense and magnificent building—a veritable palace—known as the "Bolsa Official do Café." Its floors are of inlaid marble, its roof an enormous dome of stained glass supported by columns of sculptured marble. Mural paintings depict the history of coffee. The president of the Bolsa is seated on a dais, facing the experts and traders in high-backed chairs. The Bolsa guarantees the quality of the coffee sold by its members.

A British railway transports the coffee from the curing stations to the port of Santos whence the coffee of the State of Sao Paulo is shipped. In the capital of the State, also named Sao Paulo are the Brazilian Coffee Institute, and the Federal Government's Department of Agriculture which is mainly devoted to coffee. Towering "skyscrapers" fringe the broad avenues. Extensive parks with wide lawns, centred by groups of Brazilian sculpture, enclose natural lakes and streams. The city is a majestic manifesto of the wealth coffee brings to Brazil.

Wealth is brought no doubt to Brazil and its merchants, but not necessarily to the farmers. The average farmer owns fewer than 60,000 trees. When the rains fail, as occasionally they do, and drought destroys the trees, when frost from time to time causes havoc destroying millions of trees, when gluts depress the price of coffee, the thousands of small growers, whose standard of living is always very modest, face serious hardships, despite all that is done to protect them.

The Republic of Colombia

Coffee dominates the economy of Colombia and comprises 80 per cent of its exports. Colombia is only second to Brazil in the volume of its coffee exports, moreover, while Brazilian coffee is rated down as "hard", Colombian coffee is esteemed as the highest quality "mild" and Colombia is the world's largest exporter of "mild" coffee; in fact it is regarded in the New York market as the world's largest exporter of first-class coffee. 90 per cent of Colombian coffee is sent to the United States. It is known by the names of the cities where it is processed as Medellin, Armenia and Manizales.

† Ibid, page 108.

The coffee farmers of Colombia, like those of Ethiopia, have had to contend with great transport obstacles. Colombia, like Ethiopia, has a mountainous area, with a climate of eternal spring, and also hot, arid lowland areas. Colombia's mountain chains, the western, central and eastern Cordilleras, part of the great Andes mountain system, run north and south across the western part of the country. Between the eastern and central Cordilleras runs northward to the sea, the River Magdelena, joined by its tributary, the Cauca, which rises in the western Cordillera. On the slopes of the mountains and isolated plateaux, at altitudes of from 2,000 to 6,000 feet, are the coffee plantations, fertilised by warm rains extending from March to June and from September to December. Below the coffee belt, called "tierra templada", are the hot lands, "tierra caliente", where tropical fruit flourishes. Above the coffee plantations at heights of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet potatoes and grain are cultivated and above these graze cattle up to the edge of the perpetual snows.

Coffee seeds were first brought from the French West Indies to Colombia, then under Spanish rule, toward the close of the eighteenth century. They were planted around Cucuta in the Department of Santander and afterwards in the valley of the Cauca river and on the plateaux of Antioquia.

When Colombia became a republic early in the nineteenth century, the republican government encouraged coffee planting. In 1821 the importation of coffee was prohibited to protect Colombian production and soon after coffee was exempted from the tax levied on other produce for the benefit of the Church. Nevertheless there were enormous transport difficulties; coffee was carried on muleback by jungle trails, and by flat bottomed barges on slow river journeys.

Gradually transport on the River Magdelena improved, coffee was transported more expeditiously than before from farms in the interior to the port of Baranquilla on the Caribbean Sea. A railway was built to connect the coffee farming areas with the seaport of Buenaventura on the Pacific Ocean. The opening of the Panama Canal added importance to Buenaventura which was to become one of the greatest of coffee ports. River ports arose on the Cauca and Magdelena to handle coffee. New roads, new railways were built for transporting coffee. By 1890 coffee had become Colombia's greatest export. In 1914 more than a million bags of coffee were sent overseas and by 1922 coffee export reached two million bags. Aerial railways were built to bridge enormous gorges and to carry coffee far down to navigable rivers flowing through deep canyons.

In 1911 air transport was introduced to serve the coffee industry. First in all America to pioneer air transport, Columbia established an airline between the seaport Barranquilla and Giradot on the upper Magdelena. Thus coffee transport which in the dry season took thirty days was reduced to a few hours. Colombia's international airline now connects her capital, Bogota, to every coffee growing section in the country, to neighbouring countries in South America, to Europe and the United States.

Wealth, derived from coffee has been used to stimulate industry. The capital, Bogota, has a population of 750,000.

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Coffee production has changed in the course of its development. In the early nineteenth century cultivation was by slave labour. When slavery was abolished, civil war, price fluctuations in the world markets, and labour shortage, from time to time caused the bankruptcy of many large estate owners. Their lands were sold often in small plots to peasant farmers. Moreover, small farmers opened coffee lands on virgin soil. By 1950 there were 397,083 coffee farms in Colombia; 80 per cent of them were owned by peasants cultivating less than 5,000 trees. 11 per cent. of the farmers had from 5,000 to 20,000 trees, one-fifth of one per cent. had more than 100,000 trees. Only 5 per cent. of the capital invested in the Colombian coffee industry was owned by persons not of Colombian nationality.

The farmer's entire family works in the coffee plantation. The work is arduous and continues throughout the year. The coffee ripens in two seasons; both occur during the rains. In the successful effort to produce fine coffee the Colombian farmers are careful to pick only ripe coffee cherries. This involves picking over the same tree often four or five times. As the harvests fall in the rainy seasons, the farmer's difficulty in sun-drying his coffee is considerable.

In 1927 Colombia exported 2,300,000 bags of coffee. In the same year the National Federation of Coffee Growers was formed to protect the coffee industry and to further its interests. In 1953 6,650,000 bags were exported. The Federation is a non-profit-making, non-political, semi-government organisation. Its work is financed by export taxes on coffee. It has a general manager and a Board of ten directors, comprising three members appointed by the government, the manager of a government bank, a representative of the government and five active coffee farmers elected by the Coffee Growers' Congress. Should the members of the Board fail to agree, the issue would be submitted to the President of the Republic, whose decision would be final. Actually no such incident has yet occurred. The Federation has 241 field offices in addition to its headquarters in Bogota.

Coffee production was on the down-grade in Colombia when the Federation was formed. Owing to low prices in the world market the farmers had become discouraged.

The Federation accordingly decided that the grower must be protected from anxiety and loss; when surpluses accumulate or prices fall below cost of production the Federation purchases the coffee at prices allowing the grower a margin of profit. For this purpose great warehouses have been erected at the ports and in the main coffee centres. By 1950 it was estimated that the Federation could store 3,365,000 bags of coffee. Stores are held in Europe and the United States, where they are available in case strikes, delays in transit, or crop failures interrupt the regular supplies of Colombian coffee.

In such emergencies the Federation makes its stocks available at regular market prices through normal Colombian trade channels. Members of the trade are informed of all forthcoming sales. The Federation makes no direct sales of coffee outside Colombia.

Colombia owns its own fleet for transporting coffee overseas, called the Flora Grancolombiana.

Freight charges are low, as the fleet is not a profit-making venture but is a service for the benefit of the coffee industry.

In the decade 1944-54 high prices in the world market caused Columbia's annual income from coffee to amount to about 400,000,000 American dollars. Some of the surplus was invested in local industry which now began to compete with agriculture for the services of the labouring population. The higher standard of living available to industrial workers tended to draw labour from the coffee farms. The National Federation of Coffee Growers set itself to counteract this trend by improving conditions in the rural areas. From the Federation's 241 offices activities are promoted to better the farmer's way of life. Roads, farmhouses and farm-buildings are constructed, pure water is piped to the houses. Schools and clinics are established. Farmers may obtain long-term loans through the Federation to improve their property, to purchase further coffee lands and fertilisers. The Federation invested 45,000,000 pesos ($17,600,000) in the Bank of Industrial Mining and Agricultural Credit, in order to improve conditions on the small coffee farms. The situation however, necessitated larger banking facilities; the Federation, in collaboration with the government, established a special bank for the coffee growers, the "Banco Cafetero", which is owned by the Coffee Growers' Federation and commenced with a capital of 50,000,000 pesos. This capital is steadily being increased by the proceeds of taxation on coffee. It is available for the benefit of the coffee farmers and the expansion of the coffee industry. In addition to making loans available through the Bank to coffee growers, the Federation makes direct grants to small landowners to assist them to improve their land and houses. For farms valued at under 5,000 pesos the Federation provides 85 per cent. of the capital required for repairs and improvements; for farms valued at 10,000 pesos 75 per cent is granted; and for farms worth more than 30,000 pesos 40 per cent.

Through its branches the Federation maintains touch with the farmers. Experts visit the farms needing assistance in one way or another and advise the farmers on what is required and how to apply it.

A research station, "El Centro Nacional de Investigaciones de Café", was opened at Chinchina in 1932. Supported by the Coffee Growers' Federation, it has expanded and has become a world famous centre. 1,500 acres are planted for investigation; forty scientists and technicians are at work; there are modern laboratories and an extensive technical library. The Federation has an agricultural school for young coffee farmers. Adjacent to the school is a processing plant where coffee is prepared for the market. Students work in the coffee groves of the research station and also receive instruction in processing the coffee.

The Coffee Growers' Federation has been enabled to undertake these and other beneficial works by taxation derived from the coffee produced by the hard labour of many thousands of farmers.

Though the coffee farms occupy less than one per cent. of Colombia's agricultural area, the Federation's

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The Ethiopian Coffee Board

The world decline in coffee prices and the increasing competition in the world market has caused the Ethiopian Government to pay more and more serious attention to safeguarding the reputation of Ethiopian coffee, particularly in the United States, the purchaser of 60 per cent. of the world's coffee consumption.

Already in 1952 the Government had issued a proclamation providing for the licensing of coffee cleaners and graders.

In 1957 this was followed by the establishment of a National Coffee Board of six members appointed by the Emperor, on the recommendation respectively of the Ministers of Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and Finance and the Interior, and by the President of the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce and the Chairman of the Development Bank, which has been active in assisting and promoting coffee cultivation, processing and marketing. All the relevant institutions of the country are thus represented on the Board by persons nominated by themselves.

The Board was given wide powers and important responsibilities and duties. It was authorised to hold land and with the consent of the Council of Ministers, to impose a cess, not exceeding three Ethiopian dollars per quintal, on all coffee produced in and exported from Ethiopia. This tax (together with such other contributions as the Board might from time to time receive) was to be used to give effect to the purposes for which the Board was created:

It was the duty of the Board to keep under constant review all legislation dealing with coffee and to make recommendations to the Minister of Commerce and Industry for the improvement of Ethiopian coffee:

"To consult the producers, traders in and exporters of coffee as to how the production of coffee might be improved by legislation and by administrative measures;

To stimulate coffee production and marketing;

To exercise all the powers of the Minister of Commerce and Industry under the Coffee Cleaning and Grading Proclamation of 1952 and all subsidiary legislation thereunder, other than the power to make regulations;

To lease, possess, use and sell movable and immovable property necessary and appropriate for its activities;

To construct, operate or lease, warehouses, coffee processing and cleaning plants, market places and compounds, experimental and research stations and nurseries;

To borrow money and mortgage or pledge its movable and immovable property;

To carry out research into cultivation and harvest-

(Continued from preceding page)

liberal policy has enabled it to provide the greater part of the finance employed in much of the country's industrial and agricultural development; rice, wheat, sugar, bananas, cotton, and cattle farms, mills, factories, mines and oil wells owe their prosperity to financial assistance derived from coffee.

These achievements are due to far-sighted government action and extremely capable management by the executive chiefs of the Coffee Growers' Federation.

Nevertheless Colombia, like all the South American States, like Ethiopia and all Africa, like all the underdeveloped countries, is grievously short of capital for roads, irrigation and water supplies for human consumption, hydro-electric power and industries to supply the needs of the peoples.

Coffee Dominates the Economy of Seven South American States

Coffee production dominates the economy of seven South American countries, as it dominates the economy of Ethiopia. When coffee prices fall all these countries suffer widespread depression. In 1953 coffee exports formed 95.3 per cent. of the value of all Colombia's exports, 85.5 per cent. of those of El Salvador, 76.7 per cent. of those of Guatemala, 67.7 of those of Brazil and 65.5, 45.6 and 39.1 per cent. of those of Haiti, Costa Rica and Nicaragua respectively. In the same year the proceeds of coffee brought $1,998,577,000 to Latin America. In the period 1946-53 Brazil received $5,850,052,000 from the export of coffee, Colombia $2,356,350,000, El Salvador $432,917,000. These sums amounted to $110 per annum per capita of the people of Brazil, $196 per head for the people of Colombia and $220 for those of El Salvador. These sums are greater than the total per capita income of other South American States.

Much of the coffee earnings are used to obtain imports from the consumer countries. The United States exports usually from 10 to 15 per cent. of its domestic production, the United Kingdom pays for its imports with 17 per cent. of its production. In South America, on the other hand, Brazil exports a third of the value of its total product, El Salvador 70 per cent., and Colombia 45 per cent.

Unfortunately for the people of the coffee growing countries, when coffee prices fall, the prices of the goods they purchase from the industrial countries are not correspondingly reduced. On the contrary, their cost may rise.

Colombian coffee farmers are relatively fortunate in having their Federation supported by taxation; moreover a large proportion of the farmers own the land they cultivate. Several other Latin American nations have also introduced land reform. Nevertheless in a large proportion of the South American continent a handful of proprietors own the greater part of the fertile land. The rural population suffers from malnutrition and vitamin shortage. Meat, green vegetables, milk, butter and cheese are beyond the means of the people, and in consequence little of these necessities is produced.

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ing methods and any activity concerned with coffee growing, processing and marketing;

To engage staff (including qualified coffee cleaners, graders and inspectors);

To designate, establish, operate and control coffee markets at Addis Ababa and at provincial market places in coffee producing areas, and to establish at such points adequate facilities for processing and storing coffee, and for coffee trading;

To establish a Coffee Exchange at Addis Ababa.

Where exceptional circumstances arise which require that the Board should actively participate in the coffee trade, the following powers shall, with the approval of Our Council of Ministers, be exercised by the Board:

(a) to buy, clean, decorticate, process, store, sell and export coffee;

(b) lend money against coffee warehouse receipts issued by the Board.

Such approval shall be notified by notice published in the *Negarit Gazeta* and shall continue in force for one year from the date of such notice and shall then expire.

The Board shall publish an annual report of its activities and the progress it has made in achieving the objects and purposes of this decree and shall submit such report to us within one month after the end of each year.

Our Minister of Commerce & Industry may make regulations:

(a) for the better carrying out of the purposes of this degree;

(b) for the imposition of a cess in accordance with Art. 5 of this decree, and

(c) for establishing and controlling markets and a Coffee Exchange at Addis Ababa."

For some time the Board did not in fact exercise the powers conferred upon it to control the coffee industry leaving its management, as before, mainly to the growers, the commercial cleaners and graders and the merchants. In 1957, when the Coffee Board was founded the export of Ethiopian coffee was high. It reached a total of 50,220 tons in that year, as compared with 30,945 tons in 1956 and 41,752 tons in 1955. Increased production, in Ethiopia as elsewhere, had been encouraged by the high prices obtainable for coffee in world markets, especially in the United States, Ethiopia's main customer for coffee.

Moreover the Ethiopian Highway Authority during the few previous years, had been actively constructing and improving roads from the western coffee growing provinces to the coffee market in Addis Ababa, which opened many of these potentially rich producing areas to commercial possibilities hitherto closed to them.

This had long been a cherished aim of the Emperor Haile Sellassie; already in the first part of his reign, before the Italian interregnum, he had commenced improving the roads to the west. Agricultural instruction in the Agricultural School in the Jimma area was already directed toward improving coffee growing and processing.

Nevertheless, though Ethiopian coffee exports were still rising and a good price for it was still being obtained in 1957, its price had already fallen below the rates paid for it in New York in several previous years as is indicated in the following table. The prices there given are for Jimma coffee. Harar coffee is of finer quality and therefore commands a higher price. But it is produced in smaller quantities than are included in the group: Jimma, Sidamo, Lekempti, Dembidolo, Gore and Ghimbi coffees from west and south Ethiopia, which are largely drawn from the forests. Moreover Harar coffee had also suffered a fall in price:

Spot Prices in New York
U.S. Cents per lb.

Year	Brazilian, Santos 4	Ethiopian Jimma (Usual good quality)
1952	54.1	50.7
1953	58.5	52.7
1954	78.3	—
1955	56.9	50.5
1956	58.4	55.7
1957	57.3	49.9
1958	49.3	44.9
December 1958	42.0	39.6
May 1959	37.5	36.3
June 1959		36.3
July 1959		36.7
August 1959		36.0

The fall in the price of Jimma coffee in New York from 55.7 U.S. cents per lb. in 1956, continued steadily year by year, till 1959, when it fetched only 36 U.S. cents per lb. This had serious repercussions in the Ethiopian economy for coffee covers about 70 per cent. of all Ethiopian Exports.

The history of the coffee industry has long been one of alternate cycles of over production and low prices and under production and high prices. So recently as 1948 an analysis of potential production for the forthcoming year was made by the Pan-American Coffee Bureau. The Bureau declared that world consumption would amount to 32,000,000 bags each containing 132 pounds, but only about 27,000,000 bags would be produced. During World War II coffee consumption had declined; coffee production had consequently been reduced. In the post-war years, 1946-1952, world coffee production had averaged 28,900,000 bags. The world's consumption had averaged 30,700,000 bags. There had therefore been an annual deficit in production. This deficit, fast increasing, was made up from the immense surplus stored by Brazil during the years when consumption was low. In the autumn of 1959, however Brazil reported that all this surplus had been consumed.

The world's coffee traders and the world's consumers were faced with a shortage. Prices rose; Brazilian Santos 4, which had been sold wholesale for 7 cents a pound in 1940, rose to 52.5 cents a pound in the autumn of 1949. The Americans, who had begun drinking more

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coffee since World War II, now found themselves obliged to pay as much as 85 cents a lb. for their favourite blends.

The inevitable reaction to high prices was increased coffee growing. Planting was extended in all the coffee growing countries, in Central and South America, Africa and Asia. Consequently by 1953 the world's exportable production had risen to 32,300,000 bags; world consumption was 33,200,000 bags; the deficit would soon be made up. Prices were still high; increased planting continued.

Coffee experts began to foresee a world coffee surplus. Statistics from coffee areas led them to anticipate a production in 1959 of upwards of 42,500,000 bags and a consumption in that year of 38,000,000 bags, made up by 23,000,000 consumed by the United States, 12,000,000 consumed by Europe; the remaining 3,000,000 they estimated would be used by the rest of the world. Accordingly they calculated a surplus production round about 1959 of 4,500,000 bags.

This prediction has proved to be utterly at fault. The lure of high prices had caused a larger multitude of coffee trees to be planted and a greater expenditure of care on the trees than the experts had anticipated. World coffee production reached 43,996,000 bags in the year 1953-54 and had attained the all-time record of 67,368,000 bags in the year 1959-60. This is shown in the following table, published by the State Bank of Ethiopia in its Report on Economic Conditions and Market Trends of November 1959 compiled on the basis of figures supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture in September, 1959.

Green Coffee in Thousands of Bags

1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56
41,513	43,996	42,013	50,277
1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
45,340	54,934	59,777	67,368

The fluctuations occurring in certain years are due to the fact that coffees, like apples, bear heavier crops in alternate years.

In June 1959 the United States Department of Agriculture and Foreign Crops and Markets Department published a report on world coffee production which we reproduce on page 208. The figures there given reveal that in every coffee producing area in all parts of the world coffee production has increased considerably. It is evident that new trees have everywhere been planted and are beginning to produce their harvests which are likely to continue increasing for several years. Since the coffee market is dominated by the law of supply and demand, surplus supplies inevitably result in a lowering of prices.

This is a situation which would seem to call for profound consideration by the United Nations. In the meantime the great coffee growing countries, which produce about 85 per cent. of the world's coffee, have entered into an agreement to limit for twelve months their sale of coffee to the traditional importers of coffee from them, but they are free to sell as much as they can to "new markets", in countries such as Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania and the countries of South Eastern Asia. The agreement is therefore in some measure illusory, for the countries above named, though they may appear "new markets" to the signatories of the agreement, have consumed coffee since the seventeenth century, and if they did not purchase directly from the parties to the agreement, they must have done so from stocks supplied to others by the parties to the agreement, or from producers who do not participate in it. Though Brazil, the largest producer, has agreed to limit her sales to her traditional customers to 17,431,000 bags, it is officially announced that she is launching an intensive campaign to sell in the so-called new market countries above named.

Other parties to the Agreement have quotas as follows: Colombia 5,969,000 bags; El Salvador 1,259,000 bags; Mexico 1,303,000 bags; Portugal 1,165,000 bags; Costa Rica 694,000 bags. The other participating countries have smaller quotas. In total the signatories were altogether pledged not to sell more than 32,650,000 bags to the totality of their former customers. The reduction in their sales will be gathered by reference to the table on page 208. It will be seen that while their total production was 65,568,000 bags in 1959-60, their total sales quota was restricted to 32,650,000 bags, leaving a vast surplus of 32,918,000 bags—more than half the crop—to be disposed of somehow. The quota countries doubtless pressed by their home populations, soon began to agitate for larger quotas and to appeal to European countries to reduce coffee taxes in order that their people would consume more coffee.

The United Kingdom refrained from participating in the agreement but decided to reduce the export from Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda by withholding from the market 54,000 bags. Among the countries which have not participated in the agreement are the Belgian Congo, Indonesia, India and the Yemen. Ethiopia has also remained aloof, her 50,000 tons (900,000 bags) would count little in these huge dealings, moreover during the past eight years she had borrowed what to her modest economy were very large loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in order to improve roads between the coffee producing areas and the seaports; to enable her to pay the interest and eventually to repay these loans she must use these roads for the purpose intended.

Ethiopa's loss by the fall in the price of Jimma coffee was very considerable. The average export of this crop during the years 1955-59 was 41,000 tons. The reduction in price from 50 to 35 U.S. cents. per pound involved an annual loss of nearly 34 million dollars. Every U.S. cent. reduction involved a loss of two million Ethiopian dollars.

Prices were still falling: In November 1959 they rallied slightly and in 1960 appeared to be stabilised approximately as follows:

		U.S. cents. per lb.
Jimma Coffee	immediate shipment	32.75
,, ,,	forward (prompt shipment)	32.50
,, ,,	spot	33.50
Harar Coffee	immediate shipment	35.50
,, ,,	forward (prompt shipment)	33.50
,, ,,	spot	36.50

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For a number of years it had been evident that Ethiopia's prosperity as an exporter of coffee, her main crop, must lie in producing coffee of high quality, which always finds an assured market because not sufficient high quality coffee is produced in the world to satisfy the demand for it. The glut is in the lower grade coffee of which Brazil is the main exporter.

The recognition of this fact and the deteriorating situation of coffee prices and of the quantities exported caused serious dismay in Ethiopia, for coffee exports fell from 50,681 metric tons in 1957 to 39,861 metric tons in 1958. The fall in the value of coffee exports was even greater; it was Eth. $123,029,000 in 1957 and had fallen to Eth. $84,051,000 in 1958.

Accordingly the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Planning issued new regulations to give further powers to the National Coffee Board with a view to improving the quality of Ethiopian coffee and promoting the welfare of the industry. These regulations were contained in Legal Notice No. 218 of 1959 and were published in the official gazette, *Negarit Gazeta*, January 29, 1959.

The 1959 regulations provided:

Coffee only to be Picked When Ripe

"(1) Every grower shall maintain the coffee trees on his land and arrange for the picking of his coffee crop when it is ripe.

"(2) No person shall:

(a) pick or permit the picking of coffee which is unripe;

(b) dry coffee on the ground or permit coffee when drying to be in contact with any noxious substance;

(c) use artificial heat for the purpose of drying coffee unless it be in a manner acceptable to the Board;

(d) hold or store coffee except under such conditions as will maintain it in good condition and prevent its deterioration.

Coffee to be Dried on Tables or Trays with air passing through

"(3) Except as is otherwise provided in (2) (c) above, coffee shall be dried:

(a) on raised tables or trays which permit of air passing freely through the coffee; or

(b) on a cement or stone floor which is kept absolutely clean.

Coffee Dealers must be Licensed

"No person shall transact any business in coffee unless he is licensed in this behalf by the Board; provided, however, that no retailer of provisions shall require a license for:

(1) the purchase of coffee from a licensed coffee dealer or a grower;

(2) the sale of such coffee in retail quantities not exceeding three kilograms (3 kgs.) in weight sold to any one purchaser at any one time.

"The Board may issue licences of the following descriptions:

(1) 'Coffee Dealer's "A" Licence,' which shall authorise the licensee to deal in coffee and to export the same:

(2) 'Coffee Dealer's "B" Licence,' which shall authorise the licensee to purchase coffee in a market and to sell but not to export the same."

Licences for Pulping, Drying Cleaning and Grading Coffee Required

Licences were now required to operate pulping and drying stations. The regulations for cleaning and grading licences were also rendered more rigorous. Provision was made for inspection of cleaning and grading premises.

"(3) 'Pulping Station "C" License,' which shall authorise the licensee to maintain and operate a pulping station and a drying station;

(4) 'Drying Station "D" License,' which shall authorise the licensee to maintain and operate a drying station;

(5) 'Cleaner and Grader "E" Licence,' which shall authorise the licensee to engage in the business of coffee cleaning and grading in accordance with the Coffee (Cleaning and Grading) Proclamation of 1952 (121 of 1952) as amended;

provided, however, that no grower who maintains and operates a pulping station or a drying station only for his own produce, or who cleans and/or grades his own coffee shall be required to obtain any of the licenses specified under paragraphs (3), (4) or (5) of this Article VI.

"VII (1) The issue of any license under Article VI of these Regulations shall be at the discretion of the Board and subject to such conditions and restrictions as the Board may from time to time determine, and may include, *inter alia*, the delimination of areas in which license holders may operate.

(2) Every license issued under Article VI of these Regulations shall specify the premises upon which the business specified in the license is to be carried on.

(3) Every license issued under Article VI of these Regulations shall be valid for one (1) year and shall be renewed annually at the discretion of the Board. Licenses already granted or renewed may, at the discretion of the Board, be cancelled, revoked, or modified.

(4) No license issued under Article VI of these Regulations shall authorise the holder thereof to conduct any business other than that specified in the license.

(5) The Board may, in connection with the issuance or renewal of a 'Cleaner and Grader 'E' License' charge the fees set forth in the Coffee (Cleaning and Grading) Proclamation of 1952 (121 of 1952) as amended by Decree No. 29 of 1957. No fees shall be charged for the issuance of other licenses hereunder.

(6) Every person required to be provided with a license under these Regulations shall produce the same on the demand of an Inspector."

Malpractices

Provision was made to punish malpractices such as the wetting of coffee to make it weigh heavier.

In Ethiopia the majority of the merchants—both wholesale and retail—are foreigners.

"VIII (1) No person may re-wet coffee which has once been dried.

(2) No person may possess undried coffee; provided, however, that this paragraph (2) shall not apply:

(a) to a coffee grower who is in possession of undried coffee pending preparation for market or delivery

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to a pulping or drying station; or

(b) to a licensee of a pulping or drying station who may be in possession of undried coffee for the purpose of pulping or drying the same.

(3) No person may adulterate or abet the adulteration of coffee with any substance.

(4) No person may contaminate or permit the contamination of coffee with any noxious substance.

"IX The Board may appoint Inspectors who shall be empowered and authorised to enter upon the premises of all license holders granted licenses under Article VI hereof to determine if any violation of these Regulations has taken place and to inspect stocks of coffee in the possession of the license holders.

"X The Board may direct that all or any coffee, having been sold to a licensed dealer, shall be delivered to the Board at any stated address for the purpose of inspection and treatment and any coffee with respect to which such a direction is issued shall be promptly so delivered.

"XI (1) Any person who adulterates or permits the adulteration of coffee in such a way as to endanger public health is punishable in accordance with the provisions of Article 511 of the Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia of 1957 and any coffee so adulterated may be confiscated pursuant to the applicable provisions of the said Penal Code and no claim therefore or for the value thereof shall lie.

(2) Violation of any of the other provisions of these Regulations is punishable in accordance with the provisions of Article 355 of the Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia, 1957."

LICENSES FOR EXPORT AND FOR SALE IN ETHIOPIA

By Legal Notice No. 219, 1959, regulations were now issued under the Coffee Cleaning and Grading Proclamation of 1952 requiring that all licensed coffee cleaners and graders apply a specified classification system in cleaning and grading coffee, and also instructing them to issue a certificate for each batch of coffee dealt with by them stating whether it is eligible for export or only for domestic consumption:

"Every licensed coffee cleaner and grader is required to issue for every separate lot of coffee cleaned and graded by him a certificate in the form provided in Schedule B (Export Certificate), if for export, or in the form provided in Schedule C (Domestic Certificate), if for domestic consumption."

The original copy of the certificate must be delivered by the coffee cleaner and grader to the owner of the coffee, or his agent, and thereafter to the purchaser abroad, or to his banker, along with the bill of lading and other shipping documents. Other copies were to be held by the licensed cleaner and grader, the exporter and the purchaser and subsequently presented to the customs officers with the customs declaration at the time of export.

Certificates for coffee restricted to domestic consumption were to be dealt with thus.

"6 Domestic certificates shall be issued in duplicate. The original shall be delivered to the owner and the copy shall be retained by the licensed coffee cleaner and grader.

Coffee Licensed for Export

"7. All coffee for which an export certificate is issued shall be placed in bags, which shall bear the Grade of Coffee contained therein and the customs station specified by the owner. If the coffee is not under consignment to a purchaser abroad, it shall be placed in a bonded warehouse to wait exportation.

Inspection and Penal Sanctions

"10. Customs officials are authorised to prohibit the exportation of any coffee not covered by an authentic copy of the export certificate provided in Paragraph 5 and Schedule B hereof.

"11. Appropriately designated representatives of the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia are authorised to inspect and control at any reasonable time or place any coffee which has been certified by a licensed coffee cleaner and grader as conforming to these regulations."

Penalties were prescribed for violation of these regulations.

SCHEDULE A.

In Schedule A the specifications for "Cleaned and and Graded Coffee" were set forth:

"1. No Coffee shall be certified to be 'Cleaned and Graded Coffee' unless it contains less than 11.5 per cent. of moisture by weight.

"2. No Coffee shall be certified to be 'Cleaned and Graded Coffee' unless it has been cleaned and graded according to the grading table hereinafter provided.

"3. No Coffee shall be certified to be 'Cleaned and Graded Coffee' unless it is free of mould, noxious fermentation and the effects therof.

"4. All Coffee certified to be 'Cleaned and Graded Coffee' shall be classified according to origin and grade as follows:

"(a) Origin shall be designated according to the usags of the trade as 'Harar,' 'Sidamo,' 'Jimma,' or 'Lekempti.'

"(b) There shall be eight grades, which shall be determined by the number of defects found in a 300 gram sample according to the following table:

Grade 1	0 — 3	defects
Grade 2	4 — 12	,,
Grade 3	13 — 25	,,
Grade 4	26 — 45	,,
Grade 5	46 — 100	,,

"The above five grades may be described as U.G.Q. (Usual Good Quality); no coffee containing more than 100 defects may be described as U.G.Q. (Usual Good Quality).

Grade 6	101 — 153	defects
Grade 7	154 — 340	,,
Grade 8 S.S. (Sub-Standard grade) over 340 defects		

"5. Defects shall be counted as follows:

1	black or white bean	Counts	1 defect
1	cherry (djaffal)	,,	1 ,,
5	green (soft) beans	,,	1 ,,
10	pieces of broken beans ...	,,	1 ,,
1	empty cherry skin, small ...	,,	1 ,,
1	empty cherry skin, big ...	,,	2 defects
1	piece of earth, small (approx. 2 mm diameter)	,,	3 ,,
1	stone, small (approx. 2 mm diameter)	,,	3 ,,

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1 piece of wood up to approx. 5 mm length	Counts	3	defects
1 piece of earth, medium (approx. 4 mm diameter) ...	„	5	„
1 stone, medium (approx. 4 mm diameter)	„	5	„
1 piece of wood up to approx. 10 mm length	„	5	„
1 piece of earth, big (approx. 7 mm diameter)	„	10	„
1 stone, big (approx. 7 mm diameter)	„	10	„
1 piece of wood up to approx. 20 mm length	„	10	„
1 red bean	„	10	„
1 wanza seed	„	10	„

The certificate that coffee was licensed for export was prescribed as follows:

SCHEDULE B.

Certificate of Cleanliness and Grade of Ethiopian Coffee for Export.

I, ..., a licensed Coffee Cleaner and Grader, holding Licence No..... under the provisions of the Coffee (Cleaning and Grading) Proclamation 1952 of the Imperial Ethiopian Government hereby certify under the penalties in said Proclamation and Regulations provided that the lot of Coffee described below has been cleaned and graded by me or under my supervision; that the same is clean, well dried and free of moulds and noxious fermentation and effects thereof; that it contains less than 11.5 per cent of moisture by weight and that said lot of Coffee is classified and graded as follows:

Origin .....

Grade .....

Description of Lot.
(include weight, number of bags, marks, dates and other marks of identification).

Signature .....

Licence No. .....

The certificate for coffee permitted for sale for domestic consumption read thus:

SCHEDULE C.

Certificate of Cleanliness and Grade of Ethiopian Coffee for Domestic Consumption.

I, ..., a licensed Coffee Cleaner and Grader, holding Licence No..... under the provisions of the Coffee (Cleaning and Grading) Proclamation 1952 of the Imperial Ethiopian Government hereby certify under the penalties in said Proclamation and Regulations provided that the lot of Coffee described below has been cleaned and graded by me or under my supervision; that the same is clean, well dried and free of moulds and noxious fermentation and effects thereof; that it contains less than 11.5 per cent of moisture by weight and that said lot of Coffee is classified and graded as follows:

Origin .....

Grade .....

Description of Lot.
(include weight, number of bags, marks, dates and other marks of identification).

Signature .....

Licence No. .....

Further Measures Still Needed

The regulations had now been rendered precise and formal and penalties prescribed for growers and licensed cleaners and graders who failed to comply with them. It was hoped that improvements would result. The Minister of Commerce, Industry and Planning and the members of the Coffee Board however soon discovered that the new regulations were disregarded with little less frequency than the old.

It was evident that further measures must be taken and that a close supervision of coffee coming from the western and southern areas to Addis Ababa must be instituted.

The Coffee Centre was accordingly established to inspect every consignment of coffee approaching the city.

World Coffee Production

GREEN COFFEE :

World total production for the marketing year 1959/60 with comparisons. Figures in thousands of bags of 132 lb.

	Averages 1950/51–1954/55	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60 estimate
South America					
Brazil	18,964	18,000	25,000	30,000	34,000
Colombia	6,330	6,500	7,800	7,300	7,800
Venezuela	729	850	825	850	850
Other	548	840	870	980	1,020
	26,571	26,190	34,495	39,130	43,670
Other America					
Mexico	1,373	1,600	1,840	1,700	2,000
Guatemala	1,129	1,250	1,420	1,345	1,500
El Salvador	1,216	1,500	1,380	1,500	1,500
Costa Rica	439	600	750	910	915
Cuba	542	610	725	675	750
Dom Republic ..	455	475	650	425	625
Other	1,686	1,665	1,900	1,665	1,975
	6,840	7,700	8,665	8,220	9,265
Africa					
French W. Africa	1,342	1,935	1,885	2,350	2,500
British E. Africa	1,258	2,065	2,225	2,325	2,425
Belgian Congo and R.U.	613	950	1,235	1,285	1,435
Angola	990	1,350	1,285	1,350	1,400
Ethiopia	613	865	950	900	900
Madagascar	634	950	950	750	800
Other	437	710	815	1,098	1,136
	5,887	8,825	9,345	10,058	10,596
Asia and Oceania					
Indonesia	985	1,550	1,300	1,200	1,200
India	387	685	735	750	800
Others	345	390	394	419	437
	1,717	2,625	2,429	2,369	2,437
	41,015	45,340	54,934	59,777	65,968

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Crops and Markets, June 25, 1959.

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The Addis Ababa Coffee Centre

SUPERVISION AND LICENSING

In July 1959 the Ethiopian National Coffee Board, established by His Imperial Majesty in 1957, took a step which is destined to prove an important landmark in Ethiopian coffee history and in Ethiopia's national economy.

This far-sighted project is the creation of a coffee examining and licensing centre at Makenissa on the outskirts of Addis Ababa. Henceforth all coffee coming for sale in Addis Ababa, wherever it may have been grown, must be brought to the Coffee Centre for examination. This involves a close supervision, never before exercised in respect of Ethiopian coffee, or indeed of any other Ethiopian agricultural product.

No coffee may now be sold, whether in Ethiopia or abroad unless it has been licensed by the Ethiopian Coffee Board. While exercising a careful control at the Coffee Centre over all coffee coming to Addis Ababa, which includes 75 per cent. of all Ethiopian coffee, the Board now has its inspectors at the railways customs offices in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, at the seaports of Massawa and Assab and also at the river port of Gambeila for coffee exported in the rainy season by river transport toward the Sudan.

Discussions were held, and indeed, are continuing, with all participants in the coffee industry, to arouse their interest in the effort of the Coffee Board to raise the standard of growing, harvesting, cleaning and grading of Ethiopian coffee and to induce them all to co-operate wholeheartedly for the prosperity of the industry, in a spirit of collective responsibility.

Since the specifications for cleaned and graded coffee were issued in January 1959, the Coffee Board, in consultation with all concerned, has resolved to establish a higher standard for the national coffee, to which growers, curers and merchants must now conform. No more than 8 per cent of what are termed "impurities" are now allowed. These consist of small stones, crumbs of earth, broken beans, beans gathered before they reached maturity, which turn black, or when over-ripe, peaberries, beans from which the outer coverings have not been removed, in other words beans that have not been fully hulled, beans insufficiently dried which are too green. Seeds of the wanza tree which resemble coffee in appearance and may be mixed with it if due care is not taken.

The Coffee Centre comprises half a gasha of land (50 acres). It lies on the rising land beyond Addis Ababa airport and the golf course in lovely rural, well wooded country. It overlooks the north bank of the Makanissa River and affords magnificent views of the city and the surrounding mountains. Adjoining Guido's riding school it is easily found by the large notices bearing the words National Coffee Board posted by the road, with an arrow pointing to the site.

Entering upon the land from the main Jimma road to the heart of the coffee country and the coffee forests far away, the administrative building of the centre can be seen at the top of the slope. The great lorries loaded high with sacks of coffee are silhouetted against the sky, awaiting their turn for inspection.

Near the gate is a rest-house for the drivers of those great vehicles, who have come the long, hard way from the coffee forests and plantations of the remote west and south. Lean, active men, with keen dark eyes and intelligent faces, their slender brown limbs are lightly clad in varicoloured cotton clothes. Many are wearing turbans, they have reached here in four or five days and nights of almost continuous driving, by roads often rough, rugged and precipitous, through the clouds of dust and the hot blaze of tropical-sunshine.

They have come through the velvet darkness of the night, lit only by the headlights of the lorry, or occasionally by the gleaming eyes of some nocturnal feline wanderer. In the dark silence, broken only by the sound of the wheels and the engine, the cries of night-birds, the slashing noise of branches, whipping the sides of the huge vehicle as it lurches top-heavily over the deeply scarred surfaces of paths too narrow for its unwieldy bulk.

In the light of returning day and the fresh, reviving breezes of morning, a pause for food at some rare road-house affords a brief respite to the weary driver. Then he must clamber again to the high driving seat and proceed on, on, on, till the descending sun ahead dazzles the eyes as he skirts sheer precipices by winding roads carved in the sheer rock wall of the mountain, beset by the peril of blinding dust-clouds on the verge of the depths below. And so night follows day, and day succeeds to night.

A hard life it is indeed; the hot and cold shower-baths, provided without charge, are a welcome relief to these road-weary, dust-begrimed drivers. Tea, coffee and other beverages, food at a low charge are truly essential to them. Beds for 30 men are available for 25 cents (about 9d.), to cover the cost of washing the sheets. Some of the great lorries have beds for their drivers, but others have not; for the drivers of the latter these beds are an inestimable boon.

What a necessity is this rest-house—and yet an innovation—the first of its kind in Ethiopia, the result of the kind solicitude of the young Ethiopian Executive Secretary of the Coffee Board, whom we shall presently meet with his colleague and expert adviser, when we have mounted the hill.

The Coffee Centre has commenced its work inexpensively in a prefabricated warehouse erected for its

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purpose. There is space for sampling rooms and a coffee exchange to be developed later. There is room for a laboratory and for the testing of coffee, already being carried out by a number of keenly interested young Ethiopians, who have been trained at the agricultural schools and several girl hand-pickers.

There is also the office of the Executive Secretary of the Coffee Board, Ato Lemma Frehywot and of the English technical adviser, Mr. Maclean. The young Ato Lemma, educated in U.S.A., is enthusiastic, eager, tremendously determined that the Coffee Centre shall fulfil its purpose by the utmost vigilance in raising the standard of Ethiopian Coffee and in ensuring that no imperfectly processed, sub-standard beans shall go to market. He is grateful for this opportunity to do this solidly useful work and looks forward to its extension to ensure more complete efficiency. His mind is set upon the importance of erecting on the site grading machinery which has become a necessity to the marketing of high quality coffee. He is inspired by the conviction that first class coffee will always find a market and by the will to ensure that Ethiopian coffee shall achieve its potential excellence by adequate care in growing and processing it. He looks forward to lowering the permitted scale of impurities from the present 8 per cent. to 6 per cent. next year.

Mr. Maclean, the expert adviser, a much older man, has had experience in the coffee industry in East Africa. In a quiet, undemonstrative way, he reveals an almost tender affection for the coffee tree, as such, and expresses a sincere desire that the "wonderful coffee of Ethiopia" shall be cared for and developed to the full. He is a typical agronomist, patient and meticulous, as every true agriculturist must be.

As the lorries move up to the Centre in turn, one of the young inspectors selects, at random, a sack from one of the many piled up on the nearest vehicle. He thrusts into the sack at any point which pleases him—top, bottom, left side or right—a spoonlike sampling iron with which he brings out a sample of 350 cubic centimetres of coffee beans. He pours these beans into a small bag, marks the bag with a number and casts it on a shelf where a pile of similar little bags is mounting steadily, as successive samples are taken. The drivers make way for each other's vehicles and withdraw to await the inspector's report.

Each coffee sample is weighed on a small pair of scales, delicately adjusted, to test whether it has been adequately dried; it must not contain more than 11 per cent. of humidity by weight. If the young inspector considers the coffee too humid he brings the sample to the expert advisor. Mr. Maclean gravely breaks one of the beans with a small tool made for the purpose. If the bean does not break with the requisite snap; if its colour also reveals to the expert eye that it is too humid the inspector's adverse report is confirmed. The whole consignment from which the small sample was taken must all be unloaded and carried to the drying trays at the Centre, where it will be exposed to the sun and turned as required. It must be covered at night to avoid the dew which it would readily absorb.

The utility of the sleeping accommodation for drivers is now evident for this additional drying may occupy more than a day.

The small sample bags of coffee are constantly being passed to the girl hand-pickers. They are seated around a large table. Each girl empties the beans from one of the little bags on to the table and carefully eyes every bean, pushing aside with her delicate little fingers all the defective ones, any little stone or crumb of earth. These she gathers together and places in a slender cylindrical measuring glass on which centimetres are marked. One of the inspectors now appears to examine the result of the hand-picking—the perfect beans on the table, the defective in the measuring glass. He enters the percentage of defective beans and of humidity in his report, which is countersigned by the chief inspector and submitted to the owner of the coffee along with the 350 cubic centimetre sample on which the report is based, as follows:

National Coffee Board of Ethiopia
Coffee Centre

To be returned to the Centre through the buyer

Report and Sample No.....
Name of Owner.....
Identification of vehicle bringing the coffee.....
Coffee Licence No.....
Primary Market and Province from which the coffee originated .....

Quantity of Coffee

Number of Bags ..... Gross Weight.....

If on the sale of this coffee the buyer finds it of substantially lower quality than stated below, the chief inspector of the National Coffee Board should be notified immediately.

If on further investigation it is found that the coffee has been tampered with between the time of leaving the Coffee Centre and delivery to the buyer, the seller will be held responsible.

Signature of Owner or Agent.....

Inspector's Report

State of Dryness .....
Defectives .....
Djefel (peaberry) .....
Black beans .....
White beans .....
Green beans .....
Earth .....
Wanza seeds .....
Other impurities .....
Broken beans .....
Date.....
Inspector's signature .....
Chief Inspector's signature .....

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Coffee which does not contain more than 28 cubic centimetres (8 per cent.) of defectives will receive the certificate of the Coffee Board, permitting it to be sold. If intended for export it will necessarily be hand-picked throughout; otherwise it will not find a market abroad. Moreover it will be submitted to further sampling when it reaches the customs where a larger sample of 300 grammes will be taken and a licence for export may be refused on the score of discoloured beans which hand-picking would eliminate.

Coffee found by sampling at the Coffee Centre to contain more than 8 per cent. of defectives is sent by the Coffee Centre for further cleaning to one of the two Licensed Coffee Cleaning firms in Addis Ababa which are not also exporters. These firms are: Denis Antipas and Brothers, and The Ethiopian Coffee Cleaning Establishment Ltd. (ECCEL). The machinery of either of these firms will eliminate any of the hulls which have not already been removed and will blow away portions of the husks and other small impurities. The machine, however, cannot replace the hand-picker in removing beans which are merely discoloured.

The coffee owner has to pay the cost of cleaning it by one of these firms and when this has been done the coffee must be returned to the Centre for further sampling and examination. If it is found still to contain more than 8 per cent. of defectives after this special cleaning a certificate permitting its export will not be granted. It may either be refused any certificate or it may be granted a certificate for Ethiopian consumption only, in which case a much lower price will be obtained for it.

Considerable success has rewarded the measures taken at the Coffee Centre. When operations were first commenced there, the samples taken from the loads presented a spotted appearance like plums in a cake, owing to the numerous dried cherries from which the outer skin had not been removed, and the many cherries picked before ripening which had shrivelled and turned black. The growers from the far interior are anxious to avoid the expense of cleaning in Addis Ababa by order of the Coffee Centre; they therefore endeavour to get their coffee efficiently cleaned before it leaves their home locality. Accordingly the samples taken from the coffee coming to the Centre during recent months are greatly improved; they appear almost uniform in colour.

Coffee owners are eager to obtain the certificate of the Coffee Centre for their coffee, as if it is refused they have no right to sell their coffee and if they succeed in doing so illegally, they can only obtain a very low price for it. If despite the Coffee Board inspectors some unlicensed coffee is smuggled abroad, this can only be on a very small scale and for very little profit.

The Coffee Board and the Coffee Centre do not content themselves by imposing restrictions and penalties; active measures are taken to advise the coffee growers on measures to improve the quality of their coffee prior to its submission to the Centre at Makanisse. The necessity of gathering only ripe cherries and of drying them adequately are emphasised to the growers, both when they arrive at the Coffee Centre and in their home localities. They are warned against mixing spoilt cherries gathered from the ground with the good cherries gathered from the tree, and against allowing their coffee to be transported along with hides, sisal or other local produce which would impart to it an obnoxious odour and flavour and destroy its market value.

The Coffee Board has 25 inspectors in the growing areas who have been trained at the Ethiopian Imperial College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Alem Maya. The advantages of "washed" coffee and the better price obtainable for it are emphasised. Growers are advised by the Board's inspectors to make use of the Aqua-pulper installed by the Development Bank at Suntu. Growers who are too far away from Suntu to make use of this machine and have purchased a hand-operated pulper to process coffee by the wet method are carefully taught how to make the best use of it and to use fermentation for removing the mucilage from the "parchment coffee", as is successfully done elsewhere.

This advice has been welcomed and acted upon by some progressive growers, one of whom, Ato Takla Mariam, we happened by chance to meet at the Coffee Centre. He began with washed coffee as an experiment, on a small scale, and was so much gratified by the result that he proposed greatly to extend it to a larger proportion of his crop. Some growers are not financially able to purchase the equipment necessary for the wet process. Others are reluctant to venture their capital on it.

As yet barely one per cent of Ethiopian coffee is processed by the wet method. The same would probably be the case, for example in Kenya, had the Government not established a central pulpery for the purpose.

The Ethiopian Development Bank, though a Government created institution has not been endowed with authority either to enforce the use of its pulpery at Suntu or to take such steps as would provide for its use by the local growers. It therefore performs only a restricted service.

The Bank is otherwise active on a modest scale in assisting the coffee industry. Its branch offices in Jimma, opened in 1953, and in Goré, opened in 1957, have aided the coffee growers of Kaffa and Ilubabor provinces respectively. Owners of coffee plantations and forests have been enabled each to borrow Eth. $5,000 (about £714) for land improvement and coffee growing, when able to give adequate security. A coffee expert has been engaged by the bank and is giving valuable advice to coffee-growing borrowers. Between 1953 and 1959 the Development Bank lent Eth. $4,172,920 (about £546,131) to coffee growers and thus modestly promoted the expansion of coffee growing. Repayments of the loans have been satisfactory and the Bank is continually expanding its loan service to coffee growers. The Bank has thus done useful work though operating on a small scale.

The Coffee Board and Coffee Centre by their power to license, or to withhold license, in respect of all coffee marketing in Ethiopia are able to exercise a more extensive supervision than has hitherto been attempted. The valuable results which have been achieved by that supervision were highly praised by Mr. Abel of the Development Bank which is represented on the Coffee Board, when we enquired of him concerning the effect

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of the Coffee Centre's activities. Two letters which had been received at the Coffee Centre at the time of our visit there from a firm of Swiss merchants voice the widespread satisfaction felt by commercial circles dealing in coffee:

CAFEX, S.à.r.l.
P.O. Box 49,
Addis Ababa.

"To the National Coffee Board, Addis Ababa.

"Sir,—We are happy to inform you by letter from our Swiss office, enclosed herewith, of the results already obtained by the measures you have taken in regard to the harvesting and drying of Ethiopian coffee.

"We take advantage of this occasion to thank Ato Lemma Frehywot and his collaborators in the interior for the diligence and devotion they have exercised in the application of measures, and the encouragement they have given to the individuals and firms who during the past three years have tried to make a success of washed coffee, but whose efforts, until the present, have been met by financial losses. Thanks to the efforts of the Coffee Board, we may foresee a better reputation for Ethiopian coffee and we may hope that in the forthcoming years, despite difficult world economic conditions, Ethiopian coffee may obtain a price approximating to that of Kenya. This would be an enormous advantage for Ethiopia."

The letter from the Cafex Swiss office enclosed with this communication was even more encouraging:

CAFEX, S.à.r.l.
Morges,
Switzerland.

"We take the present opportunity to tell you that our agents in Bremen, Hamburg, Vienna, Milan, Rome, etc. and our customers in those towns, with whom we have tasted the samples of coffee processed by the wet and dry methods you have sent us, have been very agreeably surprised. In fact this is the first time that, by common accord, all have found Ethiopian coffee 'pur à la tasse'. Our agents in Hamburg and Bremen have told us that this is certainly due to the measures taken by the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia in securing the gathering of red cherries alone and their drying in an adequate manner. This assures us that the Germans will purchase Ethiopian 'washed' coffee and gives us hope of doing business with them also in coffee processed by the dry method, though this quality was categorically refused in previous years, owing to the irregularity of its taste in the cup.

"Kindly transmit the results already achieved, with our compliments and hopes to the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia."

The report of the State Bank of Ethiopia on Economic Conditions and Market Trends for February 1960, declares that reports have reached the Bank from many quarters that there is an improvement in the quality of coffee from the western and southern provinces. Moreover the Bank remarks that this improvement is reflected in the fact that Ethiopian 'Jimma usual good quality' coffee has latterly risen in price as compared with Brazilian Santos 4. The Bank quoted with approval the intention to centralise the cleaning and grading of coffee at the Coffee Centre by providing up-to-date grading and storage facilities and a coffee exchange.

Though the Coffee Centre created by the Ethiopian National Coffee Board has achieved remarkable success, it has actually used few of the wide powers envisaged at the time of the Board's establishment in 1957. A cess of Eth. $3 per quintal on all coffee produced in or exported from Ethiopia was allowed by the Decree of 1957 for the purposes of the Board, subject to the decision of the Minister of Commerce and the approval of the Council of Ministers. Actually a cess of only one Ethiopian dollar per quintal has been levied. The powers to undertake coffee growing, to operate coffee processing machinery, to establish market-places in provincial centres and a market and coffee exchange in Addis Ababa with facilities for storage and to carry on trade in coffee, have none of them been exercised by the Board, although all these powers were granted by the decree. Power was also given for the establishment of experiment and research stations, coffee nurseries, the use of publicity to encourage improvement in methods of cultivation, harvesting and processing. Though none of these powers have yet been implemented, some, or all of them may be put into operation later.

It is widely agreed that at every stage of coffee growing, processing and marketing there are out-of-date methods to be eliminated and the need for new vigour and organisation is urgent to keep Ethiopia abreast with developments in other countries.

Some improvements and simplifications which the Coffee Centre hopes to introduce are not drastic but are of a practical, commonsense character; instead of the eight grades of coffee determined by the number of defects found in a 300 gramme sample, it is hoped to establish three grades only consisting of bold or large coffee beans, medium sized beans and small beans. These grades are now becoming usual, and are what is required for practical purposes. The system of restricting the defects permitted to 8 per cent. is already established at the Coffee Centre and as already explained it is intended to reduce the proportion of defectives allowed to 6 per cent.

The provision at the Coffee Centre of grading machinery to divide the coffee into the three grades, large, medium and small, would afford an excellent means of controlling the final product before it is packed for sale.

The plans which the Emperor Haile Sellassie has announced for providing Ethiopians with land of their own to cultivate, with means to obtain tools, seed and stock, and for establishing co-operatives must of necessity apply to coffee—Ethiopia's main crop. These plans will reinforce the activities of the Coffee Board which have been so successfully commenced.

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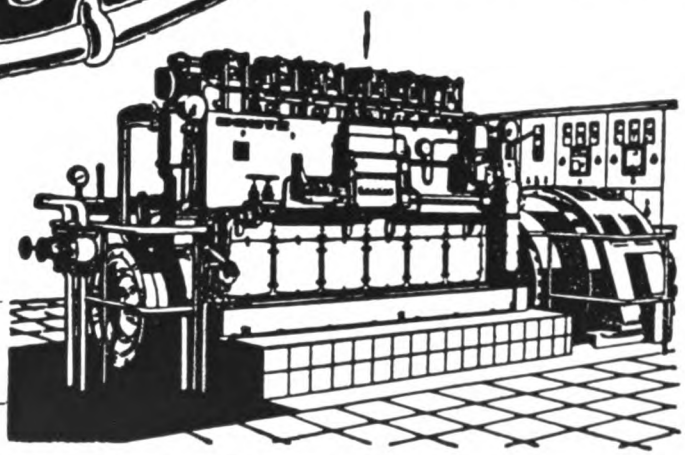

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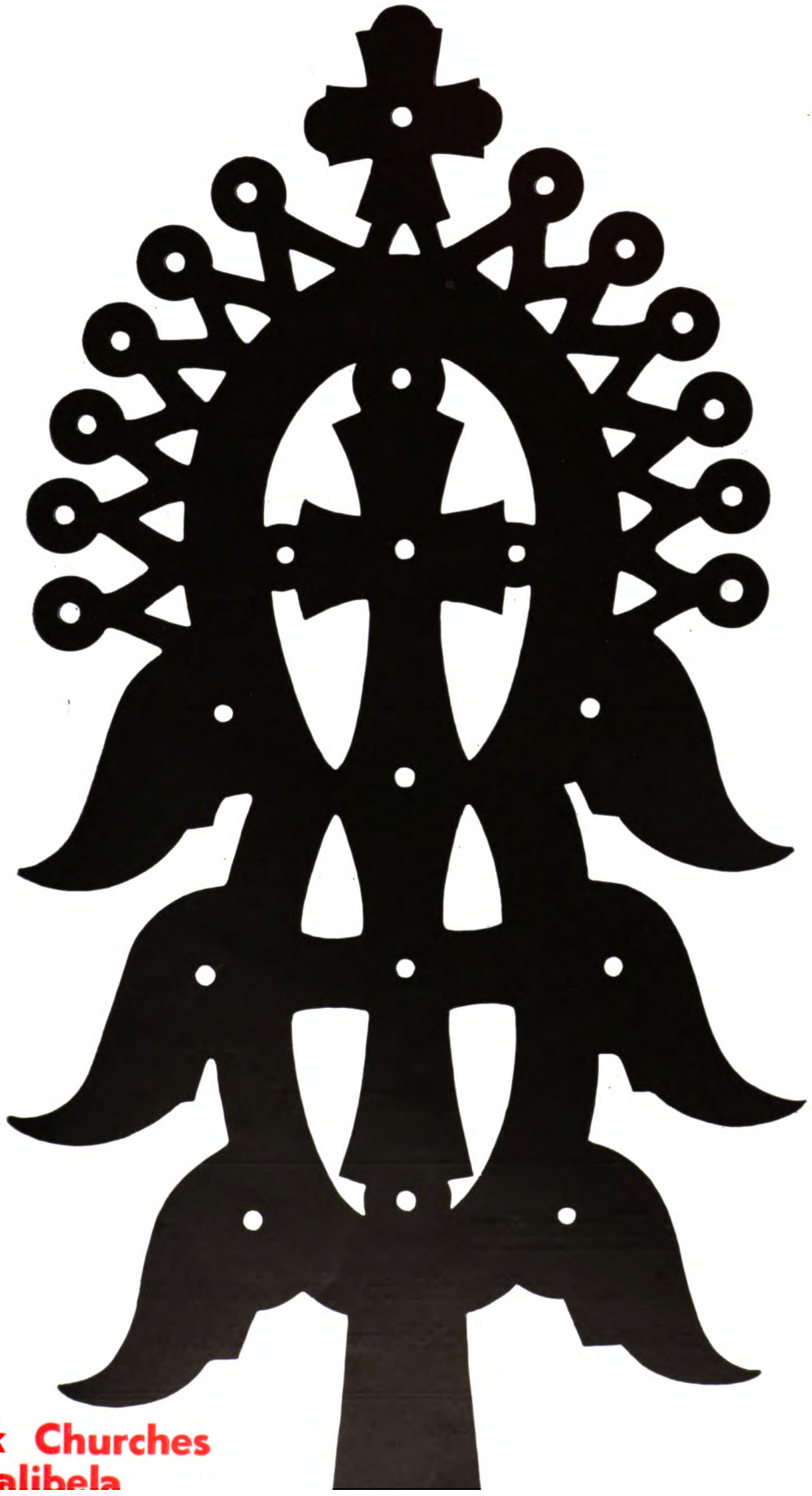

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The Iron Cross inlaid with gold, said to have been used by Lalibela, founder of the rock-hewn churches.

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Photo, Haile Mezenghe

Picture from Bieta Mercorios, Lalibela, now in the Archaeological Museum Addis Ababa

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The Monolithic Churches of Lalibela:
One of the Wonders of the World

By Sylvia Pankhurst

The indefatigable Portuguese chaplain, Francisco Alvares, is the first European known to have visited the rock-hewn churches of Roha, usually called Lalibela in the Lasta mountains. He described them as edifices "the like of which cannot be found in the world."

It was an amazing feat to hew from the mountain the vast blocks of the living rock which form these churches, to excavate the courtyards around them, the passages leading thereto. Still more extraordinary was the *tour de force* effected in hollowing out these blocks of stone, while shaping therein the columns which divide the nave and aisles, the chapels and their altars, the complexity of interior decoration and detail required for choir and transept, the windows and their elaborate fillings. All this was indeed a stupendous effort of human ingenuity and skill. Efforts to ascribe the design and workmanship of these churches to non-Ethiopian sources fail to carry conviction for compelling reasons :

(1) The style of these churches and every element of their detail is essentially Ethiopian and is to be found repeated across the centuries in built-up edifices from the Aksum period onward.

(2) Though Lalibela contains the finest examples, and eleven of them are extant there, some hundred others are known to exist in Ethiopia, whereas no other country has produced excavations of the same type.

The rock-hewn churches of Ethiopia bear no resemblance to Egyptian examples. They differ totally, not alone in architectural style, but also in being entirely detached, in the majority of cases, from the mountain, and in being elaborately shaped both within and without. The nearest approximate to the Lalibela churches is said to be the Dravidian temple, the Kailas, situated in the Indian village of Ellora in the State of Hyderabad. This remarkable building is also entirely detached from the mountain save for a rock bridge extending from the chambers cut in the surrounding rock to the upper storey of the temple. Like the Lalibela churches it is hollowed out and decorated within as well as without. The architectural style differs, however, radically from the Ethiopian tradition exemplified at Lalibela. Moreover, the Ellora temple was erected between A.D. 769 and 783, in the reign of King Krishnai of Malkhed, about 500 years before those of Lalibela. Rock-hewn temples in Egypt, as at Petra in Arabia, are usually mere façades sculptured on the face of the mountain with only rough caves in the rear. The temple at Abu Simbel in Egypt is sculptured also within, but is not detached from the mountain and the style is wholly unlike the Ethiopian rock churches.

(3) Ethiopian History and tradition ascribe the creation of the Lalibela monoliths to the initiative of the Ethiopian Sovereign of that name.

The suggestion that Egyptian masons who had fled to Ethiopia from persecution and oppression in their native land were employed on these works is not inconsistent with the fact that they are wholly Ethiopian in style. There is no doubt that, like the monolithic towers of Aksum, the churches at Lalibela followed the lines of existing built-up structures. It is possible, but not necessarily the case, that each of the rock churches at Lalibela imitated a particular built-up example, as has been suggested by Mr. D. R. Buxton.

It would appear, however, perhaps more probable that each of the rock-hewn churches was regarded as a new creation, though the style of existing built-up churches was followed by the architects and masons working according to the tradition of their time.

Their marvellous skill as masons and sculptors, their courage and ingenuity as architects must ever evoke admiration.

According to Ethiopian records King Lalibela, to whom is ascribed the origination of these famous monoliths, reigned from A.D. 1181 to 1221 according to the European calendar, approximately 1188 to 1228 according to the Gregorian calendar.

Lalibela was a member of the Zagwé dynasty, an intrusive line of Kings who reigned at a time when the ancient Solomonian line was interrupted for somewhat more than 300 years. This occurred in the reign of Del Naad, about A.D. 920. At this time the capital was transferred to the mountains of Lasta.

Achille Raffray, the French explorer, and his companion. Gabriel Simon, who visited Lalibela during the 1880s, made careful drawings of the churches. Raffray examined a manuscript written in Ge'ez (Ethiopic) which was preserved in Bieta Mariam in one of the Lalibela churches and was translated for him by Father Duflos. This MSS. contains a page written in Coptic, Ge'ez and Arabic by Sidi-Maskal, who was apparently the architect or foreman of the builders. The text of this page is a deed of gift by King Lalibela to the Monks, who were to be attached to the churches, with sufficient land to maintain them.

In the MSS. examined by Raffray* is a passage declaring that Lalibela imported some four or five hundred workers from Jerusalem and Alexandria to work on his great design. It will be readily understood that for the immense work the King projected large numbers of masons and subsidiary workers would be required. According to Alvares, the Monks at Lalibela told him the churches had all been executed in 24 years. A history of Lalibela, quoted by Budge, describes the preparations the King made for the excavation of the churches, telling that he scoured the country for the numerous tools, picks, chisels, scrapers, and so forth, which would be required. He then collected workmen,

* This MS was still preserved in Biela Mariam when A Monti della CORTE visited the church about 1940.

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asking each man what wages would satisfy him and giving to each the pay he demanded. To the owners of the land used for the churches and their upkeep he paid the price they named in gold. According to the MS., Lalibela commenced the work in response to a command from God. The Ethiopian scribe after stating that no such churches have ever been built in any other country, concludes :

" What tongue is capable of giving a description of them ? He who beholds them will never be able to gaze his fill ; his marvelling is so great that his heart is never tired of admiring them."

It is said that ten only of the eleven monoliths were built by Lalibela, that named Abba Libanos being erected to his memory by his widow, Kebra Maskal, an extremely devout Christian.

Whatever assistance by skilled masons from abroad may have been employed in the excavation of the Lalibela churches, the outstanding fact concerning them is that they are created in the Ethiopian architectural tradition already established at the dawn of the Christian era and highly elaborated by the time Christianity was established at Aksum in the fourth century A.D.

Alvares, who saw the churches between 1520 and 1527, writes of the church of Golgotha which houses Lalibela's tomb :

" Its walls were worked in a fine fashion, also the windows and the doors with all the tracery that could be told, so that neither a jeweller in silver, nor a worker in wax, could do more work."

" He mentions two great images " representing St. Peter and St. John, " carved in the wall of the church." There are, in fact, nine of these figures larger than life. They stand in tall niches under round arches and are boldly relieved from the wall. They are harmoniously accordant with the structure and dignified in treatment. Two of them have, unfortunately, been mutilated.

Having described the eleven churches in succession, Alvares concluded :

" It wearied me to write more of these works, because it seemed to me that they will not believe me if I write more, and because as to what I have already written they will accuse me of untruth. Therefore I swear by God, in whose power I am, that all that is written is the truth, and there is much more than I have already written, and I have left it that they may not tax me with its being falsehood."

Miguel de Castanhoso, in his account of the second Portuguese mission to Ethiopia, which arrived in the year 1541, also mentions the rock churches of Lalibela. He declares that Ahmad Gran, the warrior Imam of Zeila, then at war in Ethiopia, had ridden to the rock-churches, but had ordered his men to leave them unharmed, as " Mafamede," evidently a Portuguese corruption of Mohammed, did not wish him to destroy such noble edifices. Gran's own historian, Arab Faqih, who wrote the chronicle of his wars, gives another account of Gran's arrival at Lalibela ; he terms the Christians " idolators," but draws in terse phrases a poignant picture of their heroism :

" Ahmad learnt that the idolators had assembled near the Church called Lalibela ; he marched against them across the mountains . . . They reached the Church where the monks were collected to die in its defence. The Imam examined the Church and found that he had never seen the like. It was cut from the rock as were the columns supporting it. There was not a piece of wood in all the construction.

" The Imam called together the monks and ordered them to collect and bring wood. They lighted a fire and when the fire was hot, Ahmad said to them, ' Now let one of you and one of us enter,' wishing to see what they would do and to test them. Then their Chief said, ' Willingly I will go in,' but a woman who had adopted the religious life arose and said : ' It is he who expounds to us the Gospel. Shall he die before my eyes ? ' and she threw herself into the fire. The Imam cried, ' Drag her out ! ' They dragged her out, but part of her face was burnt. Then he burnt their shrines, broke their stone idols and appropriated all the gold plates and silk fabrics he found."

This tragic manifestation of devotion and courage by an Ethiopian woman of religious life seems to have touched even the fierce, fanatical warrior, Ahmad Gran, and prompted his command to save her from the flames. Her sacrifice perhaps saved the rock churches from total destruction.

Though the churches have suffered what appears to be some deliberate mutilation, the damage is confined to individual features. The edifices are still remarkably well preserved. It would seem that in fact the ferocious Gran deliberately spared the wonderful monoliths, for had he attempted to destroy them with crowbars and gunpowder, as Bermudez declares he did, they could hardly have escaped more serious damage. Bermudez adds : "They are attributed to angels ; indeed the work appears superhuman."

Excavated in the red volcanic tuff of Mount Abuna Joseph, the monoliths are pleasant to the gaze of the approaching traveller as he sees them from afar. Of the eleven churches five are situated in close proximity to each other, north of the river, called Jordan, which flows through the town ; four are south of the river, and one of them, Bieta Ghiorghis (House of George) is some distance apart to the south-west.

The eleven churches differ widely from each other, yet all have certain typical features in common ; they comprise together a magnificent architectural assemblage.

The group north of the River Jordan includes : Bieta Medhane Alem (House of the Saviour of the World), Bieta Mariam (House of Mary), Bieta Maskal (House of the Cross), Bieta Denghel (House of the Virgin), Bieta Keddus Mikael (House of St. Michael). Bieta Golgota (House of Golgotha). The group south of the river consists of : Bieta Amanuel (House of Emanuel), Bieta Keddus Mercorios (House of Saint Mercorios), Bieta Abba Libanos (House of Abba Libanos), Bieta Keddus Gabriel (House of St. Gabriel).

The respective ages of the churches have not been fully estimated ; Ghiorghis appears the most recent, both in its architectural style and in its high degree of preservation. Amanuel is considered an early example. The churches are all basilican in form.

Medhane Alem

The largest of them, Medhane Alem, is 33·5 metres (110 feet) long, 23·5 metres wide, 11 metres in height. It is remarkable among Ethiopian churches in having an

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external colonnade on all four sides, a feature which it shares only with one other rock church, Ganetta Mariam (Garden of Mary), situated some ten miles east of Lalibela. The pillars of these two colonnades are a complete departure from the type found at Adulis, Aksum and other centres of pre-Christian and early Christian architecture, being simple rectangular shafts, without either capitals or bases which seem invariably to have been employed in the Aksum period. It should be observed also that the Medhane Alem columns are not square in plan, like those of Aksum, but oblong, greater in width than in depth.

These columns extend from the main plinth of the church to the gabled roof itself, the projecting eaves oj which they support. Consequently, the seven columns at the east and west ends of the church had to be progressively lengthened toward the centre in order to reach the highest point of the gable, there being no pediment such as is invariably found in Greek temples.

Unfortunately, the colonnade has proved too slender to withstand the stress of more than seven centuries ; only the columns of the east end remain all intact ; the majority of the others have been broken.

On either slope of the gabled roof is carved the representation of an arcade of semi-circular-topped arches. The edge of the roof is cut so as to form a broad perpendicular band above the columns, which serves as a cornice and bears appropriate decoration. Here the built-in timbers, the round-ended binders, the alternately recessing and projecting walls, which can be traced since the Aksum monolithic towers, have been fully discarded, and also the old-type of door and window frames. Two decorative string-courses are introduced of a type which occurs also in other Lalibela churches.

The nave and aisles are supported by four rows of seven rectangular pillars square in plan, all carved in the one huge block of stone which forms the church. They rise direct from the stone floor without bases and are surmounted by stone brackets extending from each of their four sides so as to support the continuous barrel vault of the nave and the lateral and transverse semi-circular arches of the aisles. The ceiling revealed between the arches of the aisles is flat.

The principal door is in the centre of the West front. There are also doors on the North and South. They are topped by semi-circular arches supported by bracket capitals.

Of the two rows of windows the upper has also round arches supported by brackets ; the lower windows are rectangular and are filled with panels of pierced stone ornament having a central cross ; the upper row have diaper patterns recalling those of Imrahanna Kristos. Dr. Louis Findlay, who examined this church some years ago, believed he could detect also traces of stained glass in the upper windows such as he had seen in early Egyptian mosques.

The interior of Medhane Alem has not the elaborate decoration found in some other rock churches ; its beauty resides rather in the gracious lines of its many columns and arches, fitfully illumined by the rays of light

Photo, David Buxton

Medhane Alem, Lalibela

which glance upon them through the arched doors and the interstices of the pierced stonework.

Amanuel

This handsome church belongs clearly to the tradition of the earliest Christian churches of Ethiopia, for ex ample, Debra Damo, still extant.

Here again the suggestion, frequently made in the past, that the wonderful rock churches were a foreign product, appears clearly to be erroneous when they are compared with existing early churches, which were not known to the explorers of the nineteenth century who formed the opinion that the Lalibela churches were the work of foreigners.

We find here in this church the alternately recessing and projecting walls giving vertical stripes of light and shade which are seen at Aksum in the pre-Christian Monoliths and in the earliest Christian churches.

Some of the windows at Amanuel follow the old Aksum style. Others have round arches supported by brackets like those of Medhane Alem. Amanuel measures 17·5 by 11·5 metres and 11 metres in height. It has three rows of windows, the lower row square, the middle row arched, the top row again square. The exterior is exceedingly rich and elaborate in appearance.

The interior has five bays, a nave and two aisles. Rectangular columns separate the nave and aisles.

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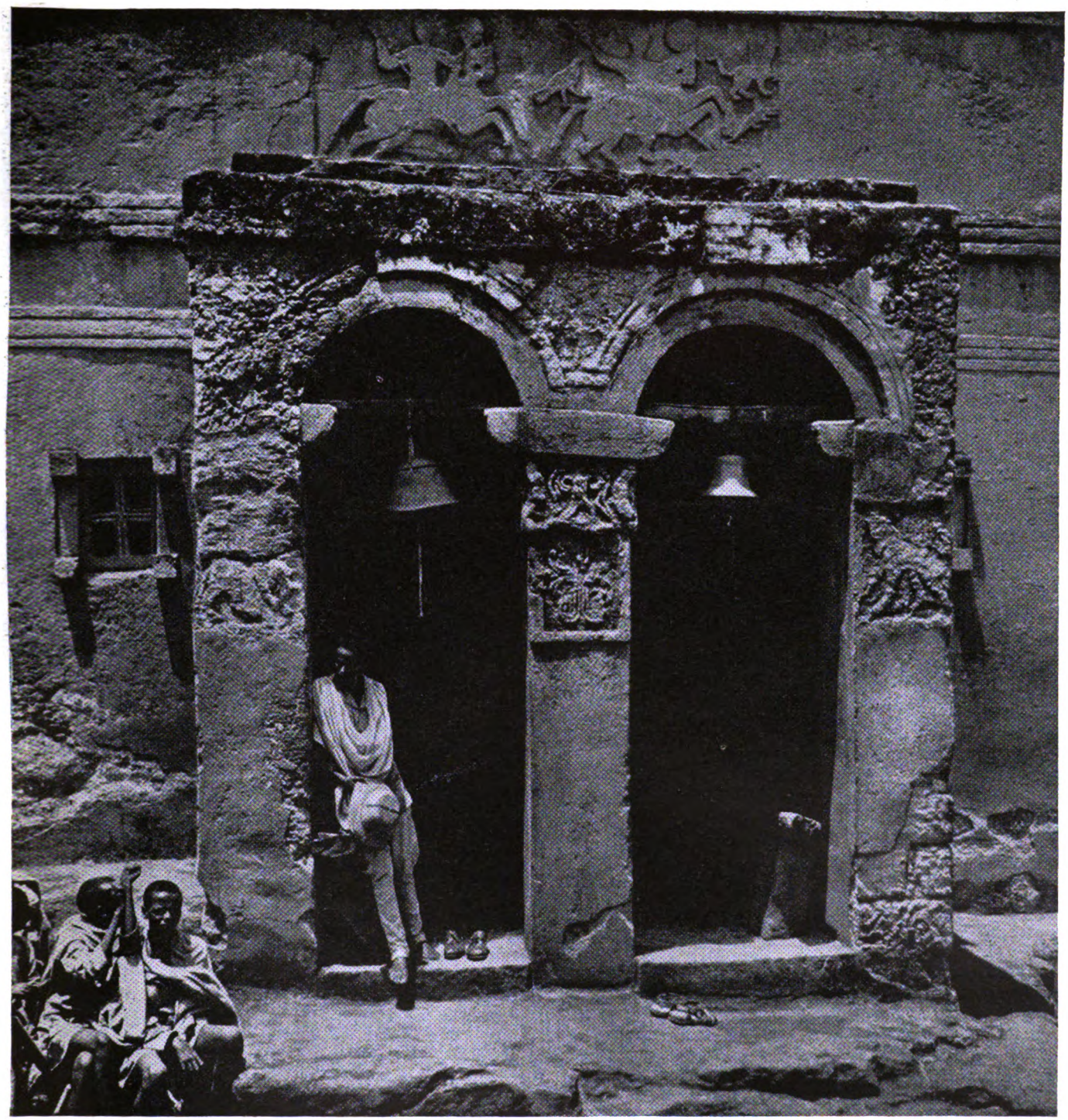

Photo from Lalibela by Irmgard Bidder **Entrance to Bieta Mariam at Lalibela**

There is a dome over the sanctuary at the east end. The lofty nave has a barrel vault. There is a vestibule at the west end. Lofts surmount the vestibule and the aisles. A beautifully carved frieze is carried round the east and west ends with windows above looking into the lofts to north and south.

Amanuel has a spiral staircase leading to an upper storey, where Alvares found a room he considered should be the choir, but which was used for housing the vestments and from which opened a number of small cells.

Mariam

Bieta Mariam is greatly revered. It is alone at Lalibela in having three exterior porches extended from the main fabric. Above the west porch is a bas-relief of two

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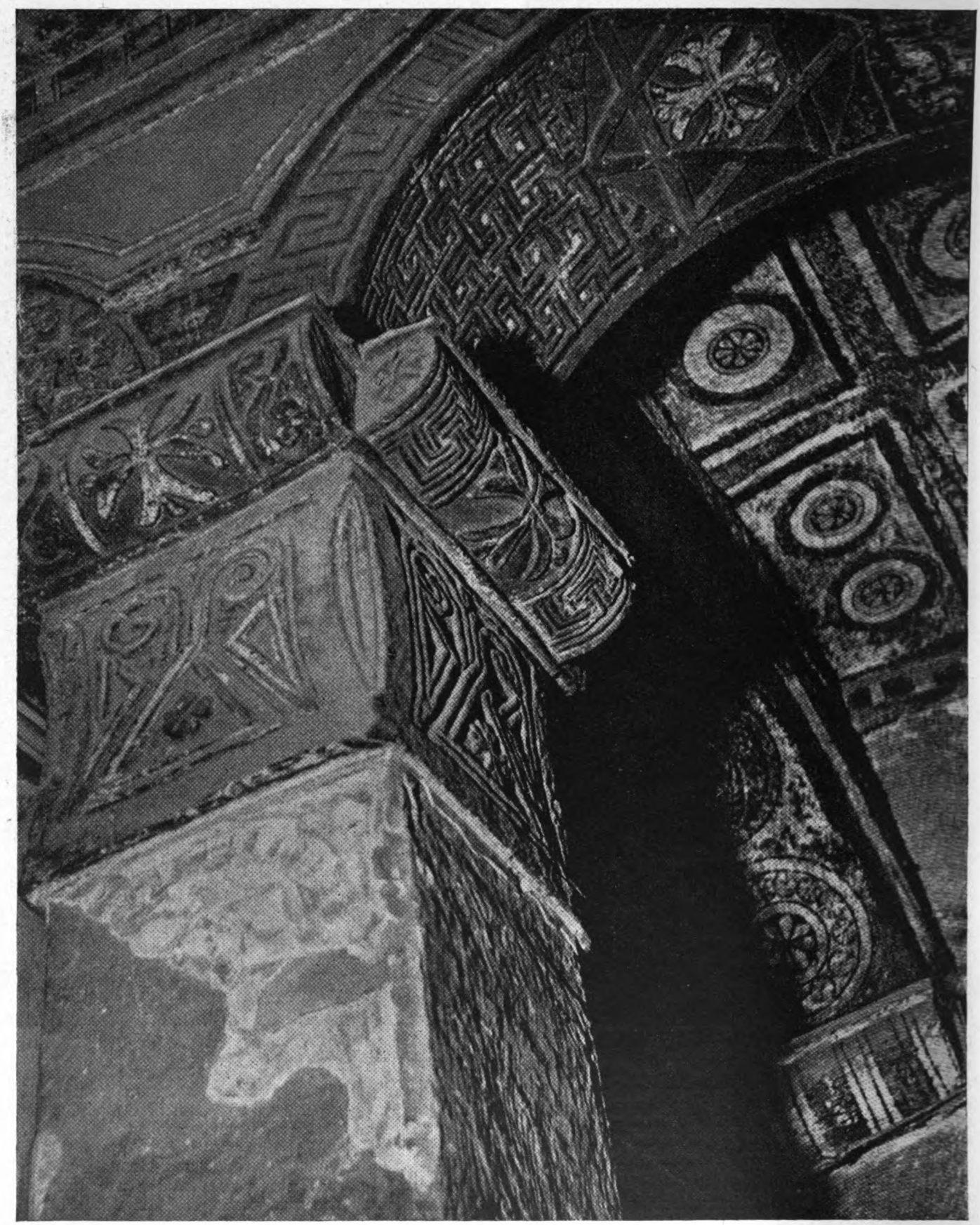

Photo from Lalibela by Irmgard Bidder **Carved and painted ornament in Bieta Mariam**

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equestrian figures, the leader of whom, said to be St. George, is engaged in combat with a dragon. The interior is richly decorated ; the capitals, the soffits of some of the semi-circular arches and parts of some of the piers are beautifully carved in low relief with highly conventionalized ornament : foliage, birds and animals, the two-headed eagle and other symbols frequently used in early Christian art, with frets, key-patterns and interlacing patterns. The cross is frequently introduced. All these are tinted in harmonious colours. Similar painted decoration is also employed where carving is absent. Here we find true fresco, painted on the newly applied wet plaster.

Miss Beatrice Playne copied a charming fresco in the Mariam church, depicting the visit of Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, to the Virgin Mary.

Plain spaces are used judiciously in contrast with ornament ; there is no question of covering the whole interior indiscriminately with ornament unrelated to the structure. The churches are, indeed, remarkable for the suitability of their decoration and the restraint and judgment displayed in its application.

Mariam has a nave and two aisles formed by two rows of five rectangular piers. In the centre of the transept is a tall central pier which helps to support the barrel-vault of the nave. There are three chapels at the east end, each with its altar. The capitals, which extend slightly beyond the top of the pier, are cubical but slightly concave, a feature emphasized by the ornament. In place of the abacus the capital is surmounted by four brackets, each an oval moulding surmounting one face of the capital. These brackets are richly ornamented.

This church measures 15 metres by 11 and is 10 metres high.

There is an upper storey or loft over each aisle. A frieze over the arcade dividing nave and aisles consists of alternate carved panels and windows looking into the lofts, which receive light from exterior windows. Consequently the frieze serves as a clerestory.

In the courtyard, hollowed from the rock, occupied by Bieta Mariam, are three other monolithic structures : the small churches of The Martyrs and of the Holy Cross and a larger monolith where Alvares witnessed alms being given to the poor more than four centuries ago. Today Lalibela is a centre of pilgrimage ; its many shrines are never deserted.

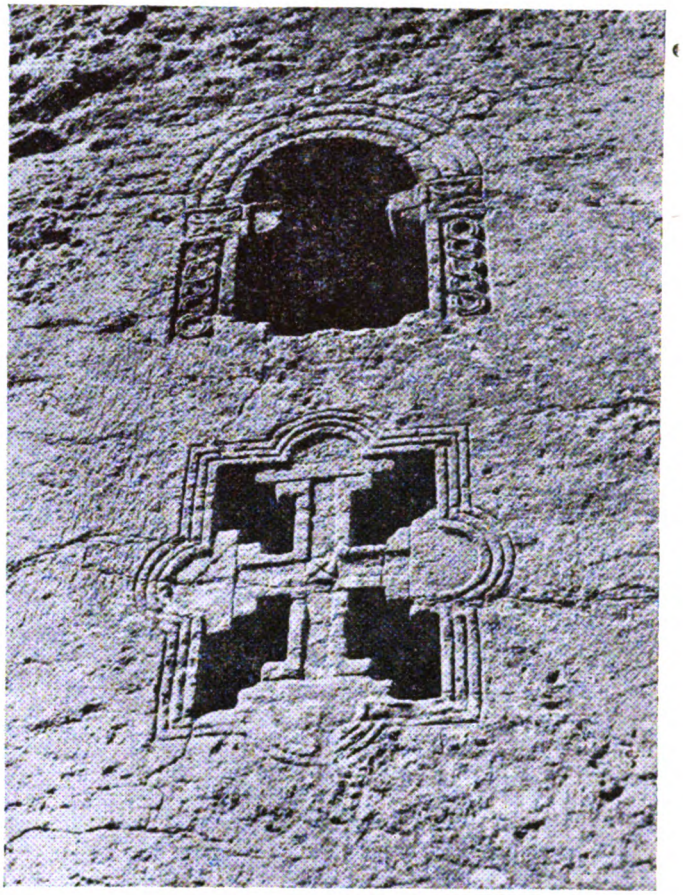
Mikael and Golgotha

The churches of Mikael and Golgotha (already mentioned) adjoin ; both are 36 feet in length and communicate with each other. They are approached by a tunnel leading from the south side of the courtyard of Bieta Mariam and thence, by an open passage cut in the rock, turning west and descending 6 metres below the courtyard of Bieta Mariam. Lalibela is, in fact, a very warren of sacred monoliths.

Golgotha, as we have seen, contains rude but impressive figures of saints carved in high relief, standing in niches. This church contains also a symbolic tomb of Christ, with a grating in front, and a bas-relief of the dead Saviour watched by an angel.

The Sellassie Crypt

At the end of the nave of Golgotha, a door opens into the Sellassie Crypt, which is seldom shown to visitors. Monti Della Corte published a drawing of it showing



Photo, A. E. Lovelace

Windows from Golgotha

three altars raised on a dais reached by a flight of three steps. These altars are part of the monolithic structure and were shaped when the interior of the crypt itself was excavated. They represent the four symbols, the Evangelists ; the Angel of St. Matthew ; the Eagle of St. John ; the Lion of St. Mark ; and the Bull of St. Luke. The animals are winged; they are clothed and have human bodies. They stand with upraised hands.

In the wall behind the three altars are carved three niches. In the central niche is a cross placed in a circle. In the niches on either side are two tall winged figures with palms together as though in prayer. They might be taken for angels, but one has the head of an ass, the other of a bull. Monti Della Corti considered they represent the ass and the bull who were said to have knelt to the infant Christ in Bethlehem. Monti Della Corte, as an Italian, was familiar with this legend which flourishes in Italy.

Beneath the church of Golgotha is the tomb of Lalibela ; access to it is sealed by a large stone.

Beside the church is another symbolic tomb, said to be that of Adam—a plain rectangular block with a decorative cross carved out on the side. It is entered by two low doors, closed to visitors and used only by the clergy.

Bieta Mikael

Mikael has a nave and two aisles. The columns consist of clusters of four engaged rectangular piers, with

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Photo, Max Ursin

Iron cross inlaid with gold, said to have been used by King Lalibela, founder of the rock-hewn churches

capitals somewhat less in height than in width. Though rectangular in form, these capitals are rendered slightly concave at the outer corners ; they are surmounted by brackets comprised of an oval moulding between two narrow fillets. The brackets are undecorated ; the capitals are austerely carved ; the spandrels of the arches are carved with bold and simple mouldings. All is restrained and dignified.

Bieta Mercorios

Bieta Mercorios is in every way of rougher workmanship than such churches as Medhane Alem, Mariam and Amanuel. Some observers, notably Monti Della Corte, have declared this monolith does not appear to be a church but rather a hall of audience or assembly, or a court of justice. Moreover he declares its altars do not face the east, as do those of the other churches. This is not wholly correct, as the church faces eastward, though not precisely due east.

Owing to the fact that Rhoha was once a capital, the assumption that some of its present churches were originally erected for administrative purposes, may appear plausible enough, but more expert investigation would be required before such an assumption could be considered sound. The tradition that the churches numbered 11 deserves some weight, and one may recall the observation of Alvares, " in this country only the churches are built in stone."

Monti Della Corte's statement that in the cloister outside the main structure he could see traces of an awning having been erected to serve as a shelter from sun or rain for a number of people offers no proof that the structure was other than a church, as residents of Ethiopia today will realise. Who in Addis Ababa today has not seen the awning erected outside the walls of St. George's Cathedral on the occasion of the Maskal ceremony in Menelik II Square each year ?

Conti Rossini, in his " Storia di Etiopia," chapter xv, quotes from the records of the Egyptian Christian Church in Alexandria a statement that the Abuna Gabron had built a grand palace at Lalibela at great expense which had been a source of scandal and of enquiries by the Mother Church in Alexandria. After the death of Gabron the palace had been transformed into a church. This Della Corte suggests may be no other than this particular church.

Bieta Gabriel

He makes, however, similar observations concerning the Lalibela Church of Gabriel (sometimes called Gabriel and Raphael because it contains chapels dedicated to those two saints).

Monti Della Corte claimed that this supposed church lacks the essential ecclesiastical attributes and that three crosses cut on a pillar were evidently added very tardily with lack of the skill exhibited in the carving of the rest of the monolith. The church, he declares, resembles a secular assembly hall, not a church, and two platforms in the courtyard in front appear to belong to a public tribunal. Tradition, however, asserts that these platforms are a faithful reproduction of those, where Pilate gave audience in Jerusalem and have been introduced to recall Biblical history and to render vivid to the worshippers the events in the life of Jesus Christ.

The claim that Bieta Gabriel has not the appearance of a church is not in fact really tenable. The Christian

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churches have been built in an immense multiplicity of forms and this one is not inconsistent with time-honoured tradition elsewhere. Here again this is an interesting question for detailed and expert investigation.

Monti Della Corte declares he was told the original Bieta Gabriel is not the church in use today which, it was said, is to be found at a lower level further within the rock. The way to it he was told would not be cleared except for some important reason of architectural necessity.

In this interior Church, it was further said, many precious treasures had been hidden, some four centuries before, to secure them from Ahmad Gran and his destructive bands whose arrival was imminent. The entrance to the subterranean church containing the treasure had been carefully covered. The priests, declared that, in the sanguinary events which followed, the actual spot where the passage could be entered had been forgotten. Three places where the entrance might possibly be found were however indicated. This naïve story sharpened the appetite of the treasure-hungry fascists ; they set to work to dig at these points, but their efforts were entirely fruitless. They hoped, that later the passage might be found. They did not reflect that a treasure concealed 400 years before would have been unearthed before their arrival.

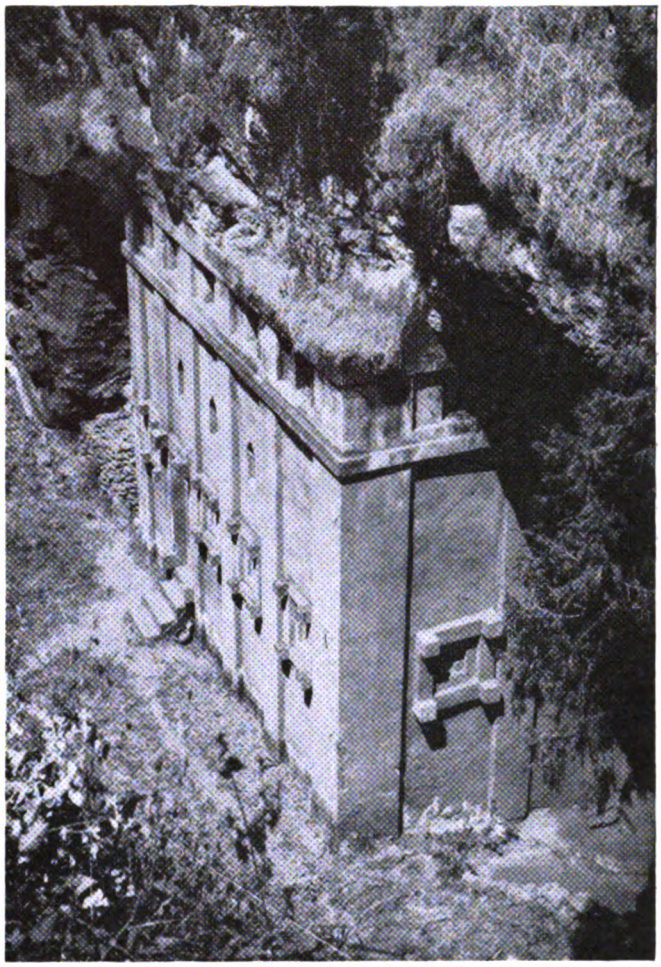
They discovered, however, a large underground hall flooded with water, from which, they were told, two beautiful bronze crosses and other objects of artistic value had by chance been recovered.

The fascists were surprised to find that the Church of St. Gabriel could only be entered by two slender log bridges without handrails, each of which spanned one of two successive deep courtyards excavated to a depth of more than 50 feet. The passage over these bridges Monti Della Corte complained, was at the risk of breaking his neck, but a number of hardier adventurers, apart from thousands of Ethiopian pilgrims, have traversed these bridges in more recent times.

In their persistent researches, the fascists discovered, when looking down into the deep courtyard nearest the church—a courtyard walled with rock, as it seemed, on every side—that, though there was apparently no way into the courtyard, there was a wide door leading from it which had been cut in the wall of the church. It was therefore apparent that in former times entry to the church had not been over the top of the lofty walls surrounding the courtyards, but through what was obviously the main door of the church deep down below. There was evidently a hidden entrance into the courtyard by which the church door was formerly reached.

It seemed probable that the slender log bridges had been introduced at an intermediate period, to replace a second mode of entry which had been cut down when the main door was closed and the entrance to the courtyard from which it opened had been blocked in time of peril. Monti Della Corte logically assumed there is also a door to the courtyard which has somehow been hidden.

The main exterior wall of Bieta Gabriel is panelled with tall, narrow ogee arches divided by slender pilasters giving a ribbed effect to the wall of a highly decorative character. A curved band of rock, shaped like a wall rises from the ground at some little distance from the church and ascends to the roof. It does not give access to the church itself. It is locally called " the path to heaven."



Photo, David Buxton **Bieta Abba Libanos**

Abba Libanos

In Abba Libanos we find again the alternate recession and projection of the walls so long traditional in Ethiopian building, but the projections are here so narrow as to resemble mere plasters.

This church is only 9 metres by 7 and 7 metres high. Its roof is not entirely freed from the mountain, yet it has great charm. The columns of the interior support the stone representation of lintel beams, as in the earliest Ethiopian churches, not arches, as in the more elaborate Lalibela churches ; there are only two arches, one at the west end and one giving entrance to the sanctuary at the east end. This church appears to represent a type of architecture in some respects earlier than that of the majority of Lalibela monoliths ; on the other hand it has some pointed windows which appear to be a later development.

Ghiorghis

The church of St. George, which stands somewhat far from the other Lalibela monoliths, is cruciform in shape and loftier than the others, measuring 12.5 by 12 metres and 12 metres in height. On its flat roof,

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which can be examined from the mountain above its deep courtyard, are carved two concentric crosses.

The eastern branch of the cross which forms the plan of Ghiorghis, is occupied by the domed sanctuary.

In the interior there are no disengaged columns ; the groups of rectangular engaged piers, rising direct from the stone floor without bases, bear the four arches which give entrance to each of the four branches of the cruciform structure.

The desire to enhance the appearance of height and soaring upward, in European Perpendicular Gothic architecture caused the elimination of the triforium and the substitution of two tiers of arcading for the three tiers formerly employed, to permit of greater height in the two tiers which remained. The capitals were simplified often to resemble a mere band of mouldings round the pier at the springing of the arch. The same desire to produce an appearance of loftiness resulted in the use of similar expedients in the little rock church of Ghiorghis, erected long before any contact with western Gothic reached Ethiopia. The bracket capitals of the undecorated, engaged piers, massive in proportion to the scale of the church itself, are reduced to a mere narrow fillet with a slender moulding beneath.

The three-tiered plinth on which Bieta Ghiorghis stands is lofty and elaborately contrived. The lowest tier rises to the height of a tall man's shoulder ; the other tiers or steps are shallow. A flight of eight steps leads to the main door, the topmost step is exceedingly broad. From the subsidiary doors it is necessary to walk round to the main door along one of the upper shallow tiers of the plinth in order to reach the flight of steps leading from the main door to the ground.

The doors are an interesting feature ; the main door has a shallow porch ornamented by simple mouldings. Within this porch is a door of the traditional type with square-ended binders derived from Aksum. Within this second doorway is a smaller, quite simple door, reached by a step higher. The subsidiary doors resemble the main door without the porch.

The lower window-frames resemble those of the doors, being of the old traditional style. The upper windows have ogave arches and bracket capitals. They are more ornate than most of those found at Lalibela ; sometimes they are comprised of three concentric ogave arches ; sometimes a couple of trefoil leaves interlaced with a cross top the arch.

A string-course placed slightly above the porch of the main door is carried round the entire church. Two others occur above and beneath the upper windows and one in the wall-space slightly above midway between the upper course and the roof. A fifth course is formed by a plain flat band which serves as a cornice edging the roof. There are similar courses on the walls of the interior of the church.

All the accurately carved elaborate and consistently conceived structures at Lalibela, be it remembered, are hewn from the living rock. The architects and craftsmen who achieved these amazing works have been justified by the enduring character of the monuments they created with so much faithful and patient toil.

OTHER GROTTO CHURCHES

The considerable number of Ethiopian rock-hewn churches, in addition to those at Roha, include several in Bilbala district further north, also Asheten Mariam, some 2,000 feet above Roha, Arbate Insesa (the four beasts of the Apocalypse), Ganetta Mariam (Paradise of Mary), Maskala Kristos (Cross of Christ), and at Sokota, a town north of Roha. Further north are rock churches at Wogoro, Abbi Addi, Amba Seneiti and Abraha and Atsbeha.

Maskala Kristos

Maskala Kristos at Sokota, in the district of Wag, is entirely freed from the mountain and attains in some respects to the high level of artistry and craftsmanship of the Lalibela monoliths. It is specially notable for its ceilings, which in the spaces between the arches supporting nave and aisles are carved in bold relief in various designs embodying the Cross. Twin arches are situated at the west end of the nave. The doors and windows echo those seen on the pre-Christian monolithic towers of Aksum. Instead of the alternately recessed and projecting walls of the old style building, however, pilasters impart the vertical lines admired by the early Ethiopian architects.

It would be well to interpolate here that the alterate recessing and projection of the walls undoubtedly did not originate as a merely decorative expedient, but was introduced to add strength and stability to the building. The recesses and projections accorded with the length of the available timbers which were built into the walls to support the divers storeys, with cross binders projecting and small stone plastered over between the storeys. In building, instead of placing the timbers of each section of the wall edge to edge, it was found more satisfactory to introduce right-angles, either backward or forward built of larger stones. Hence the alternating projection or recession, when a new length of timber was required.

We find again at Maskala Kristos a plinth of several steps, such as was used at Aksum in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Ganetta Mariam

Ganetta Mariam has already been mentioned as sharing with Medhane Alem at Lalibela the distinction of an outer colonnade. Here, however, the colonnade is of much ruder and heavier construction. The shafts are stouter and shorter. Travellers observing from afar this reddish church have described it as resembling a Greek temple. The impression is heightened by the fact that the columns do not extend to the eves at the gable ends, like those of Medhane Alem but terminate at the height of the side walls, leaving a triangular space, which, albeit undecorated, superficially resembles a Greek pediment when seen at a distance. Ganetta Mariam resembles Medhane Alem also, in having a blind arcade

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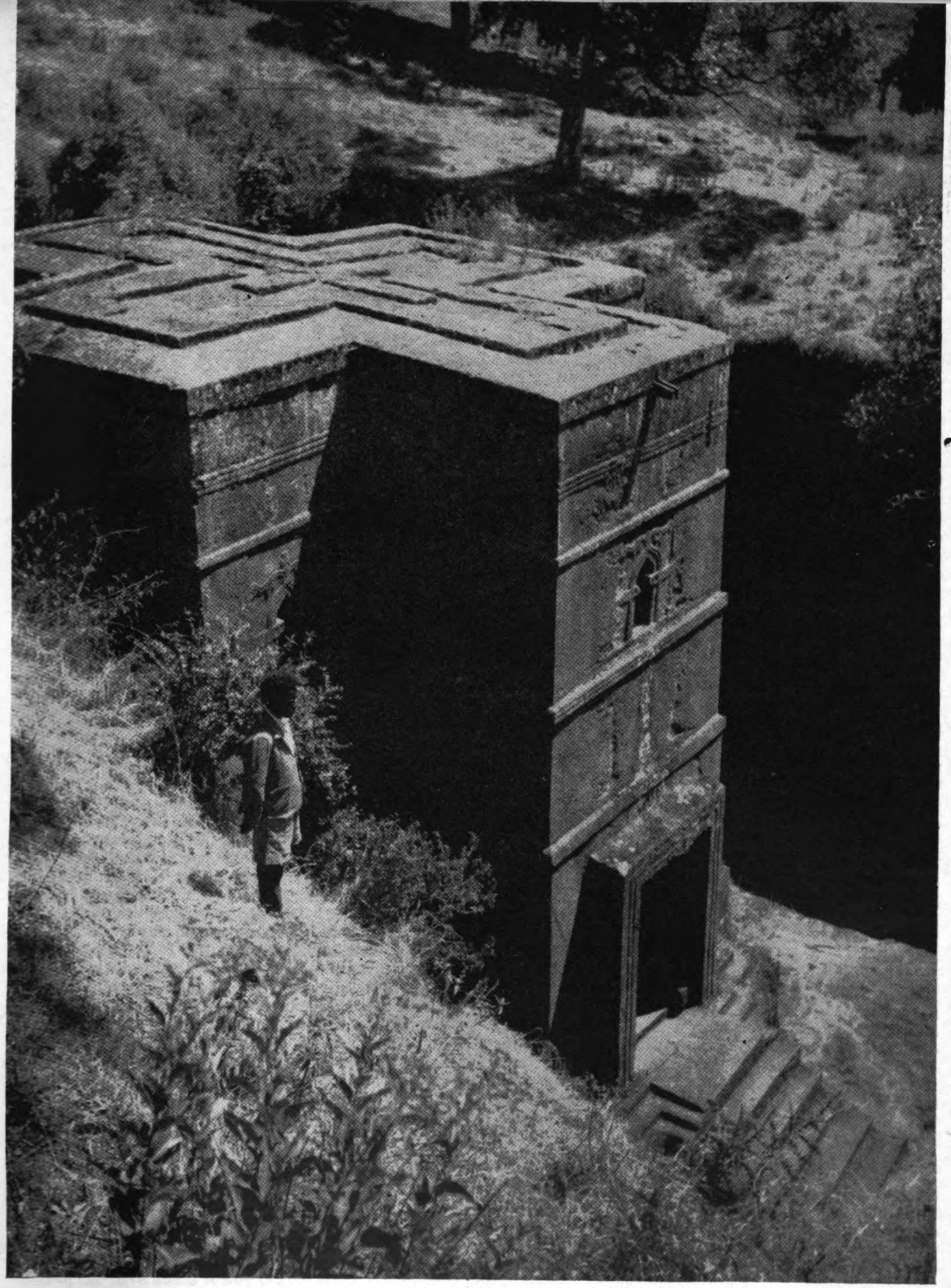

Photo, David Buxton

Bieta Giorghis, Lalibela

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of semi-circular headed arches carved on either slope of the roof, but here each arch contains a cross.

The exterior colonnade stands well out from the walls of the church, which are rendered interesting by pilasters, at similar intervals to those of the colonnade. A miniature blind arcade is carved on the decorated beam surmounting the west door—another feature reminiscent of old Aksum.

The interior, with its square columns and round arches supported by brackets, recalls that of Medhane Alem, though, like the exterior, ruder in workmanship and having only a nave and two aisles instead of the nave and four aisles of the famous church at Lalibela. Ganneta Mariam is, however, elaborately painted within, the arches, their soffits and capitals, as well as portions of the walls, being decorated with floral, geometric, and other ornaments and with figures of Saints and Biblical characters.

In the wall of the courtyard, to the south, is the grotto church of Saint Takla Haymanot, where, it is said, that famous Ethiopian Saint was wont to pray.

Whether at Lalibela, or elsewhere, every rock-hewn church differs enormously in general appearance from all others, despite the numerous architectural features common to them all, some of which had been repeated for a thousand years.

Bilbala Kerkis

Bilbala Kerkis, a ruder church than those of Lalibela and many others, has its own quaint charm. It is detached from the mountain on three sides only. Its doors reproduce those of the Aksum monolithic towers, although much more rudely carved in this rough mountain stone than was accomplished on the hard Aksum granite. There is here none of the wonderful perfection and accuracy there achieved. On the exterior walls of this much more recent church are tall rectangular pilasters, alternating with sunk panels containing ogave arches in bold relief.

Abraha and Atsbeha

Abraha and Atsbeha is not relieved from the rock, the façade alone has been shaped, and even this has been covered by inferior modern work. The interior, however, is finely carved. The columns are graceful. The ceiling is carved in low relief with intricate interlacing ornament. The sanctuary dome is also richly decorated. All this carved ornament was evidently at one time painted, and it is said also to have been inlaid with gold. The removal of the precious metal, which must have created an effect of glowing splendour, is alleged to have been due to the terrible Judith, whose insurrection is said to have caused the removal of the seat of Government from Aksum. Alvares, in his day, and later Arab Faqih, the chronicler of Ahmad Gran, described the walls of many Ethiopian churches as lavishly decorated with pure gold.

Like St. Mary of Sion at Aksumi, the Church of Abraha and Atsbeha is ascribed to the reign of the two royal brothers who established Christianity as the religion of the Ethiopian realm (Circa 325 A.D.). It is a rock-hewn church carved from the living rock of the mountain, only the façade being free from the cliff. It was visited in 1805 by Henry Salt, who gives a description of it in the chapters he incorporated in *Lord Valentia's Travels*[1] ; he publishes a plan of the same church in his later work.[2] Salt's plan shows Abraha and Atsbeha as basilican in form, with a nave and two aisles and a narthex having one external entrance and two entrances giving into the main church. Two colonnades, each of four pillars, divide the nave from the aisles, and with pilasters on the side walls support arches over the aisles. The sanctuary is divided from the nave by two rectangular piers. On either side of the sanctuary are two small, square chapels, dedicated to the Archangels Mikael and Gabriel. Each of these chapels communicates with the main church by a door and a window. There is a dome over the east end of the nave and a dome also over the sanctuary.

Salt's description of the church is as follows :

" After ascending and descending some steep mountains we were taken to visit a church or convent cut out of the solid rock, called Abuhasubha. This place is situated on the side of a rock which commands a view of a large and beautiful plain, thinly set with daroo and wild date trees. In front of the excavation is a thatched and two-storeyed entrance, built in a style much resembling that of the Portuguese. From this, three doors lead into an oblong room, the dimensions of which are about 50 feet by 30, supported by two rows of columns, each consisting of four pillars and two pilasters ; the former are about three feet in diameter, and from their plainness and proportions resemble those of the Tuscan order. Beyond is a room, answering in some degree to the chancel of modern churches. It is divided from the larger excavation by two square pillars and has a dome-shaped ceiling, about 40 feet high, of very excellent workmanship. In this room are contained the baptismal font and the various articles used in the ceremonies of the church, which are concealed from view by a curtain suspended between the two pillars at the entrance. On each side is a smaller room communicating by a door and window with the larger excavation. The ceiling in front of the centre room in the larger excavation is hollowed out into a kind of dome about 30 feet high, curiously painted and carved ; and in the front of the side rooms it is also adorned in the same manner, but without the dome. The floor is flagged with square stones and the walls are carved and ornamented with crosses, paintings and inscriptions in the Ethiopic character, which, I was informed, entirely consist of sentences taken from Scripture. The most conspicuous of the paintings are representations of Christ, the Apostles, and Saint George combating the dragon ; the white horse of the latter is well designed and executed. We were allowed by the priests to examine every part of this singular temple . . .

" The rock out of which this temple is excavated is of a very hard consistence, so that much labour must have been bestowed on the work. We observed nothing from which we could form any opinion as to the period when it was undertaken. It is certainly more ancient than the time of the residence of the Portuguese in Abyssinia."

1 George Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels, Mr. Salt's Narrative*, pp. 27-28.
2 Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 30.

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Imrahanna Kristos

By Sylvia Pankhurst

Visitors to the rock churches of Lalibela should not fail to visit also the lovely little church of Imrahanna Kristos, built in a cave, also on Mount Abuna Joseph. It is not a monolith hewn from the mountain like Medhane Alem and the other churches we have been describing, but has been constructed, stone by stone, from the ground. Yet it has much to teach us of the Ethiopian architectural method imitated in the monolithic churches. A study of this and other early built-up churches is in fact an invaluable aid to understanding and appreciating the monoliths.

Secluded in its cave, Imrahanna Kristos—the name is often abbreviated to Imraha—has been spared the assaults of war and of weather. The wind and the rain have not impaired its brilliancy. It was built in the traditional Ethiopian manner—perfected before the Christian era—consisting of courses of alternate wood and small stone, chipped from the rock, inserted in the wall and plastered over. The timbers were blackened, the plaster whitened, the walls alternately projected and recessed. The windows and doors are constructed so as to add strength to the building. The squared upper and lower timbers of their framework project beyond the face of the wall and the uprights are slotted into them. A timber over the door is elaborately carved with fleur-de-lis ornament and carved ornament appears above the window-frames. The windows are fitted with panels, some of wood, some of stone pierced to form beautiful designs : twin arches united by a cross, diapers of crosses, or of the fylfot or swastika, a very ancient symbol which occurs frequently in Indian, Egyptian and other Eastern ornament, as well as in Ethiopia. No two windows are alike. The wooden panels are blackened, the stone panels are white, thus harmonising with the bands of blackened timber and whitened plaster which here in the cave have retained their pristine brilliancy.

To English eyes the little church, showing so brilliantly against the dark background of the cave, recalls, in its miniature fashion, the black and white architecture of Tudor England.

The interior is astonishingly rich in ornament and in colour. The church is only 42 feet in length, but the six piers which divide the nave from the aisles have both transverse and longitudinal arches supported by bracket capitals elaborately carved. The piers are built up of stone alternately protruding and recessing, thus reproducing the banded effect of the horizontal timbers built into the walls.

The whole interior is ornamented—the sanctuary dome, the barrel vault, the coffered ceilings, the spandrels, the soffits of the arches, the bracket capitals. Yet there is nothing exaggerated or glaring ; all is quietly subdued and harmonious. The carved and coloured ornament on the spandrels and the bracket capitals of the nave arcade are in low relief. Panels of woods of divers hues, inlaid

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

Whether the porch Salt describes was carved in the rock or built up apart from it Salt does not explain, nor does the description of this church by Alvares help to solve the question. Whether separately built or carved from the rock the porch would in all probability have proved less durable than the interior ; it might have been rebuilt in the interim between the excavation of the church as a whole and the time when Salt saw it. His statement that the pillars of the interior resemble the Tuscan order must be read with reserve, as his perception of the characteristics of traditional architectural styles was far from acute. In his earlier narrative he names the church " Abuhasuba " and in his later work " Abha Os Suba or Abhahasuba," but as is evident from other circumstances, he was referring to the church of Abraha and Atsbeha. The Italians during their régime destroyed the interesting old porch Salt describes and calamitously replaced it by " a new white-washed portico with a corrugated iron roof," which covered the whole of the ancient façade.

The long church with a nave and two aisles, as shown in Salt's plan, was evidently the favourite form of the earliest church architecture in Ethiopia, for this is the plan upon which many of the surviving early churches are erected. Though early cruciform churches exist they are probably of later date. A dome over the sanctuary at the end of the nave and a square chapel at the end of each aisle as at Abraha and Atsbeha were also frequent.

Salt's plan, however, shows two domes, one over the sanctuary, one over the east end of the nave. So far, as present researches have shown, this was unusual in Ethiopia. Buildings with several domes were erected in other parts of the Middle East in ancient times. Three domes along the transverse axis were found in Iranian palaces. When Christian churches were built the domes were transferred to the longitudinal nave at the time liturgical requirements favoured the long church. The labour of excavation and the small dimensions of Abraha and Atsbeha might have caused the architects, even had they previously constructed three-domed structures, to substitute two domes in this case.

Even the lesser Ethiopian monoliths, though inferior to the finest examples, are truly remarkable achievements. Where they are cruder and less finely carved and only in part detached from the mountain this is perhaps largely due to the inferior quality of the stone which failed to lend itself to the elaborate excavation and carving successfully accomplished in the mountains of Lasta. This view is supported by the monolithic church of Yekka Mikael, near Addis Ababa, where the roof has fallen. Ambitiously conceived to comprise seven aisles, its collapse appears to have taken place. Adadi Mariam, situated some 30 miles from the capital, is rude in execution ; here too the stone was obviously not conducive to fine workmanship.

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Photo, David Buxton **Imrahanna Kristos**

with fine, interlacing patterns are used on the ceilings, a harmony in golden-browns. There is a wealth of phantasy and inventive design. The cross appears in a multitude of forms, in diapers, with its branches foliated enclosed in circles, incorporated in interlacing ornament. There are interlacing stars and circles, conventional flowers, nests of squares, alternately dark and light, occasionally an elephant or other animal native to the country. Occasionally there is a mounted Saint—a favourite theme in Ethiopian Christian art. The decoration of the arches and the capitals is particularly appropriate to its position and to the spaces it is designed to occupy. This is indeed a remarkable church and a high level of craftsmanship is revealed in its details.

The Portuguese Chaplain, Francisco Alvares, was the first to visit and to describe Imrahanna Kristos.[1] He tells us the name signifies "the path of Christ" and that two hundred debteras[2] were attached to the church and "a very noble prior." He adds that the church was built by a king of the same name who withdrew from the world and resided in the cave, close to the church, occupying "two painted chambers." Having taken holy orders he celebrated Mass in that church every day for forty years. "On the epistle side of the church," says Alvares, "were three honoured sepulchres," covered with cloths of brocade and velvet ; they were the tombs of Imrahanna Kristos himself, of a Patriarch of Alexandria who had died in the cave on a visit he had made to the King on account of the Sovereign's great sanctity, and a smaller tomb of the King's daughter. The chronicle of the life of Imrahanna Kristos was written in "a large and ancient book" which the priests showed to Alvares and allowed him to hold in his hands. "They went over part of it" with him during the two days he was there "at leisure." This book contained a picture of the King celebrating Mass at the altar, an angel administering what was requisite for this office by handing to him through a little window a roll of bread and a small pitcher of wine.

The retirement from the pomp of sovereignty by Imrahanna Kristos is in keeping with the spirit of asceticism, which is an oft-recurring feature in Ethiopian history. It seems always to have existed among sections of the Ethiopian clergy. Their unmitigated austerities evoked surprise in the Portuguese prelate, Alvares, who himself invariably manifested considerable interest in culinary matters with unfailing appreciation of the pleasures of the table and of comfortable living. His references to the austere life of the Ethiopian ecclesiastics reveal a deep respect, not unmingled with commiseration. Alvares states that in the ancient book of the life of Imrahanna Kristos it was "written that during the whole

1 Francisco Alvarez : *Narrative of the Portuguese Mission* 1520-27. Translation by Lord Stanley of Alderley, pp. 119-122.

2 Debteras, a Lay Order of teachers and cantors in the Ethiopian Church, corresponding to the Levites among the Jews in ancient times.

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life of this King he had not taken dues from his vassals, and that if anyone brought them to him he ordered them to be distributed among the poor ; and his maintenance was from the great tillage which he ordered to be made."

In Ethiopian history there are many mentions of women of great sanctity and devotion ; the daughter of Imrahanna Kristos, whose tomb was in the church in the cave which had been his retreat, suggests that she was one of these women ascetics.

The church of Imrahanna Kristos, is ascribed to the twelfth century A.D., the King of that name having reigned from approximately A.D. 1110 to 1150.

Zemedu Mariam

Another interesting cave church in the mountains of Lasta is Zemedu or Jammadu Mariam. Nathanial Pearce, a young sailor, the first Englishman to see it early in the nineteenth century, called it Jammadu Mariam and that name was adhered to by Mr. David Buxton, who reproduced his own photographs of it in his study of the Christian antiquities of Ethiopia and in his book of travels. Alvares in his description of the little church, called it " Iconoamlaca." This is his own special corruption of the name of the Emperor Yekuno Amlak, the first of the restored Solomonian dynasty to occupy the Ethiopian Imperial Throne about the year

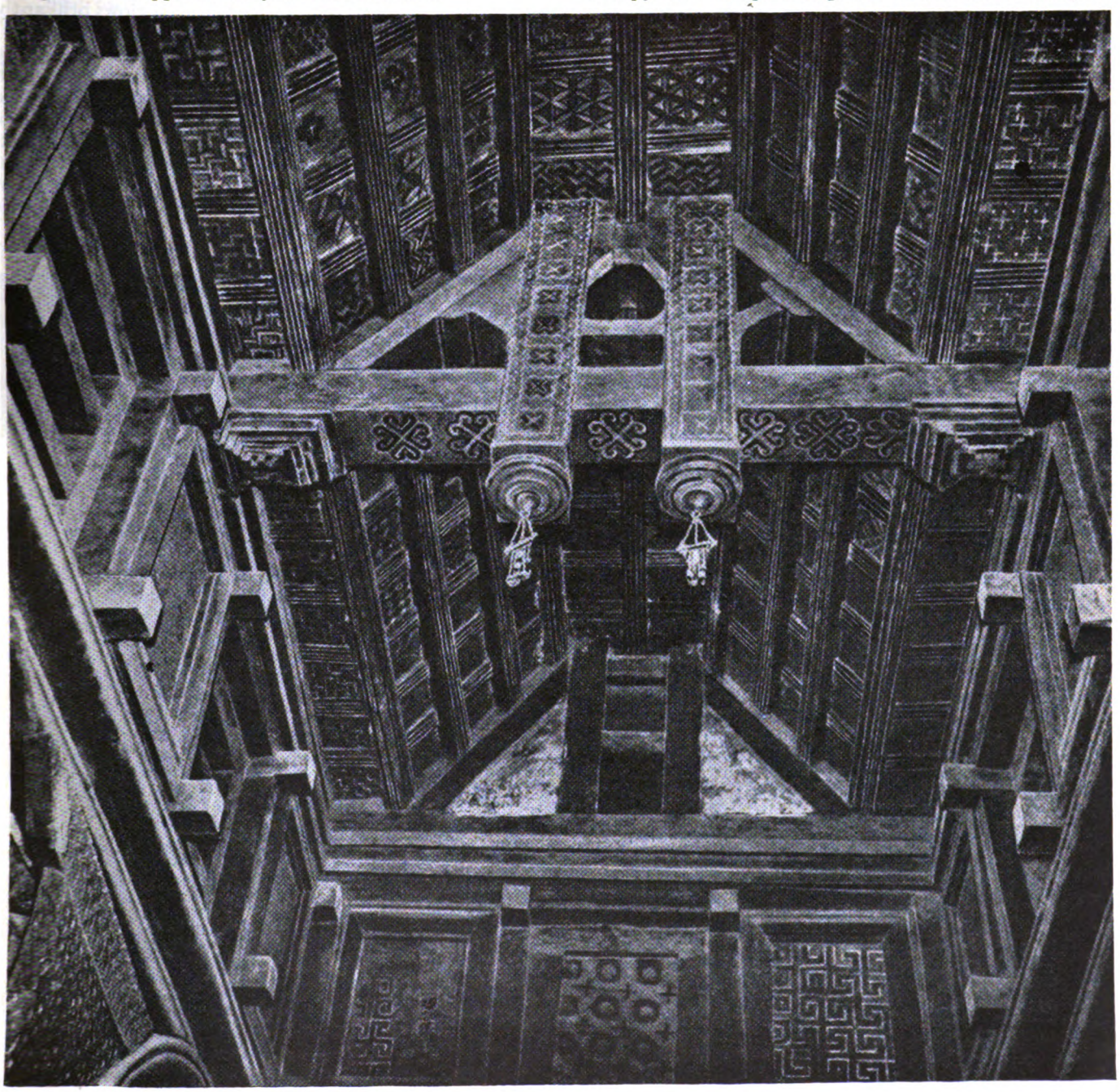

Photo from "Lalibela" by Irmgard Bidder

Ceiling in Imrahanna Kristos

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1268, after the interregnum during which the Zagwé Kings reigned in Lasta. It is said Yekuno Amlak recovered the Throne with the assistance of the revered Ethiopian Saint Takla Haymanot, who was then the head of the Ethiopian Church.

Alvares describes the church as " a handsome monastery house of Our Lady," thereby denoting its dedication to the Virgin Mary (in Ethiopic, Mariam). He tells us, " It is not so large as its elegance," adding, " It is built in a cross, well contained in the cave, so that they go freely with their procession round the building." " It has a great number of friars and nuns." " The friars have their dwelling above the cavern, entirely enclosed, and they go down to the monastery by a single path. The nuns have their dwelling below the cavern. They are not enclosed, they live upon the slope of the mountain. All these friars and nuns dig and prune in this country and they sow the wheat and barley they eat, for the monastery gives them little. The affection which they bear to this country and to the monastery makes them live there." The picture Alvares presents of the Ethiopian ecclesiastics, both men and women, is always one of frugality, devotion and uncomplaining toil.

This church of Zemedu Mariam, almost cruciform in plan, is built of red stone ; the banded decoration handed down from Aksum is absent here ; there is only one wooden course on which rest the windows, a single row, their wooden frames of the traditional type repeated since pre-Christian times and seen on the monoliths of Aksum. The sanctuary dome rises conspicuously above the eastern branch of the exterior structure ; higher still rise the walls of the nave, with their windows of traditional type and the curved roof above. The exterior of the roof and the dome of the sanctuary are plastered white. The walls above the wooden course on which the windows rest are covered with cloth, brightly painted with Christian Scriptural subjects in traditional style. When the sunlight illumines the church it glows brilliantly against the sombre background of the cave.

The interior is richly decorated with interlacing ornament mainly based on the cross. There is also much figure painting, rows of saints and angels border the barrel vault of the nave. There is a frieze with square wooden panels, some of these contain paintings, depicting the head and shoulders, doubtless of important personages, most of them wearing the halo of sanctity. This church also should not be missed by visitors to the Lasta mountains.

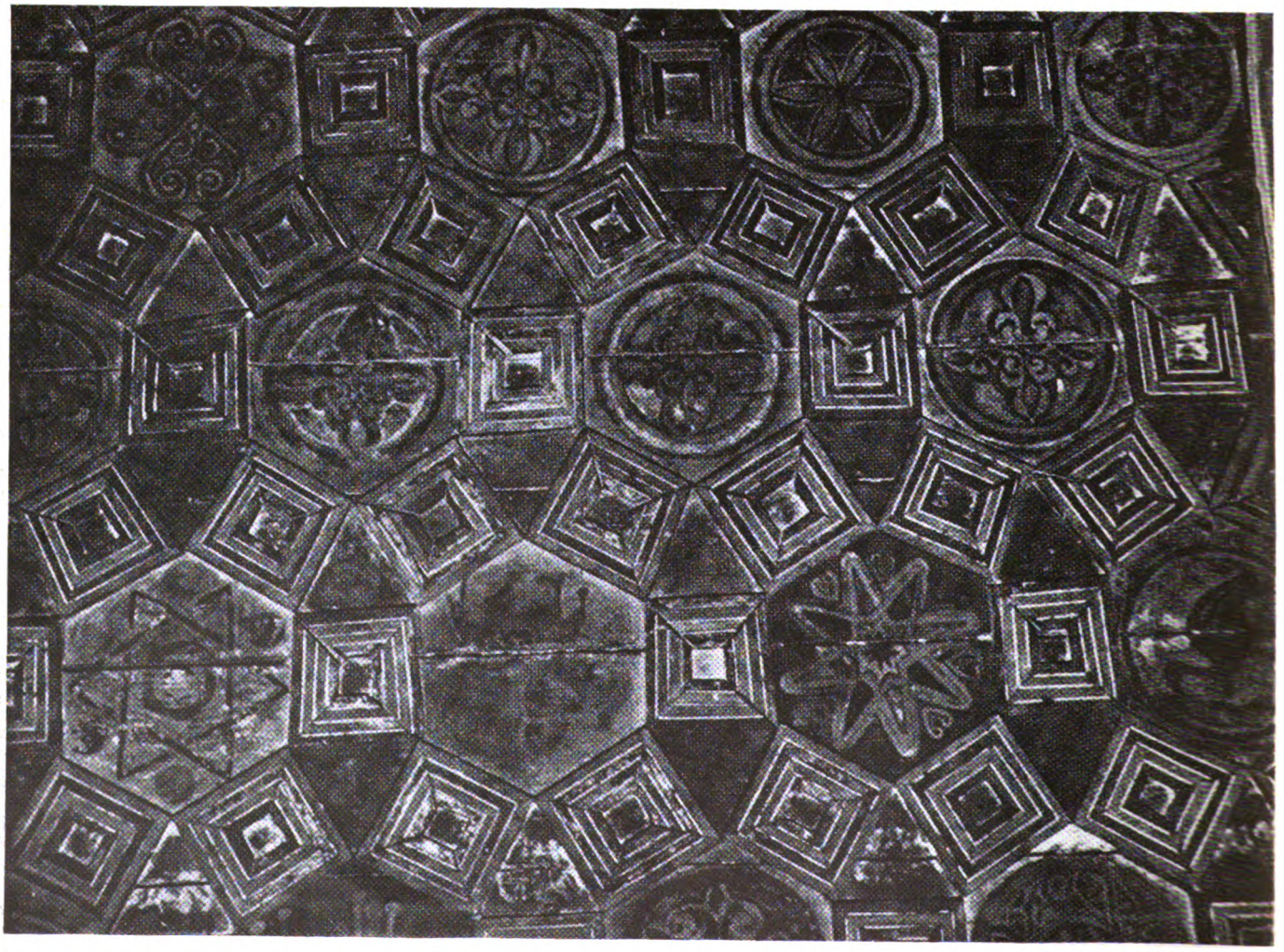

Photo from "Lalibela" by Irmgard Bidder **Ceiling of inlaid woods at Imrahanna Kristos**

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LALIBELA OPENED TO MOTORISED TRAFFIC

By Mrs. Don. C. Bliss

Lalibela, city of the world famous rock churches of Ethiopia, is now open to motorized traffic. His Excellency Dejazamatch Berhane Meskel Desta, Governor of the Province, tells us that he has finished building a two-way traffic road stretching from Kobo, on the Asmara-Addis Ababa road, to the village of Lalibela itself.

The road is practicable for Landrovers, trucks and jeeps. At present it can be used at all times of the year except during the period of heavy rains, e.g. from the middle of June to the middle of September, when fording the rivers on the way becomes difficult if not impossible. However, His Imperial Majesty has ordered that bridges be built across these rivers as soon as possible at which time the beautiful Province of Lasta and Lalibela itself will be accessible the year round to those interested in Ethiopia's past history as well as in monuments which are unique in the world.

Kobo, where the new road debouches on the Addis Ababa-Asmara highway, is 17 kilometres north of Dessie. From Kobo to Lalibela a four-hour drive covers the 115 kilometres easily.

Once you get there, there are plenty of camping sites near the village and the High Priest and one or two of the teachers speak English. The priests are happy to show you their churches so long as you do not attempt to visit them during a religious service. The rock churches themselves are so extraordinary that just viewing them from the outside and exploring the labyrinth of underground passages between them is an adventure in itself.

What kind of weather is there ? Typically Ethiopian. Hot sun during the day, which can become torrid around midday, and cold nights. Take your usual camping equipment, food and water, but out of respect for a holy place, let the women in the party leave behind their shorts, toreador pants and decollete shirts. Some sort of hat is advisable and do not forget your camera.

To the Ethiopians who have never seen one of the most beautiful and historically famous places in their country and to all the foreigners who love Ethiopia, bon voyage !

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R.K.P.P.

Mrs. Bidder on the trail

By Sylvia Pankhurst

LALIBELA

By Irmgard Bidder

(M. Du Mont Schauberg, Cologne)

This book is produced in the German text written by Mrs. Bidder herself and in an able translation by Mrs. R. Grabham Hortmann.

The publishers have produced an attractive volume 12 in. × 9 in. in size. The text, the line drawings and the coloured and half-tone photographs are well printed.

The photographs by the author, Dr. Eva Hoeck, G. Seib and Max Ursin are excellent. The subjects are well chosen from a multitude of scenes of remarkable beauty and interest. Few localities in the world today could afford such a wealth of picturesque, mysterious and essentially beautiful material as in that plenitude from which these photographers were able to make their selection.

Lalibela is far from the beaten track of tourists ; in the folds of their lofty mountains its people still live their tranquil life of faith and piety as in mediaeval times. The pilgrims who flock to worship at those ancient shrines are even less touched than the priests themselves by the spirit of modern scepticism. The graceful, old-time costumes are everywhere. The mediaeval atmosphere is complete.

Other photographers who have also striven with the undoubted difficulty of reproducing the wonderful light and colour of the natural scene by the still imperfect colour films, have criticised the coloured pictures in this book ; they say the red tuff does not here appear in its lovely pinkish hue and the charming pale green lichen which embellishes all these monoliths does not appear at all in Mrs. Bidder's book. But whatever the criticism, so far as the illustrations are concerned, this volume is far the best yet produced on Lalibela. The author and the photographers who collaborated with her, and also the printer and blockmaker, must accord-

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ETHIOPIA:

A Cultural History

by Sylvia Pankhurst

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ingly be highly congratulated. Several of the small pen drawings, from various sources, which appear alongside the text are also attractive.

As so often unfortunately happens, however, the text of this work is very far from equalling the illustrations in the quality of its content. We cannot accept the author's thesis which has no basis of tangible evidence or logical deduction from observed phenomena.

Occasionally some genial thought is thrown out, but every assertion is, as it were, an arrow shot from a bow drawn at a venture—and too many of the shots fly wide.

For example, she asks : Was the fabled phoenix the ostrich ? Did the Phoenicians come from Ethiopia ? (page 14). Did the Hyxos, who ruled in Egypt, influence Ethiopian art ?

" Could it be that the Agan and Tigré people in the mountains of Lasta-Wag are akin to the Hyxos ? Spencer Trimmingham believes the Agan people, who have their own language, have come from the Caucasus. The Hyxos people might also have come from the Caucasus, as they are said to have come from the East, and could be part of the Scythians whose Greek appellation is derived from the word Skythios, name of the first horse. In ancient northern Ethiopia, especially along the Takazzee river, horses are frequently mentioned by mediaeval travellers and a horseman, Giorgis, has been since very early times the most popular saint. The name conveys the idea of a Hero Ancestor Giorgis, who could have had his origin in the mountains of the Caucasus. We shall find in several churches of the Lalibela mountain region the picture and the name of this venerated hero and saint, Giorgis, who may have been the first ancestor of the Hyxos-Agan-Tigrineans, while the ancestor of the Axumite people was called Mahrem." (Page 16).

The reader need not be a very profound scholar to realise that the assumptions contained in the above passages are mere surmise without basis other than in their author's imagination.

Apart from all the fantastic could have beens, there is really no reason to couple, as Mr. Bidder does, the Agan people with those of Tigré in opposition to Aksum. Aksum is in fact situated in Tigré and the people of that province speak a language derived from the ancienf Semitic language, Ge'ez, which was the language ot Aksum. The Agan people of Lasta speak a different and non-semitic language generally believed to have been spoken before the Ge'ez-speaking Semites arrived in Africa from Arabia.

In any case, however, this story of a Hyxos Giorgis is pure moonshiny madness. The Ethiopian Giorgis is of course none other than Saint George, patron Saint of England, as well as of Ethiopia, whose cult appears to have been established in the Christian churches, as early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. According to Church tradition he was a native of Lydda in Palestine, who joined the Roman imperial army and reached the rank of military tribune. When the Emperor Diocletian's persecution of the Christians commenced, George publicly declared himself a Christian and refused to participate in pagan sacrifice. He was accordingly tortured and beheaded. The St. George who is said to have killed the dragon at Silene in Libya is the same St. George though the legend of the dragon only appeared about the eleventh century. St. George is associated also with George of Cappadocia though some authorities reject this assumption.

St. George's popularity in England dates from the crusades, and according to legend, he encouraged Richard Cœur de Lion, but it was Richard III who became convinced of the efficacy of the cry, " St. George for England ! "

In short, St. George is no Ethiopian invention, but a well established Church character, of whom the Ethiopians learned, and learned to love, when they joined the Christian church in the same century in which St. George was established as a personality in Church history, or if you prefer it, Church legend.

Mrs. Bidder is now on her hobby-horse—pagan beliefs and practices in Ethiopia of which she claims to be the discoverer.

She publishes a pretty little coloured photograph of a picture she found in the church of Imrahanna Kristos, built in a cave on Mount Abuna Joseph in the Lasta Mountains. In this picture are represented the head and shoulders of a winged figure wearing a halo and holding the sun, with the moon attached below. Under this group is a horseman, evidently a saint, as he wears a halo. To this picture Mrs. Bidder has given the following caption :

" Sun and Moon held by Cherabim Ancestor (Mahrem Giorgis)."

This and other representations of sun and moon, which occur very frequently in the churches, our authoress claims as evidence of Astral worship. She is not apparently always quite clear whether she believes this paganism still continues, but she makes very plain her belief that it was practised when the Lalibela churches were created out of the rock.

The Ethiopian ecclesiastics are, however, extremely devoted students of the Bible ; they place the sun and moon in their churches to glorify God and His creation and to illustrate the following passages from the first chapter of Genesis :

" 16. And God made two great lights ; the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night ; he made the stars also.

" 17. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.

" 18. And to rule over the day and over the night and to divide the light from the darkness ; and God saw that it was good."

Mrs. Bidder emphasises in one part of her book that the Lasta rulers were devout Christians. She declares the persecuted Christians of neighbouring countries knew this and were aware that they could find asylum and sympathy in the Lasta mountains. We may add that it was a member of the Zagwe dynasty of Lasta to whom Pope Alexander III wrote in 1177, stating that his physician, Master Philip, when in the East, had met envoys of this Ethiopian sovereign who had expressed his desire to establish a church in Rome and an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Nothing came of these negotiations, but after the second Moslem conquest of the Holy City the Zagwe ruler in Lasta obtained from the Moslem ruler, Saladin (Sahla-ad-Din), in 1187, the chapel of the Invention of the Cross

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In Ethiopia for more than fifty years and since the last century in the Red Sea

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in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a station in the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

There can therefore be no legitimate doubt that the Zagwe dynasty was Christian at that period. Mrs. Bidder, however, appears to have some doubts on this subject.

In her ardent quest for pagan cults in Ethiopia, she argues that on the site where the Lalibela monoliths were created had been established from ancient pre-Christian times "the earliest type of nature worship."

This might be the case. It is well known that many Christian churches have been erected on the site of temples devoted to an earlier faith. This is notably the case of York Minster in England, where the remains of the earlier pagan temple can actually be examined beneath the Christian Church. There are of course many other examples; it is known that Roman basilicas of pagan times were converted into Christian churches when the change of religion came.

Mrs. Bidder, however, goes so far as to assert that the actual churches at Lalibela extant today were hewn from the rock and decorated before the advent of Christianity. She says :

"I do not believe the Roha-Lalibela monolithic churches, as was generally supposed up till now, were only created at the time of the Zagwe dynasty."

She adds :

"We shall find evidence of religious ceremonies and sacrifices, such as were made all over the Orient (Asia-Minor, Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia) to the Earth —'Beher' (or Baal, Bel, Bes), to the Sky—'Astar' (or Ishta, Astarte), to the Water—'Meder' (or Ea, Jam). It was only when the knowledge of the Universe grew and astral-cosmic religious cults arose, that monolithic houses of worship, Biet, were hewn out in Ethiopia, based on the same ideas as the monolithic stelae of Aksum. Like those tomb steles, they too rose up out of the heart of the earth, striving upwards, decorated with cosmic and astral symbols. The new sanctuaries were created at the very same spot where nature phenomena had been previously worshipped and thus they superseded, absorbed the older cult.

"Subsequently Christianity interpreted the worship of the many cosmic powers in a new doctrine, replacing the old conceptions by the belief in one creator, one God, one heaven and earth. The monolithic cult 'houses' of the Lasta-Wag province were transformed into Christian churches and their symbols given new meaning."

This argument the authoress applies not alone to the churches at Roha (now called Lalibela) but to the earlier church in a cave, Imrahanna Kristos, to Ganneta Mariam and other rock hewn-churches.

She is very eloquent, but obviously Mrs. Bidder has built up her argument on false premises. In the course of her swift studies of the religions of numerous countries, she omitted to pay attention to the development of architectural styles. She writes of the Lalibela churches as though they were contemporary with the monolithic stelae of Aksum which were hewn from the granite there not less than ten centuries earlier than the creation of the Lasta monoliths.

One may observe here, in passing, that a part of her argument is vitiated by the fact that at Aksum only the stelae appear to have been monolithic. All the other structures which remain above ground at Aksum and have been excavated in that neighbourhood were built of stone and wood. The stelae imitate actual buildings and use their details as decoration.

The temple of Yeha, between Aksum and the coast, believed to be several centuries older than the structures of Aksum, is not a monolith—but it has standing beside it a monolithic stele, also believed to be earlier than the stelae of Aksum. Belief that Yeha is older than Aksum is based on many logical deductions from observed phenomena, including the fact that the inscriptions found at Yeha have characteristics which indicate they belong to an earlier period than those found at Aksum.

We must turn now to the evidence which may be obtained from observation of the development of architectural style : the earliest Christian Church in Ethiopia, still extant, is probably on the mountain of Debra Damo. It is ascribed to the reign of Gabra Maskal in the sixth century A.D., though many believe it was rebuilt at a later time. However that may be, we can still observe in that old church precisely the style of building so well carved and perpetuated on the stelae of Aksum, though this little old church is undoubtedly a much smaller and humbler structure than the magnificent Aksum palaces.

We see at Debra Damo the recessing and projecting walls, the horizontal timbers built into them, and the round ends of the logs slotted onto them, projecting beyond the face of the wall and called monkey heads. We see the twin doors divided by a pillar of Aksumite style. The windows are rectangular. In the interior of the church we find an arch only in the nave, at the entrance to the sanctuary. In the aisles there are no arches, but flat beams on the ceilings as there are over the doors and windows.

Imrahanna Kristos, which Mrs. Bidder has visited, and of which she publishes some excellent photographs, is believed to be rather earlier than the churches of Lalibela. It commemorates a Zagwe, King of the same name who reigned before Lalibela. It is not a monolith, but a built-up edifice. We meet here many characteristics of the building method portrayed on the Aksum monoliths, but the monkey heads have been discarded. The doors and windows are still rectangular but many arches have been introduced in the interior of the church. The severely simple Aksumite capital, which was continued at Debra Damo, is replaced by bracket capitals elaborately carved. The entire architectural scheme and the decoration have become more ornate and ambitious, though in miniature, as the small dimensions of the cave necessitated.

From Imrahanna we pass to Lalibela. Again we find important changes of style, despite the strong tendency to preserve continuity in Ethiopian architecture and building. Among the many innovations we find arched windows and doors. Some of these arches are semi-circular, some are pointed. Some narrow windows resemble early Gothic. Some are of the Ogee type and some are extremely ornate with foliage extending from the point

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of the arch and clusters of foliage in lieu of imposts. This ornamentation is characteristic of later work. There was none of this at Aksum—none at Debra Damo.

Such architectural indications cannot be controverted ; no careful historian can afford to disregard them.

The evidence Mrs. Bidder offers for the existence of a water cult is unconvincing. She declares she observed at each of the rock-hewn churches a baptismal tank or well, artificially hewn, which she was told were used for baptism. This she refused to believe because at the annual celebration of the Epiphany in memory of Christ's baptism in the Jordan, the symbolic blessing of the waters and sprinkling of the people takes place at the river. The christening of young babies is, however, everywhere done within the precincts of the church. Mrs. Bidder could readily have ascertained this while she was still in Ethiopia.

The pillared hall under Bieta Gabriel, where water rises at certain seasons of the year, Mrs. Bidder held to be conclusive proof of water worship. The traces of soot on the walls of an adjacent gallery convinced her that fire-worship—and recently—was also practised. How shocked the good priests would have been had she communicated to them her suspicions! No doubt if she had asked them how there came to be soot on the walls of the gallery they could have given her a simple explanation. Either it was used for baking the communion bread ; if an open wood fire were used, the walls would be rapidly blackened, or there might have been an accidental conflagration there. No other traveller has mentioned the soot.

As for the water—Bieta Gabriel is a place of mystery and certainly efforts were made to render it inaccessible in time of war.

But there may be a natural explanation. Perhaps when the hall was excavated in the dry season no trace of water was found, but when the rainy season released a flood of water everywhere the hall became flooded.

Or did the canny priests release some source known to them to impede the approaching foe ?

Careful investigation may reveal some explanation in the future. Certainly at the time when Ahmad Gran arrived in Lalibela the churches were notoriously Christian, as may be seen from the description of Gran's historian of what occurred during his visit.

The symbolic tomb of Adam situated by Bieta Gabriel gives our authoress another opportunity for discovering paganism, a shape carved on it which to other eyes appears an ornamental cross she declares to be an emblem of Saturn.

However, we can heartily recommend the book for its excellent photographs.

The opening pages of the volume are on the whole the best, being to a certain extent based on some reading of authentic historic documents. The author's style may be gathered from the following excerpt :

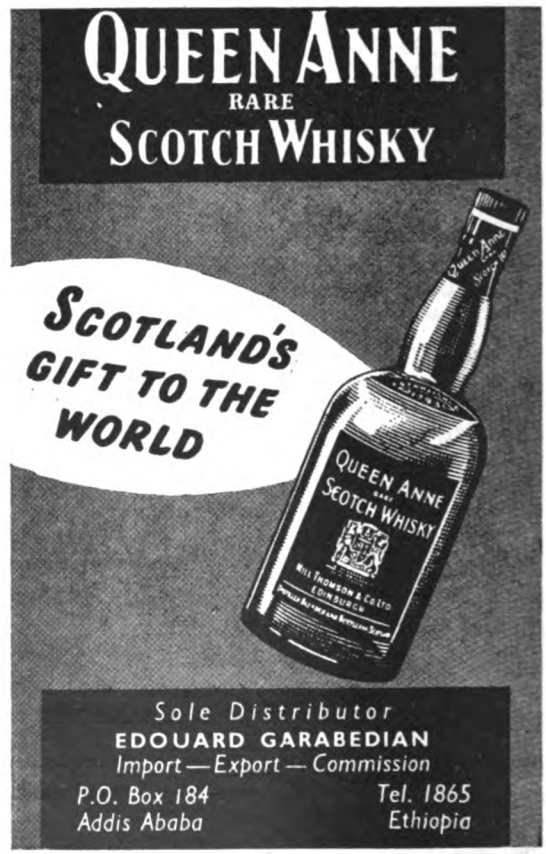
" Hardly any foreigner realises that already in the pre-Christian period and during the great epochs of Hellenism in the Near East, in the Byzantine era with its oriental influences, even in the Middle Ages and during the crusades Ethiopia was culturally and economically far more developed than Northern Europe and America, which was still undiscovered."

Then she asks : " Who knows today that Ethiopia (as has been discovered from early Achaemenian sculptures) had already sent trade delegations to Persia in 500 to 300 B.C. ? Who suspects that at the time of Marco Polo Ethiopia had a lively exchange of trade with China via the silk routes of central Asia and by sea ? Who realises that the Ethiopia of former times had a far greater sphere of political influence than today, and was even, at certain periods, the most powerful of what we might call the United States of the Red Sea ? "

In support of these arguments the author publishes what she claims, probably correctly, to be " an Ethiopian delegation with royal gifts from court to court," reproduced from a bas relief at the Persepolis Palace, circa 480 B.C. The figures appear to be definitely Ethiopian. There is of course other evidence of Ethiopia's early international trade.

Finally we must congratulate Mrs. Bidder on not rendering tedious her narrative by talk about her discomforts and fatigues, as some other writers have done. She realised that her visit was purely incidental to the life of the area. She refrains from complaining of the church services and of the pilgrims, for she understood that she must accommodate her sight-seeing to them.

She refers with proper courtesy and gratitude to her Ethiopian hosts whose helpful kindness made her visit to Lalibela possible.



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BOOK REVIEWS

British Policy In Changing Africa

By SIR ANDREW COHEN

(Routledge and Kegan Paul, 12s.)

As the publisher informs the readers, Sir Andrew Cohen is now permanent British representative on the United Nations' Trusteeship Council. He served as Governor of Uganda from 1952 to 1956. He has served also as head of the African Division at the Colonial Office.

His little book suffers from being merely a collection of lectures which were delivered at the American Northwestern University and were not subsequently revised.

Anxious to respect the *amour propre* of the Colonial Service, in view of his official position and to guard against what is termed "fouling one's own nest" in face of the American cousins, he presents a vision of the British Empire in Africa seen through highly tinted rose-coloured spectacles.

Sir Andrew protests that he is "no historian"; certainly the history he offers is not that of a careful, accurate and impartial historian. It is indeed far, far too complacent.

He asks for a revision of the opinion that " the partition of Africa was a discreditable business." He insists, on the contrary, that "as far as Britain was concerned . . . it was the humanitarian factor which led to the involvement from which all the rest followed." " The abolition of slavery," he urges, " and in revulsion from the slave trade, the sense of mission toward the African people, were the first motives in time in the British penetration of both East and West Africa." He ascribes to the missionaries, the insistence on British occupation of Africa.

He forgets, of course, that there are parts of British-occupied Africa where missionaries are officially prohibited and also the fact that many territories not yet even explored were taken over by notification to, or agreement with other European Powers, and subsequently conquered and occupied by naval and military forces. He admits that " Britain, by the end of the eighteenth century, had become the leading nation of the slave-trade." It is altogether too infantile to assume that all the grossly inhuman influences which maintained the slave trade disappeared overnight as soon as the abolition was achieved. He ignores the long and up-hill struggle the devoted abolitionists had to wage to overcome the interests supporting slavery of every kind and not alone in Africa.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the former American Democratic Party presidential candidate, contributes a preface to Sir Andrew Cohen's slim volume: he writes, by way of amiable compliment to the guest-speaker at the University that Sir Andrew is " everywhere known for his broad human sympathies." The compliment is singularly unfortunate, for it vividly calls to mind the one thing widely known about Sir Andrew—his truly ignominious conflict with the Kabaka, the hereditary ruler of the small African state of Buganda. The Kabaka refused to sign a new constitution for his small realm which had been offered by Sir Andrew Cohen. The Lukiko, the legistlative organ of Buganda, objected to the proposed constitution on the ground that it did not conform to the Protective Agreement signed by their forefathers; in their opinion, it would worsen their position in relation to present and eventual self-government.

Sir Andrew summoned the Kabaka to British Government House and finding him still unwilling to sign the proposed constitution, he had him rushed forcibly to an aeroplane, deported to England without even the opportunity to bid farewell to his wife and family. So distressed was the Kabaka's sister on learning the news of her brother's deportation that she fell dead on the spot. The Kabaka, like Sir Andrew had been educated at a British University; he certainly received cavalier treatment from a fellow university man. Sir Andrew's *faux pas* caused manifestations of extreme public indignation in Buganda, as was, of course, fully to be anticipated. The Kabaka had never been so popular as he now became. Sir Andrew's high-handed procedure brought him widespread notoriety and many of the British public who had believed the British Colonial Service to be uniformally just, decorous and dignified in their treatment of the people of the colonies and protectorates, were intensely shocked.

Mr. Stevenson commends the statement of Sir Andrew Cohen that African nationalists should be treated " neither as saints nor agitators " and that " we should not be disappointed when a nationalist turns out to be less than perfect." This, of course, means that all men are human and even the best are prone to err. The same remark holds good in the case of Colonial officials; they are not all the same; some are better, some are worse—as in every other trade and profession; they must not be regarded as exalted beings too high for criticism. When, however, men are engaged to administer an unjust system and to enforce it upon unwilling populations, they cannot escape the necessity of acting unjustly. As to the slave traders and the legislators who rejected, time and again, Parliamentary Bills and Resolutions to abolish the trade, they may have been good family men and even "jolly good fellows," where their own personal interests and prejudices were not involved, but they were cruel and ruthless men, for all that, devoid of all social conscience and natural humanity of feeling.

Mr. Stevenson recalls that Sir Andrew Cohen has served as head of the Africa Division at the Colonial Office; this information will doubtless cause some readers to wonder whether the removal of the young chief, Seretse Khama, for having the temerity to marry an Englishwoman, was another example of Sir Andrew Cohen's masterly handling of unwelcome situations.

Immersed in American political and academic interests, the ex-Presidential candidate was evidently unaware of the administrative and social questions in British Colonial Africa, which have stirred deep and passionate currents of public opinion in Britain as well as in Africa itself. A greater awareness would undoubtedly be found in Harlem: Mr. Stevenson writes:

" Those who have watched the evolution of post-war British Colonial policy, so largely under Sir Andrew's

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influence, will not find his statement—'Training the people to run their own countries, has, I believe, been the main distinguishing characteristic of British administration in Africa,' out of line with what has been done."

To Africans and to their many friends and supporters in the United Kingdom, this description of British Colonial policy will appear grossly to conflict with the facts of the tragic conflict between the African people and their British rulers, which is taking its sad and painful course in East and Central Africa today. So far from "training the people to run their own countries," the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been imposed by the British Government, though every African organisation and organ of African opinion has opposed it at every stage.

British Policy in Changing Africa

It should be emphasised that the constitutions of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were essentially different from that of Southern Rhodesia with which they have been forcibly incorporated in the Central African Federation whereof Southern Rhodesia is the predominant partner.

Southern Rhodesia was a Colony, whereas Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were never conquered. The chiefs representing their population entered into voluntary agreements with Great Britain to accept British protection. In these agreements it was promised their lands and traditional forms of administration would be safeguarded.

They suffered in the following years many disappointments. The British Colonial Office and the Governors appointed in London arbitrarily created administrations for the direction and control of the peoples and their homelands in which they were given no adequate representation.

Nevertheless the peoples of the Protectorate were more fortunate than those of the Colonies by reason of the fact that the lands which afforded them their main subsistence remained in their possession and were not transferred to European settlers. The transfer of the land to Europeans in colonies such as Southern Rhodesia condemns the former African occupants to permanent poverty and insecurity and forces them to accept wage servitude to the newcomers from overseas in order to obtain a bare subsistence which only continues while they maintain the health and strength to labour.

The peoples of the two Protectorates have continuously protested against being deprived of the rights assured to them by the Trusteeship Agreements through incorporation with the colony where no such rights exist. Their protests have been ignored, their desires overridden.

The sanctity of the Trusteeship Agreements with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been violated with the same ruthlessness as the Central Empires displayed in violating the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium in 1914 and as Hitler Germany displayed toward the violation of Treaties and Agreements in 1939. To establish the principle of the sanctity of Treaties the peoples of Britain and Europe have been called upon to fight and die in two World Wars.

If the United Nations is to mean anything to the peoples of small nations and above all to African peoples it cannot restrict its activity to safeguarding Treaties beneficial to great powers only. It has surely also a duty to call for the honouring of Trusteeship Agreements made between the great powers and the small peoples whose countries they have occupied.

The Nyasaland and North Rhodesian peoples had not lost hope that they would be able to advance to self-government, like their fellow Africans in Ghana and the Sudan at no distant date. Their inclusion in the recently formed Central African Federation along with Southern Rhodesia, has overshadowed this hope with a sombre cloud of apprehension and dismay.

In view of the known policy of the Central African Federation, which is totally opposed to African self-government, the inclusion of the two Protectorates in the Federation is inconsistent with the Protectorate agreements.

Already the transfer to Central African Federation has involved a grievous lowering of status for the Nyasaland Peoples Protectorate owing to the policy of racial segregation which is practised in Southern Rhodesia, the dominant partner in the Federation. The immigrant settler population of Southern Rhodesia has now almost complete control of the Federation with little interference from the British Government. Many of the settlers in Southern Rhodesia have come from South Africa—just across the border—with South African ideas.

Ostensibly the policy of the Central African Federation is multi-racial, a term which is often used to hide a multitude of sins. When one party to the multi-racial combination has all the political power, makes all the laws and controls the administrative machinery and the military and police, the term multi-racial is highly misleading.

How completely the European minority holds political control of the Federation may be gathered from the following facts.

In Southern Rhodesia there is a so-called "common roll" of electors, but the property and educational qualifications are such that while of 178,000 Europeans, 50,000 are able to vote, of the 2,290,000 Africans only 664 can qualify for the franchise. In Nyasaland there are two and a half million Africans and only 7,500 Europeans; yet the right to vote exists only for Europeans, not a single African is allowed the vote on any terms. The Legislative Council consists of 12 official members, six elected members and five Africans not elected by the African people, but chosen indirectly by the provincial Councils. Even were they directly elected what could five do in opposition to 18, where interests clash.

In the Federation, where the entire population numbers seven million people, some 6,800,000 are Africans; yet out of an Assembly of 59 members, only 15 are Africans and most of these depend for their seats on the votes of the European electors. This means, of course, that it they express opinions contrary to the views of the minority of foreigners in their own country, they will be dismissed from the Assembly and replaced by more docile and subservient persons.

It has long been recognised by sociologists and historians, as well as by the common man and woman, and nowhere more so than in the United Kingdom, that political representation is required by every class of

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people in order to protect their interests in this competitive world of ours. The exclusion of Africans from representation has meant, and always will mean, that their interests are sacrificed to those who monopolise political power.

As was emphasised by the leader of the Opposition to the present United Kingdom Government, there is no political freedom in the Central African Federation. In both Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, African political organisations are now totally banned and one of the two African parties in Northern Rhodesia is also prohibited. It is not in Nyasaland only, but also in the Rhodesias that Africans are protesting against the oppressive policies of the Central African Federation. Many of the leading members of African organisations are in prison without charge or trial.

The proposal that the Central African Federation shall be given Dominion status, thus becoming free of all United Kingdom control, has caused the present widespread alarm and protest in the three territories and especially in Nyasaland where the people had hopes of an early advance to freedom. If Dominion status is granted to Central African Federation it will become as independent as is South Africa. Neither the British Parliament and the many Members of Parliament friendly to African freedom, nor the United Nations itself will be able any longer to intercede for the African people of the Federation and to alleviate their hard lot.

There are few people in the world today who take an interest in public affairs who do not know how the South African Government repudiates the obligations of its mandate for South West Africa and rejects any intervention by the United Nations or by the British Government and British public opinion on behalf of the unfortunate people of South West Africa, a former German colony mandated to South Africa at the close of the First World War.

It is highly regrettable that the United Kingdom Government, in direct opposition to the majority of vocal British public opinion, gives continuous support to the recalcitrant behaviour of South Africa toward the League of Nations.

A recent resolution was discussed by the United Nations, expressing regret that the South African Government had "failed to respond to appeals to reconsider policies impairing the right of all races to enjoy fundamental freedoms." This was indeed very mild; 75 States' members voted for the Resolution, four abstained and five opposed. The opponents included Britain and other Colonial Powers. It would be naive to imagine that if the Central African Federation were permitted to reach Dominion status, its attitude toward the African people and toward any action on their behalf, either by the British Parliament or the United Nations, would differ in any important degree from that of South Africa. The present policies of the Federation indicate that it is fast going the way of South Africa.

One would earnestly suggest that in the present crisis, at least in the two Protectorates, the United Nations Trusteeship Council has a duty to intervene (if not also in the dependent territories of Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya, where a state of emergency also exists). The United Nations will stultify itself and be false to its mission if it does not intervene to protect dependent peoples. The Africans forced into Central African Federation have protested with an absolutely united voice. One must ask what is a people to do to protect itself against a supreme injustice when it lacks all political power? The story of a plot to use the tactics of assassination has been dismissed as unfounded by the Devlin Commission of Investigation. Nevertheless it has always been found in Europe that the peoples will eventually rise against arbitrary Government and that representative Government has frequently been secured by European peoples through rebellion, because they had no other means of overcoming injustice. It is high time that lesson of history should be learnt.

On all accounts it is surely the duty of the United Nations to intervene now, before the Central African Federation becomes a Dominion. Already it has proved powerless to aid the Mandated Territory of South West Africa under the Dominion of South Africa.

All this has taken us very far from the little book of Sir Andrew Cohen. Reflection on the terrible conditions which now exist in the vast area covered by Kenya, Central African Federation and South Africa, while even Uganda today is not exempt from unrest and oppression, is sufficient to indicate the futility of the complacent attitude adopted by its author.

One must happily recognise the progress made in West Africa; the independent self-government extended to Ghana and the approaching liberation of Nigeria. Fortunately for the peoples of those countries, their climatic conditions exempted them from the difficulties created by European settlers. Therefore they were permitted to reach freedom. Critics of British policy are apt to say that Great Britain only liberated India because the cost of holding it after the indendence movement had become powerful, would have been too great for the United Kingdom to support. Though there may be some measure of truth in this criticism, so far as some members of the British nation are concerned, we prefer to believe that the liberation came because the true heart of the British people and their innate love of justice and democracy responded to the desire of the Indian people for freedom and self-government. The Indians had very wisely continued for generations a work of educating British public opinion, by public speaking and by writing which had borne the good fruit of sympathy and understanding among large numbers in all ranks and classes in Britain.

Critics of British policy also say that the West African colonies are being surrendered purely because British subjects cannot live there in health and comfort, but where there is a splendid climate, as in Kenya, the British will never surrender the African countries they have seized. The present sad situation in East, Central and South Africa certainly gives support to such attacks; yet happily there is a growing consciousness that the maintenance of a rule of force, in defiance of the legitimate desire of the peoples to govern their own countries, is indefensible on any moral basis. This enlightened opinion should be expressed with greater vigour.

Sir Andrew Cohen told his American audience that as the European settlers have developed the country, their interests must be protected from the African

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majority. The boot, of course, is on the other leg since the settlers have entire control of government, police and military forces. They impose segregation and pass laws limiting African movement; they forcibly remove African settlements from place to place by their own arbitrary decrees. They reserve to themselves the best of the land. In South Africa the Africans are 85 per cent of the population; they are permitted to own only 12½ per cent of the land. The land-hunger of Kenya Africans is notorious; everyone knows of the "White" Highlands, the best land in Kenya, from which Africans are excluded, though much of it is wholly unused, waiting for white settlement. Africans, meanwhile, are starving on their overcrowded little plots nearby. The settlers' Government also made a practice of limiting the competition of African farmers by preventing, or restricting the growing of certain crops, especially coffee, by Africans.

Sir Andrew Cohen, with an air of benevolence toward the African, urges that the present tribal or family holding of land should be replaced by individual ownership, to enable the African to borrow capital on the security on his land. When, as is by no means unknown in British Colonial Africa, Africans, as such, are prevented by law from borrowing more than about £10 under any circumstances, individual ownership would provide no remedy.

The claim that Africans must abandon their customary system of land tenure is really beside the mark. If they had freedom in their own country, they could arrange such matters in their own best interests. In passing, one may instance the experience of the Danish co-operative farmers as a case in point. When world grain prices collapsed in the 1870s, the Danish farmers were hard hit; they decided to switch their activities to dairying, pig and cattle breeding. To obtain the necessary capital, they raised loans on the joint and unlimited liability of all members, pledging the land of the entire co-operative group of farmers.

The description given by Sir Andrew Cohen of the operation of the British Colonial Service lacks interest, not so much because the picture he paints is, of course, far too pleasant, but because he is describing a fast vanishing régime. British Colonial rule in the whole of West Africa is destined to give way to independent African States at no distant date.

The struggle in East and Central Africa is to determine whether these vast territories shall be severed from all control by the Colonial Office to become European settler dominated centres of oppression and unrest, or whether they are to be liberated and to dwell under democratic systems in which every man and woman, regardless of race and colour shall have an equal vote in determining the government of their country. This irrevocably means adult manhood and womanhood franchise and a Government responsible to no outside authority, but to the Parliament elected by the people.

Inevitably this means Government by the African majority. And this is bound to come throughout Africa sooner or later.

In the interests of the African majority and in the true interests of the European settlers, it were best for this liberation to come swiftly. An early solution would obviate a further long and bitter struggle; and if the present Conservative Government under Mr. Macmillan does not modify its obstruction of African freedom in East and Central Africa, we must hope that a change of Ministers in the United Kingdom will bring about conditions more favourable to African self-government.

But it is a vital necessity to prevent the European settler Governments of Central African Federation and Kenya from obtaining Dominion status. It is difficult to conceive of any swift means of preventing this, other than action by the United Nations, which has the moral duty of safeguarding the welfare of subject nations, whether under its mandate or not. The house of Commons has the power to do what is necessary by a vote of censure of the Government's Colonial policies. When will the Commons accept this duty ?

GANGRENE

(Calder Publishers Ltd., London 7s. 6d.)

This book is by several writers. John Stonehouse, M.P. writes of "Kenya's Inhumanities" and tells how eleven Kenya Africans were beaten to death at Hola detention camp. Seven Algerian students describe the tortures inflicted upon them by the French police in order to force them to disclose information concerning the members of the Algerian National movement. This part of the book is so horrible that many readers may not be able to endure it.

Jerome Linden explains that the French text of these Algerian testimonies was published in Paris in 1959 under the title 'La Gangrene". It was reviewed in a front page article in the highly reputed French newspaper "Le Monde". On the same day the police confiscated all copies of the book. The whole French Press protested against the confiscation, which was the first since General De Gaulle came to power, and which was a violation of the right of free speech guaranteed by the French Constitution of 1959.

Captain Ernest Law tells of his extraordinary imprisonment for five months, without trial, in Kenya during the year 1957. Ernest Law was a Bedfordshire man born in 1901. He attended the Kimbolton Grammar School, but during the first World War was obliged to leave school to obtain work owing to family circumstances. In 1923 he enlisted in the Army 'to see the World', and when he was 25 years of age his battalion of the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment was shipped to Malta and thence to Shanghai, and afterwards to Hong Kong, India, Palestine and Egypt. He had continued in the Army after the completion of his first seven years' service. He came to be regarded as an expert on machine guns and became Corporal of a machine gun company and afterwards, Sergeant. In 1936 he was selected to instruct a Command course, comprising officers and sergeants of the Guards and other regiments. He took part in manoeuvres and was mentioned in Despatches for "Bravery and Distinguished Service".

His standing with the Battalion Commander, Col. John MacCreedy was excellent, and no doubt it was on MacCreedy's recommendation that, being qualified in all arms, he was selected for special duties and seconded to the Kenya African Rifles, and sent to Kenya as the

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only qualified instructor there at that time in the Bren gun and the anti-tank rifles then introduced. He was posted to Nairobi and was engaged in instructing officers and N.C.O.s, both British and Africans. After six months he was promoted Sergeant-Major and was instructing all day, and taking night classes in technical problems.

When Italy entered the second World War Captain Law was on active service and was Lieutenant Quartermaster as well as assisting the Commander, Major Trimmer, as second-in-command. In 1942 he fought at Massawa and Asmara in Eritrea and then at Kulkabar and Gondar in Ethiopia. Subsequently, he was transferred to Ceylon, where he was in charge of a training wing, to prepare men for service in Burma. He was promoted to Captain and Quartermaster of Reinforcements Battalion.

In 1946 he was shipped back to Kenya, where he served until 1948. When the time came for him to leave the Army, he was advised to find work in Kenya, on the ground that there was much unemployment in England. Unfortunately he accepted the advice. At first all went well; he had abundant experience of training African as well as British soldiers, and of handling bodies of men. As a lad he had worked on the farm of Sir William Whitehead of Sheldon. He readily obtained the position of Welfare Officer to the Nairobi Municipal Council. He liked the work and was able to improve conditions in the African locations, having to deal with 56,000 people. In the Army and in civilian life, he tried always to treat Africans as "fellow human beings" and thereby "got results".

After 3 years, however, he resigned because the house promised to him failed to materialise. Hotel life took too high a share of his salary. He readily obtained employment at the ill-fated Groundnuts scheme in Tanganyika as Labour Manager, being in charge of 4,000 workers. When the scheme was wound up he became Labour Manager to Balfour Beatties, who were constructing deep-water berths in Southern Tanganyika, having to recruit, feed and house the labourers. He remained till the contract was completed and the work terminated.

He now unfortunately returned to Kenya, being offered a temporary job by the Labour Department of the Kenya Government. It was 1955, the period of the Mau Mau crisis. When the work terminated he was recommended by Major Hernig of the Labour Department to the Labour Department of Nairobi Prison. He was immediately engaged as Chief Officer in charge of stores, subject to being "medically fit." He was examined by the medical officer and assumed the report was satisfactory, as his appointment was confirmed. Moreover, during his 25 years of military service, his fitness record was 100 per cent. He had not had a day's illness for many years and he had represented his regiment in football, hockey and other sports.

Nevertheless, his appointment at Nairobi Main Prison was soon to be terminated, allegedly on "medical grounds."

A fortnight after he had received quarters in the prison he was awakened about 5.45 a.m. by the sounds of screaming and shouting. He went out and was horrified to see 14 men prisoners, employed in the prison officers' kitchen and mess, and the boys who attended to the officers' rooms, lying on the ground, naked, being beaten with truncheons and sticks and kicked by the heavy boots of a British officer, the Chief Warder and other warders. He asked the British officer what was going on, and was told that one of the prisoners who had been washing the clothes had taken a pair of shorts and had escaped. The beating was being done to try to obtain information where the escaped prisoner might have gone. Captain Law was shocked; in the whole of his military service, he had never seen prisoners so treated. In handling thousands of men as Labour Manager, he had never permitted brutality. He told the officer, he says, " to stop the beating up, or I would beat him. I nearly thumped him, there and then, I was so horrified by the treatment of those prisoners; one of them was an old gentleman, the cook, good enough to be called a chef in any language, and he was being beaten too. I said, 'Not only are you knocking them to pieces, but you are asking for the lot of us to be poisoned too'."

Law told the British police officer he would report the affair. In fact, he reported it to the Assistant Superintendent of Nairobi Main Prison, and to the Superintendent, whom he informed that if no action were taken he would apply to the Chief Secretary.

No improvement resulted from Captain Law's complaint. On the contrary, two prisoners in handcuffs and leg-irons were knocked down and beaten by two Chief Warders, just outside the door of his own office. They were unconscious and bleeding from the nostrils. He stopped the beating and the Chief Warders declared they had been acting on the orders of " the Chief Boss."

Shortly afterwards, Captain Law's employment as Chief Officer at Nairobi prison was terminated on " medical grounds." He now found himself blacklisted when he applied for employment, he was obliged to state where he had formerly been employed and the mention of Nairobi prison inevitably led to his rejection.

Finally, his savings were spent, he was reduced to getting odd jobs on farms to try to earn his bread. In December, 1957, some European farmers, to whom he spoke of his misfortunes, advised him to apply to the police for repatriation to England, where he was longing to return. Believing that as he had been seconded by the British Army to Kenya and had served 25 years in the army, he would be received with consideration and helped to return home, he took this advice. No doubt he was mistaken in believing the police were the authorities to whom he should have applied. However, he spent his last £1 on the journey by native bus from Kitale, where he had been working, to Nairobi.

The bus stopped just outside Kingsway police station; he walked in, full of hope, and explained his position.

He found himself under arrest, and to make a long history short, it may be explained that he spent a night in a prison cell, in company with a European prisoner accused of theft, and was subsequently removed to Kamiti prison, where despite his many appeals, he was detained five months. There he witnessed many cruel beatings of African prisoners, but being himself a prisoner was powerless to protect them. The various officials he was permitted to interrogate on his own

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behalf, both then and later, declared themselves unable to assist him. He was examined by the prison doctor, who stated he was physically fit, after which he was obliged to do prison work. He was incarcerated with Europeans convicted of offences ranging from theft to brutal assault.

While the months passed, he became more and more desparate. As he was paid nothing for his hard toil in the prison, he had no possibility of earning any money whereby to help himself.

At last, on June 1, 1958, he obtained an envelope from a friendly African warder, who also lent him his pen. He had a sheet of foolscap, which he had taken from the quartermaster's stores during a period when he had been sent to act as storekeeper there. He now wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd. Having borrowed 2s. 0d. from a European prisoner, he gave this money and the letter to his friend, the African warder who smuggled out the letter and posted it. On June 13, Captain Law was taken from his cell and told he was to be inoculated and vaccinated in Nairobi, as he was to leave for England on the following Monday. On June 16, he was escorted to the 'plane and despatched penniless to England, without his passport, which the prison authorities had not returned to him.

There was no one to meet him at London Airport. Had he been a convict, the Prisoners' Aid Society would have cared for him. He was taken from the disembarkation queue by the security police because he had no passport, but after questioning, was permitted to leave. He took his seat in the airport bus and rode to its terminus at Queensgate.

He had now to find a lodging. He walked into the Portland Court Hotel and told the proprietress he had come from Kenya and was seeking accommodation, but could not pay until the end of the month. The proprietress was kind and trusted him. She agreed to give him a room, bed and breakfast for 30s. 0d. a night. He was confident he would find employment. His experience and references were excellent; he applied next morning to the Labour Exchange and was given a letter of introduction to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. He was immediately engaged and was instructed to report for work next Monday. Mr. Buzzard, the office keeper at the Ministry, to whom he had disclosed where he was living at 30s. 0d. a night, had shown a friendly interest in helping him and had invited him to stay in his flat until he had established himself.

Captain Law was indeed grateful to be among friendly people once more. It seems almost like a fairy tale—too good to be true—but in the world there are many kind people.

So all ended well for Captain Law; but, unfortunately, not yet for the Kenya Africans, on whose behalf he had ventured to intercede. Their travail continued.

The sad events here mentioned, very briefly, without the tragic details given in the book, are all incidents in the long struggle for African liberation.

Captain Law has done what he could for the people he tried unsuccessfully to protect by writing his testimony to their sufferings.

DAWN IN NYASALAND

By GUY CLUTTON-BROCK

(Hodder and Stoughton, London, 3/6)

Mr. Clutton-Brock makes a poignant plea against including Nyasaland in the Central African Federation. He pleads against the racist theories spreading up from South Africa into Southern Rhodesia, the dominant partner in the Central African Federation. He argues that British pledges to the people of Nyasaland preclude inclusion in the Federation in opposition to their wishes, which have been unmistakably shown to be 100 per cent against inclusion.

He presents a clear picture of the country, its people and history, the reasons for the strong opposition to federation to Southern Rhodesia. He describes the spread of "apartheid", which after all, is the doctrine of Hitler applied against Africans, instead of against Jews. If the gas chamber is not used, it is because the African's labour is needed; there is the same claim to have the right to rule the destiny of another race. Mr. Brock exposes the failure of so-called racial "partnership" where one race holds predominant power.

Mr. Block tells the reader his life has been "more concerned with the hoe than the pen." He has spent the past ten years working with African peasants in a Mission co-operative village. He is therefore no mere arm-chair philosopher, nor is he a tourist who has made a brief visit to Africa and produced an ill-digested, superficial book as a result. He is a serious writer who is prompted by deep conviction. His home is Southern Rhodesia, and he is thus fully able to understand conditions there, particularly as the people of the Mission village where he works have attempted to put "partnership" into practice.

The book contains a useful chronology of events, reports and publications referring to the Nyasaland crisis.

THE JET LIGHTHOUSE

By Galbraith Welch (Museum Press, 25s.)

This is a light, chatty book about Liberia. It gives the reader an impression of Liberian affairs in a rather superficial way from the angle of a visitor, who was a guest of President Tubman, and went to Liberia at his invitation. The Jet Lighthouse is Liberia, according to the author.

Mrs. Welch is an American journalist. She states she has "travelled widely in Africa", but before going to Liberia she does not appear to have ventured outside European circles there, for she writes:

"Liberia today offers a unique social study. It is the only place where we can consider a purely negro group, Christian and civilised and English-speaking and living, so far as they are able, along Western lines. And—this especially excited my curiosity when I was invited to Liberia—it offers a chance to study one's self. What, I asked myself, would be my reactions to a community where the colour bar manifestly cannot exist?"

As she makes very clear, she set out for Liberia with an excessive consciousness of colour differences; though she tells on page 29, this was her twelfth visit to Africa: "I was to be a lone traveller and a guest in a completely negro

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country. This, at a time when my native land boiled with racial discussion. I would watch myself. It would be a psychological adventure."

"For a month, almost without exception", she continues, "I dealt on easy terms exclusively with negroes. I found that I very soon completely and sincerely ceased to notice their complexion at all and that they seemed to take mine with equal nonchalance. I may say here that my background is that of the average American, apart from the fact that I am much interested in African history and have travelled widely in Africa. I have lived extensively in the South in the United States. Like a great many other Americans, I am baffled by the question of integration. There is no doubt that I and my negro companions would both have reacted quite differently had I been thrown for weeks into an exclusively negro society in the United States".

All this would, of course, appear highly absurd to the majority of the world's peoples. To the great "coloured" majority and also to Europeans who have friends among Africans and have lived in Africa—and, we hope, to many even untravelled Americans—Mrs. Welch's admission that she is "baffled by the question of integration" would appear shamefully reactionary. She is, of course, referring to the colour bar in America and the struggle now proceeding in the Southern States of U.S.A. to secure the admission of Afro-American youth to the public schools along with the children of European extraction. It was not at all necessary for Mrs. Welch to travel all the way to Liberia to meet "civilised Christian negroes"; there are plenty of them to be found in the United States. But, as she hints, in America "we are uneasy in voluntary inter-racial dealings, because we are conscious of the possible comment or criticism of our own race or of the opposite race". That, of course, depends on one's own attitude to racial questions and the people one chooses as one's friends.

But here was Mrs. Welch in Liberia with a very superficial notion of the African continent, despite the claim that she has written "several books" about it. She says of Liberia: "She is the only African country that has had in modern times the opportunity to run her own affairs". This is truly an amazing statement to come from an authoress, who would as a journalist, be expected to know something of current world affairs and who, from her own account of herself, is in her sixties and, therefore, not too young to remember the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935-41. Egypt certainly, and even the newer African states, Sudan and Ghana, have already had some experience in running their own affairs. But how could Mrs. Welch fail to know of the ancient African Empire, Ethiopia, with its venerable Christian church, established in the fourth century A.D., whose history and literature have occupied the life study of many modern scholars; Empire of "Prester John," far famed in the Middle Ages, centuries before Columbus discovered America? Does the travelled journalist know nothing of Ethiopia's epic struggle to defend her ancient independence against Italian aggression and its triumphant vindication in 1941? Did she hear nothing of Emperor Haile Sellassie's challenge to the European Powers to uphold the Covenant of the League of Nations in his dramatic address to the League at Geneva in 1936? All the world was agog about it at the time. Where was she when the Emperor Haile Sellassie visited the United States on the invitation of President Eisenhower; and when he visited London on the invitation of Queen Elizabeth?

Perhaps she was visiting the North Pole or climbing Mount Everest; otherwise as a journalist she would have known that a country called Ethiopia has been managing its affairs for a couple of thousand years on the lowest estimate.

Dr. George Harley, an American missionary in Liberia, for whom she expresses warm admiration, in saying farewell to Mrs. Welch, admonished her: "Don't tell too many lies about Liberia". She was "piqued", she says, but on reflection she understood Dr. Harley had "resented some of the things written about the country to which he had given his life". She adds that comments on Liberia have recently cited "disreputable items from her past" without checking whether such things were still true. One might perhaps add "or ever true". She herself continually paints a somewhat crude and lurid background of alleged former African customs which crops up amid her descriptions of present-day Liberia and will be apt to create mistaken impressions among the less careful readers.

While in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, Mrs. Welch was housed in the official guest house, Ducor Hall. She describes her situation as being "in lone grandeur with fifteen servants to attend me". Two Liberian ladies, Mrs. Fiske, who had lived in America, and Mrs. Padmore, "a luscious young matron", drove with her through the capital, which has "a population something over 30,000". Her guides drew her attention to Government Buildings, thus "the centennial Pavilion. It commemorates the hundredth anniversary of the Liberian Republic in 1947", "the Liberian Communications Exchange", the "Bureau of the Budget", the "Bureau of Mines and Geology", the "Bureau of General Supply", the "Office of the Joint Commission for Economic Development", the "Disbursing Office", the "Office of the National Literacy Campaign, which is conducted by the Department of Public Instruction", the new "Capitol" building, the "Executive Mansion" and so forth.

The American visitor was not impressed by Monrovia; she writes: "The series of ill-matched buildings which housed activities so pompously named and the insistent enthusiasm with which they were displayed to me set me wondering. I felt both tenderness and amusement. Are they children running a store with pins?" I asked myself and then said: "No! It is the very right and patriotic satisfaction of a people which has at last got its nose above water. . . . They've waited a long time to do a bit of bragging".

While emphasising the poverty of Liberia *vis-à-vis* the United States and Europe, Mrs. Welch is determined to place it in brightly favourable contrast to the rest of Africa.

On pages 73-74 of her book, she makes some curious statements. She refers to the Vai people of Liberia, one of the indigenous tribes whom elsewhere she describes as "savages".

"The Vai can claim to be the only Africans, Egyptians aside, who ever invented and made practical use of a written language. Africans, except Egyptians, have always imported or imitated other forms of writing, Punic, Libyan, Tifinagh (the writing of the veiled desert Tuareg) have an

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association with Phoenician and perhaps the Egyptian and Ethiopia's writing has Arabic ancestry" (*sic*!)

The above observations are, of course, extremely naive. By "Arabic", the authoress probably means Arabian or Semetic, for the fixation of Arabic is placed relatively late by scholars of the Semitic languages, about the 3rd or 4th century A.D., the 7th century Koran being considered the first document in which Arabic was used as a literary language.

The history of the Egyptian hieroglyphic is deemed to have begun at the commencement of the First Dynasty, about 3,000 B.C. It is a picture-writing, obviously derived from the life and experience of the people, men, women, animals, plants, water, the sun, etc., etc. There is no sort of reason to imagine, in view of the majestic and transcendant grandeur of early Egyptian civilisation and its arts and crafts, that its picture writing was derived from any foreign source. There is nothing to indicate that anything comparable to Egypt's monumental civilisation existed in Arabia at the early period from which Egyptian hieroglyphic is known to have been used and is still to be seen on the walls of the vast temples still extant.

The later Egyptian writing, termed hieratic, was directly derived from hieroglyphic, of which it is a simplification. Later still, demotic was developed from hieratic and was a further simplification of the original hieroglyphic. Hieroglyphic was incised or sculptured in relief on the temple walls. Hieratic and the later demotic were written with a reed pen. Accordingly, the characteristics of writing were developed in the two latter scripts. Coptic, the ultimate phase of the Egyptian language, was written with Greek letters, being largely concerned with biblical texts in Greek, it imported many Greek words.

It is true that Egyptian throughout its history displays affinities with the semitic languages, but not to an extent which warrants inclusion among them. Egyptian has also similarities with the African languages grouped as Hamitic: Berber, Bedja and Somali. All this is very well known. Readers unfamiliar with the subject and desiring some general information on these subjects may turn to the volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, or Chambers' Encyclopaedia, or similar volumes produced in other languages.

The ancient language of Ethiopia, Ge'ez, or Ethiopic, is one of the semitic languages. Its script is derived from Sabaean, a South Arabian language, or from an older language from which both were descended. By early in the 4th century A.D., epigraphic inscriptions still extant, reveal that the Ethiopians had modified this script, which originally consisted only of consonants, by adding to it a complete system of vowel formations which were, of course, a great aid to comprehension. The Ethiopians were alone in producing such a system, which is still employed in Ge'ez and its derivatives, Tigré, Tigrinya and Amharic. In the 6th century A.D., they invented a system of music writing, still used, but unknown elsewhere.

Arabic is a sister of Ethiopic among Semitic languages. Its script is extremely different from the Ethiopian script.

Mrs. Welch gives a specimen of the script, alleged to have been invented by a man of the Vai people in 1834, or thereabouts. She says it was "at one time used widely" and taught in a "native" school. It is not clear whether this form of writing is still practiced. In any case, it cannot be compared with a script employed by a nation for a lengthy period, in which an extensive literature has been produced. Nor is it possible to judge a script on a brief sentence.

It should, however, be emphasised that a man who undertakes the task of producing a script for a hitherto unwritten language, cannot properly be described as a savage.

Mrs. Fiske, who acted as guide and interpreter to the authoress during her stay in Liberia, was one of the Vai people. She interpreted for two Moslem notables of the indigenous tribes, one of them a Mandingo, the other a Vai, who came to call on Mrs. Welch. Such glimpses as the authoress gives of the indigenous people will be found by many readers the most interesting part of her small volume. All the world has heard of the American negro settlers in Liberia, but relatively little is known of the Africans who were living there before the Afro-Americans arrived. These Moslems told Mrs. Welch that the Presidents of Liberia, who were all drawn from among the settlers, were "unkind" to the indigenous Moslems up to the time of President King (1920-1930). On that account the elder of the two Moslems had withdrawn into the interior beyond presidential control. In 1945 he had made a long journey, partly on foot, through the French West African Colonies, to Nigeria, Lake Chad, Dafur, Libya, Khartum and finally to Jidda and Mecca.

President Tubman has held office since 1944. Mrs. Welch says, "his office is probably extendible at will—his will. The presidential powers in Liberia are ultra-wide". Unless there is positive evidence on which to base it, this statement appears unfair. A presidential election had been held just before Mrs. Welch's arrival at Monrovia.

The American journalist, of course, tells us of Mrs. Tubman, the President's wife, to whom she said on their first introduction: "Madam, you are very beautiful!" Mrs. Tubman, the authoress explains, is the mother of several children, and a busy and efficient housewife. She manages 37 servants in Monrovia and a thousand-acre farm at Totota.

The President was away recuperating from the election campaign, but when he returned to the capital, he treated the visitor with affability and afforded her all facilities to see and write about the country and its people. The authoress informs us Liberia has fifteen hospitals to serve the needs of its population, numbering approximately two and a half million people.

Mr. Yancy, the Secretary of Public Education, is quoted as saying that 40,000 children, out of a school age population roughly estimated at 400,000, attend school. Liberia is not alone in West Africa in this respect. According to official British statistics, only 5 per cent. of the tribal children of Sierre Leone were at school in 1954. In French Guinea, the population was about the same as that of Liberia; 29,951 children were at school. French Guinea had not the American negro settler element in the population to increase the proportion of educated children. In Liberia, says Mrs. Welch, there are 1,500 teachers. There is a University with 600 students. There are many Mission schools, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Mrs. Welch is not an enthusiast for African Education; she writes: "As I visited around Liberian schools I

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wondered what and how they would teach tribal children for their best happiness, given that most of them are presumably going to spend their adult lives in huts in equatorial forests and jungles, polygamous and pagan. The teaching of little savages will require a certain suppleness and adaptability of soul". The views of the authoress in this matter appear out of harmony with the spirit of our time. When asked by the President of the University of Liberia, an American negro, Mr. Kermit C. King, to address the women students and to use her influence to persuade them to complete the course, she was pleased to decline, for she says: "I could not conscientously urge these brown-skinned, big-eyed, tender-faced young women to stay with their books if their hearts and bodies craved bed and babies".

More interesting is the account of the literacy campaign in which reading is taught by the Laubach method and illiterates learn to read in about six months. There are primers for the tribal languages: Loma, Gio, Bassa, Vai, Kpelle, Tchien and Grebu. For advanced literates there are booklets in English, containing stories and also use-useful information on health and the prevalent diseases. There is a miniature illustrated monthly newspaper for the new literates, called the "New Day". Literacy Buttons are presented to people who have learned to read and write.

One interesting fact noted by the authoress, which has been evident for some time, is that of late years official Liberian policy has been to emphasise the African character of Liberia and to integrate it idealogically with the rest of Africa.

In former times, the negro settlers from America were aloof from the indigenous Africans who peopled the territory before their arrival. The power of government was exclusively in the hands of the settlers. About 1954, President Tubman inaugurated the National Unification Programme. In May of that year, he presided over the first conference of all the tribal chiefs, at which sixteen different languages had to be interpreted.

Already a certain amount of integration had been slowly proceeding; indigenous tribal children had been taken into Afro-American homes to learn the Christian way of life in return for household service; some of these had married sons of the Afro-American family; there had been other inter-marriages. Nevertheless, according to Mrs. Welch, there are only 25,000 English-speaking Liberians out of population of two and a half million.

The right to vote in Liberian election has been extended to the tribes; men and women who pay hut tax are now allowed to vote. The tribes are represented in the Liberian legislature.

Though the benefits of what is called civilisation have been rather slow in spreading to the indigenous people and except in the matter of slavery, the early settlers were inclined to model themselves on the American way of life, of late years Africanism has made headway in Liberia, as in the other parts of Africa. The ceremonial robes now worn on certain State occasions by the President and Government officials and the gowns of Libe.ian University graduates are adapted from the traditional costume of one or more tribes and are made of local hand-woven cloth. The tendency is no longer to be a mere reflection of America, but an African people, hoping, perhaps, to hold a position of leadership as the first of the new independent African states, emancipated from European rule, though its independence is, of course, a mere infant as compared with that of age-old Ethiopia.

The Conference of Independent African States, called by President Tubman at Monrovia in the summer of 1959, following the similar conference held earlier in Ghana, under the auspices of Dr. Nkruma, was an expression of the prevailing trend.

We do not get a very clear picture of the Liberian constitution from this account, but we learn that "The Hinterland", as the tribal areas are called, is administered by District Commissioners, paramount chiefs, tribal chiefs and town chiefs who are sometimes women. The paramount chief is elected by the other chiefs of the area and commissioned by the President. "He administers and judges according to the tribal traditions. From his constituents he receives 400 hampers of rice per year. In addition, he collects taxes for the Government, keeping 10 per cent. for himself".

"The paramount chief system", says the authoress, "is an attempt to bridge the gap between old tribal customs and the modern civilised form of government".

She touches but lightly upon economic question. She is enthusiastic about the American Firestone rubber plantations and the exploitation of iron ore by the Republic Steel Corporation and the possibilities of an iron fortune, which the American Minerals Company is investigating. She tells of diamond smuggling. "Firestone", she says, "has 10,500,000 rubber trees planted on 80,000 acres. 30,000 men are employed producing 70,000,000 lb. of crêpe rubber and concentrated latex annually. Firestone has built 105 miles of road, 10,000 houses. It maintains two hospitals with 200 beds, three club houses, two golf courses, 12 schools, four churches, a modern telephone system, a 3,000 kilowatt hydro-electric power plant, a United States-Liberian radio station, a brick plant, modern factories, laboratories and service facilities. At the entrance to the Firestone plantation a stele is erected on which these achievements are inscribed. Firestone claims to be the world's largest producer of rubber".

Mrs. Welch refers to the Firestone Plantation as "a country within a country". The usual Firestone wage is 28 cents (2s.) a day. There is a store where Firestone employees make their purchases. It displays trinkets "to tempt tribal female covetousness", and "everything, or almost everything, an American might hanker for. The cost of living appears high in Liberia; a chicken costs 18s.", Mrs. Welch says.

A bound volume of "Ethiopia Observer" makes an invaluable guide

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Ethiopian Record

March 24.—It was announced that Ethiopia and Portugal have raised their respective diplomatic missions to the rank of embassies.

March 25.—It was announced that the Soviet Union is to establish an oil refinery in Ethiopia and conduct geological surveys with a view to constructing gold mining plant and determining the possibility of establishing a metallurgical works.

H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Sellassie paid a visit of inspection to Irgalem in the course of a visit to Sidamo province, where he visited schools and hospitals.

March 29.—The Emperor gave £4,000 to the relief fund for Africans killed in the South African riots and offered 30 scholarships for children who lost their parents on that occasion.

March 31.—It is announced that plans for the construction of a paper mill in Ethiopia have been completed by two German experts, Dr. Max E. Pribilla and Dr. Ehlers. The paper is to be made from castor and eucalyptus trees.

April 1.—It was announced that Ethiopia and the Netherlands have raised their diplomatic missions to the rank of embassies.

April 5.—The Emperor gave audience to Mr. Randolph Churchill.

It was announced that a new textile plant is to be established near Bahr Dar as the second and last of the projects of the War Reparations Bureau.

April 6.—It was announced that a seven-man team from the World Bank, headed by Mr. Gunter K. Wiese, was in Ethiopia to study loan matters.

April 7.—It was announced that a Yugoslav engineer-architect, Mr. Konjedic Stone, has proposed a giant 35-storey building for Addis Ababa in the shape of a Solomonian star.

April 15.—Africa Day was widely celebrated in Ethiopia.

April 20.—Their Imperial Majesties paid a visit of inspection to the Awash Valley.

April 22.—H.I.M. the Emperor inspected the first 40 units of Yugoslav agricultural tractors purchased by the Ethiopian Government at Moenco headquarters.

April 29.—H.I.M. the Emperor awarded colours and certificates at the Genet Haile Sellassie I Military School on the occasion of its silver jubilee. Foreign delegates came to attend the celebrations from Belgium, Cameroons, Congo, France, Ghana, Great Britain, Guinea, India, Liberia, Nigeria, the Sudan, Somalia, Sweden, the United Arab Republic, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

April 30.—The Ethiopian army held manoeuvres in the Addis Ababa area.

May 3.—H.I.M. the Emperor inaugurated the new Koka dam. (See ETHIOPIA OBSERVER, Vol. II, No. 10).

May 5.—All Ethiopia celebrated Independence Day.

His Majesty was presented with a copy of the new Ethiopian Civil, Commercial and Maritime Code which has just been completed.

May 13.—H.E. King Hussein of Jordan arrived in Addis Ababa for a four-day State visit.

May 17.—The Eritrean Assembly voted unanimously to change the name of the "Eritrean Government" to that of the "Eritrean Administration," and that of the leader of the Government to "Chief of Administration." The assembly also adopted the insignia of the Ethiopian lion for administrative purposes and chose for official business the title, "Eritrean Administration under Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia."

May 19.—It was announced that a social survey of Addis Ababa is to be undertaken jointly by the United Nations Commission for Africa and the University College of Addis Ababa.

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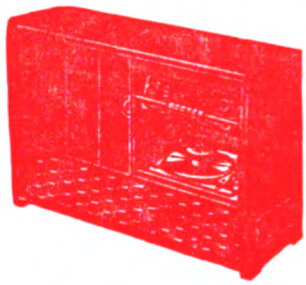

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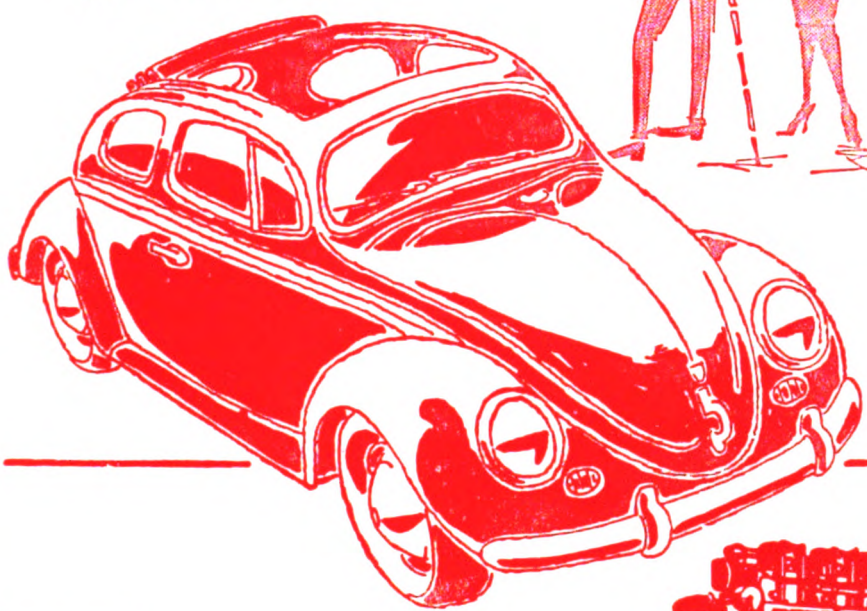

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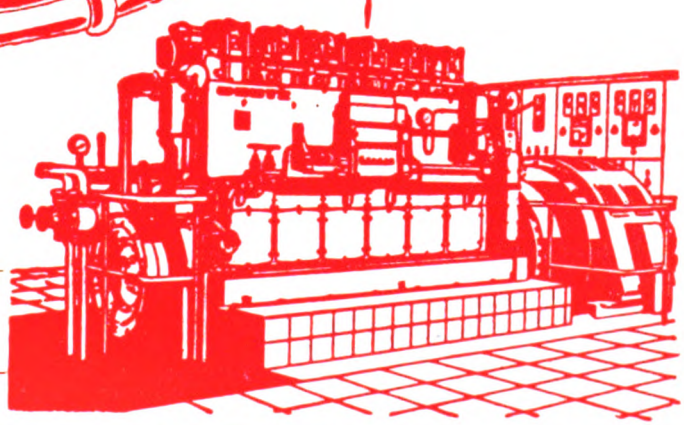

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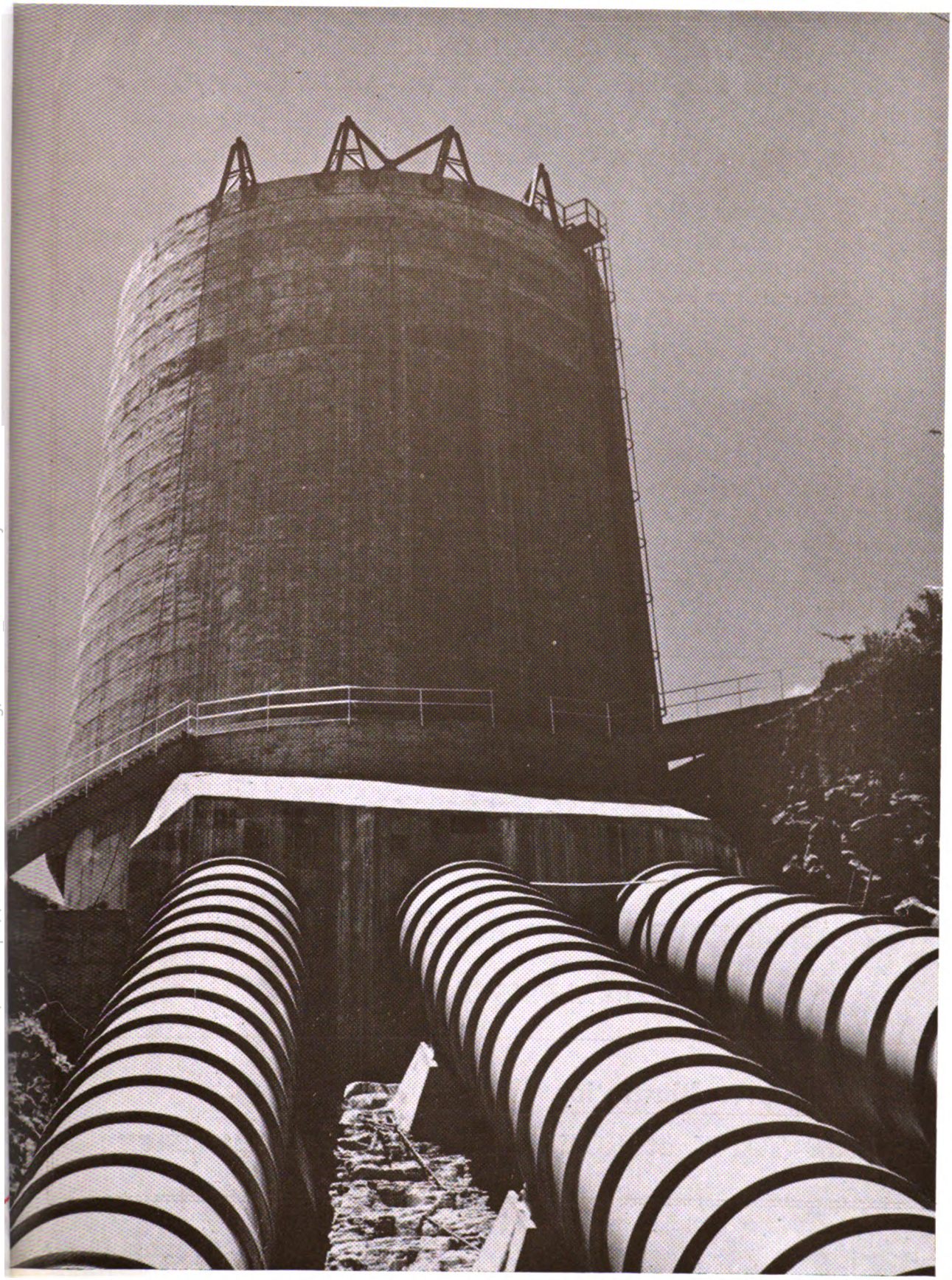
ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

Vol. IV
No. 8



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The Second Conference of Independent African States

held in ADDIS ABABA

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The SURGE TANK at KOKA DAM: *Photo HAILE MEZEMGHE*

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JOURNAL OF INDEPENDENT OPINION, ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND THE ARTS

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Vol. IV No. 8 July, 1960

Emperor Haile Sellassie and the Reparations Commissioner, Major Assefa Lemma, survey the installations at Koka.

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THE BOUNTY OF THE AWASH

In this issue of "Ethiopia Observer" we are pleased to present an account of Koka Dam, compiled from material supplied by Mr. Kjell Amundsen, who has served as Norconsultants' Resident Engineer during the construction of the Koka installations.

After a strenuous labour of three years, following earlier investigations and computations, Koka dam, reservoir and electric power station are now completed and functioning.

Koka is the first to be executed of the important hydro-electric and irrigation projects the Emperor Haile Sellassie has envisaged and intends to execute during the coming years: here on the Awash and also on the great Blue Nile, the Webi Shebelli, the Akobo, the Dinder, the Mareb, the Takazee, the Sobat and other Ethiopian rivers. Thus will abundant electric power be supplied for every type of industry and extensive dry lands will be brought under cultivation by the waters stored for irrigation in the reservoirs created by the dams.

Egypt and the Sudan have one great task—to make the fullest use of their one great river, the Nile, more than two-thirds of whose waters come from the mountains of Ethiopia, aptly termed by the Emperor Haile Sellassie, "the water-tower of Africa." Ethiopia, with her manifold rivers and lakes, her mountains and gorges, her fertile, wide-spreading plains, her great mineral wealth still untapped and awaiting exploitation, has innumerable opportunities of development, innumerable planning, engineering and agricultural problems to solve.

The modest capital resources available for the development of these manifold potentialities have been secured by the energy, faith and determination of the Emperor who was placed at the helm of Ethiopia in a fortunate hour.

Amid all the teeming possibilities of development presented by the vast and varied Empire careful selection and timing has to be made. The damming of the great Awash River was rightly selected as the first of the hydroelectric projects to be executed. Zula Dam, erected earlier, is for irrigation only, and though highly important for the Eritrean people who appealed for this aid, it is consequently a lesser work.

The Awash, unlike the seasonal rivers which rush headlong to the sea at Zula is one of the great water-courses maintaining a constant flow at every period of the year. It rises in the central mountains of Ethiopia and passes through the capital itself. Its powerful stream, now harnessed at Koka, is able by its central position to supply the expanding industries, not alone of Addis Ababa but also in the other Ethiopian centres where industry has achieved momentum, the Dire Dawa-Harar region and intervening areas.

The plant erected at Koka Dam more than doubles the total former production of electric light and power in all Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Already the dam is proving a boon to the residents, hospitals, schools and other institutions, and to the industries of Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa-Harar and other regions, because, from the day it commenced to function, the charge for electricity supplied by the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority was reduced to half its former rate.

A textile factory is to be erected at Koka from a part of the Reparations Fund, the major share of which has been absorbed by the dam and the hydroelectric installations.

The cotton for the factory will be grown in the Awash Valley. The fifteen thousand million cubic metres of water impounded in the Koka reservoir will provide life-giving moisture to fertilise the rich soil of the valley, where fields of cotton, sugarcane, oilseeds, cereals, rice and root crops and plantations of tropical and sub-tropical fruits, oranges, lemons, papayas, mangoes, bananas etc., will be grown. Thousands of people will gain a living there by the bounty of the Awash.

A bound volume of "Ethiopia Observer" makes an invaluable guide

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Address of Emperor Haile Sellassie When Inaugurating Koka Dam

This is an historic occasion of twofold significance in the life of Ethiopia. We, today, inaugurate and place into service the Koka Dam and hydro-electric installation. In so doing, we witness the realisation of an undertaking which, since its inception, has been very close to our heart and in which we have always maintained the highest personal interest. We humbly render our thanks to Almighty God, who, having laid upon us the heavy responsibility of leading our beloved people in the path of progress and enlightenment, has spared us to witness the fruits of our labours.

This project so impressive in its proportions, its complexity and its ramifications, reflects in common with all other undertakings designed for the promotion of the progress and welfare of mankind, the fruition of intelligence, faith and diligence; intelligence to penetrate and discern the hidden resources and opportunities that a benevolent providence has spread before us, as a challenge to prove ourselves worthy of them; intelligence to select and plan the means for bringing them to full development; (faith in the ability of our people to respond to that challenge) faith to penetrate through the fatigues and difficulties of the hour to the vision of their future welfare and progress which these resources, these opportunities and these labours offer; and, diligence to pursue through hardship and fatigue, the attainment of that vision

Thus the opportunities which the Almighty, in His generosity and wisdom, extends to us, must be found, created, developed and exploited. It is the duty of all mankind to make the maximum use of the gifts, ingenuities, capacities and resources which have been placed at its disposal. These are not ours to do with as we will; they have been given to us in trust, that, following the example of more highly developed countries, we may apply them for the highest benefit for today and for posterity.

Each one of us has a sacred duty to fulfil this trust and to prove ourselves worthy of the confidence reposed in us.

So it is with the installation which we are today inaugurating. Ethiopia has been blessed with an abundant rainfall, and well-fed streams, a rich soil, a propitious climate and an industrious population. Indeed, the challenges presented by the opulence of our resources, have required a careful selection, planning and timing, in order to devote to each challenge the disciplined thought and effort that it merits. Thus, viewed in the broader spectrum of our national Five Year Plan, the Koka Installation takes its assigned place, not merely as a significant unit of our national power resources, but also as a part of a nation-wide programme for the exploitation of our river systems.

That same selection and that same planning are revealed in the structure at our feet. It was not sufficient to note the existence of the potential resources in water power; the water had meticulously to be measured and the amount and regularity of the future flow computed. It was not sufficient to note the existence of a waterfall; it was necessary, by exhaustive surveys and studies, careful drillings and precautionary measures, to make certain that the construction at this site was feasible from the points of view of engineering, the economics of electrical distribution and public communications. All this planning and labour under the direction and supervision of officials appointed by us, lie before us in expectant completion and justify and nourish our faith in the youth of our country.

This impressive installation offers opportunity for the expansion of industry and of agriculture through the husbanding of the dynamic and fructifying powers of our water resources. It is our bounden duty, to exploit them to the full, thereby rendering possible a surge of development in our agriculture and industry.

It is, therefore, particularly appropriate that the financial and technical resources placed at our disposition by the Reparations Agreement, should, for the most part, have been devoted to this seminal and powerful programme of hydroelectric and agricultural development. Such a programme, in assuaging past wounds, can contribute powerfully to the improvement of mutual relations.

As we have observed, this project has already been integrated, not only into the larger programme, by which the Awash River will yield, again and again, of its treasures to turn the wheels of industry and to fructify the fertile soil of our homeland, but also into the yet broader programme including the Blue Nile, the Webi Schebelli, the Akobo, the Dinder, the Takazee, the Mareb and other rivers.

In this way, the Koka hydro-electric installation, along with others to be constructed, will enhance the welfare

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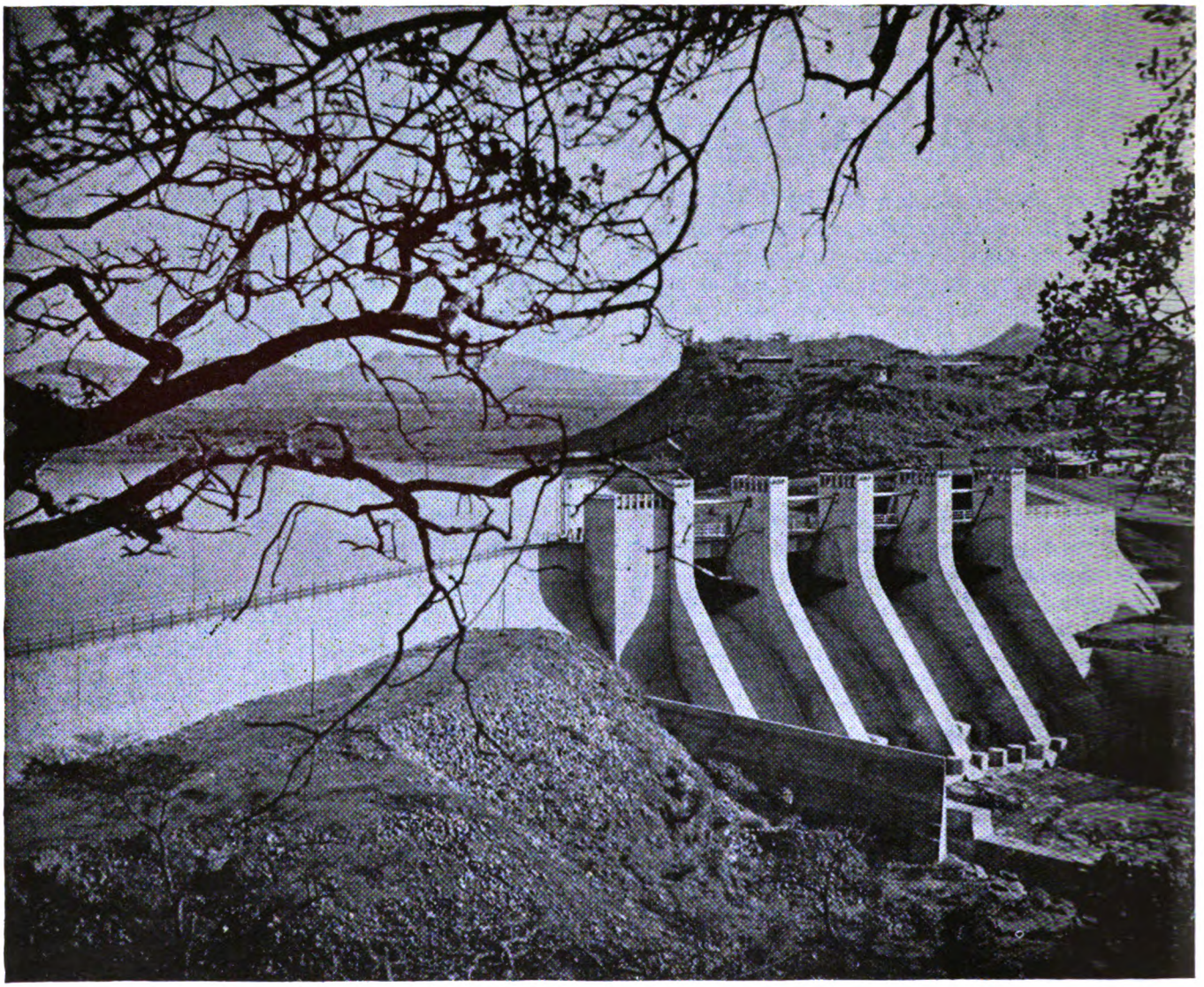

General view of dam at end of big Rainy Season, 1959. Water is being discharged through by-pass (left) and over spillway.

of our beloved subjects. To this end, we have ordered a reduction of the present rate for the electricity produced by this enterprise constructed from Reparations funds. Moreover, in order that outlying regions should not be handicapped by their remoteness, the same reduced tariff shall apply to all communities, so that everyone will receive his fair share. In this way, the new installation can serve as a powerful stimulus to the development of our economy and society.

We must, all of us, look beyond today and beyond the vast structure which lies at our feet, to find the real significance of this occasion. In doing so, we must rededicate ourselves to the cause of progress and advancement for Ethiopia and her people which has played so large a rôle in this project. We, for our part, shall never falter in our efforts to assure that the benefits of modern science and technology shall be lavished upon our people without any loss of the underlying moral and spiritual values which have contributed so much to our history. We ask no less of each of our subjects.

While we are appreciative of the residence which has been constructed for us, near the site of this dam, plans are being prepared for its utilisation in the interests of our people.

And therefore, having entrusted all available finance to the hands of those in whom we have placed our full confidence, it will never occur to us to entertain the belief that they will be so negligent as to betray our faith in their integrity or be so motivated by gain as to be led astray from their responsibility.

On this occasion, we would extend our thanks to the Reparations Commissioner, Major Assefa Lemma, and to the consultants, scientists and engineers who contributed to the timely completion of this enterprise and to the others who laboured so long and diligently to that end.

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THE DAM: ITS POWER AND POTENTIALITIES

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after liberation in 1941, recognising that the utilisation of the water sources of Ethiopia constituted a vast potential for the industrial and agricultural advancement of the country, His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I ordered that studies of the waters of the Nile, Atbara, Sobat, Koba, Webi Shebelli and Awash rivers be undertaken. As preliminary studies had already been prepared on the Awash river, and as the utilisation of these waters could solve the problem of supplying abundant and cheap electric power to the capital of Ethiopia and to the more developed industrial centres of the country, priority was given to the Awash project. During the negotiations with Italy regarding the reparations payment, for which provision was made in the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, the construction of a dam and power plant at Koka on the Awash river was included in the Agreement as a project to be financed out of the Reparations Fund.

Actual construction began in 1957 and was completed in the specified time. The speed with which the work has been accomplished is due to the full co-operation of all participating parties. The Ministerial Board and the Consultative Committee, the firm of consulting engineers and the contracting companies co-operated in a highly efficient manner. His Imperial Majesty, by the personal interest He took in the work, by His frequent visits to the construction site, and by the encouragement He gave to the builders, emphasized the importance of the project for Ethiopia and facilitated greatly the task of all concerned in the completion of the project.

Construction of the Koka Dam and power plant does not by any means exhaust the potential of the Awash river. The difference in altitude between Koka and the Awash railway station of 780 metres makes this stretch of river specially suited for the installation of subsidiary power plants. These power plants will require relatively small dams with only weekly or monthly accumulation basins and can be constructed with a much smaller outlay of capital. In such a power system, each 1,000 cubic metres of water from Koka to the Awash Station could produce 100 kilowatt hours of electrical energy, and the water would still be available farther downstream for irrigation.

Thus the Koka project by no means represents the end of the development of the power possibilities of the Awash. Already, additional studies for the further utilisation of the potential of the Awash river are under way. The Koka dam is but the first step toward the full utilisation of this portion of the natural resources of Ethiopia.

Thanks are due to Mr. Kjell Amundsen, Resident Engineer of Norconsultants who compiled material for this text.

THE AWASH VALLEY

The Koka dam is situated in the Awash Valley at an elevation of about 1,600 metres above sea level, some 80 kilometers south-east of Addis Ababa. The valley it lies in is in the centre of Ethiopia; with its all-year-round supply of water, this part of the River Awash has long been of great importance to the country.

The Awash River begins west of Addis Ababa, and flows in a south-easterly direction. South of Addis Ababa it turns east and later, north-east. It never reaches the sea, but flows into Lake Abbé on the frontier of French Somaliland about 300 metres above sea level, where its water evaporates.

The Awash Valley was formed by the Great African Rift during the Tertiary Period. The Rift Valley, following great fault lines, between which parts of the earth's crust have subsided, runs from the Red Sea southward, across Ethiopia and to the great lakes further south in East Africa.

The Awash Valley has an immense potential, both for irrigation and for hydroelectric power. In its upper stretches before Awash railway station which is situated at an elevation of 850 metres, the river forms many waterfalls which can be utilised for the production of electricity. In the upper part of the river areas suitable for irrigation are limited; there is consequently little need to divert water from electricity production for irrigation purposes.

The lower part of the river, on the other hand, flows through vast areas which can easily be cultivated when irrigated. The fertile soil and tropical climate in these areas furnish great possibilities for cultivation of all kinds of tropical fruit, sugar-cane, cotton, and so forth.

Because of its central location it is not surprising that the upper part of the Awash was considered relatively early as a source of hydroelectric power. Because of its high elevation, this part of the country has a considerable yearly rainfall and a pleasant climate, and is therefore, one of the most densly populated areas. It is the site of Addis Ababa, by far the largest city in the

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country, with a population at the present time of nearly 500,000 inhabitants.

Investigation of the possibility of establishing hydroelectric power stations at Koka was made by the Italians during their occupation of the country in 1936-41 when a certain amount of topographical, hydrological and geological data were collected. Based on these data preliminary plans were made for the construction of a hydroelectric power plant at Koka. In 1939-40 a dam and a power station were constructed at Abba Samuel about 20 kilometres south of Addis Ababa on the Akaki River, a tributary of the Awash. This hydroelectric plant has an installation of 8,230 kVA and an average yearly production of 25 million kwh. With a maximum height of about 25 metres the dam makes a reservoir of 65 million cubic metres and has a net head of about 95 metres. The plant supplies electricity to Addis Ababa over a 45 kV transmission line.

The Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority (EELP), organized as a company of shareholders with all shares in the possession of the Ethiopian Government and with a Board of Directors appointed by the Government, took over the operation of the Abba Samuel plant and the hydroelectric survey work that had earlier been performed by a combine of Italian firms called Compagnia Nazionale Imprese Elettriche, (CONIEL).

The EELP constructed a temporary hydroelectric power plant at Koka in 1944, utilizing the minimum water flow in the Awash River of about 2 cubic metres per second. No special regulation of the river was then necessary; a certain increase in the minimum water flow resulted from the regulation already being made at the Abba Samuel Power plant upstream from Koka. Installation of the first power unit in the small plant at Koka was finished in 1945 and started to supply electricity to Nazareth, a small city on the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway some 20 kilometres from Koka. Total installation for the two power units was 415 kVA and the average yearly production about 1½ million kwh.

At the request of the EELP, in 1954 CONIEL resumed the planning for a hydroelectric power plant at Koka. Hydrological data collected since 1943 served as a good

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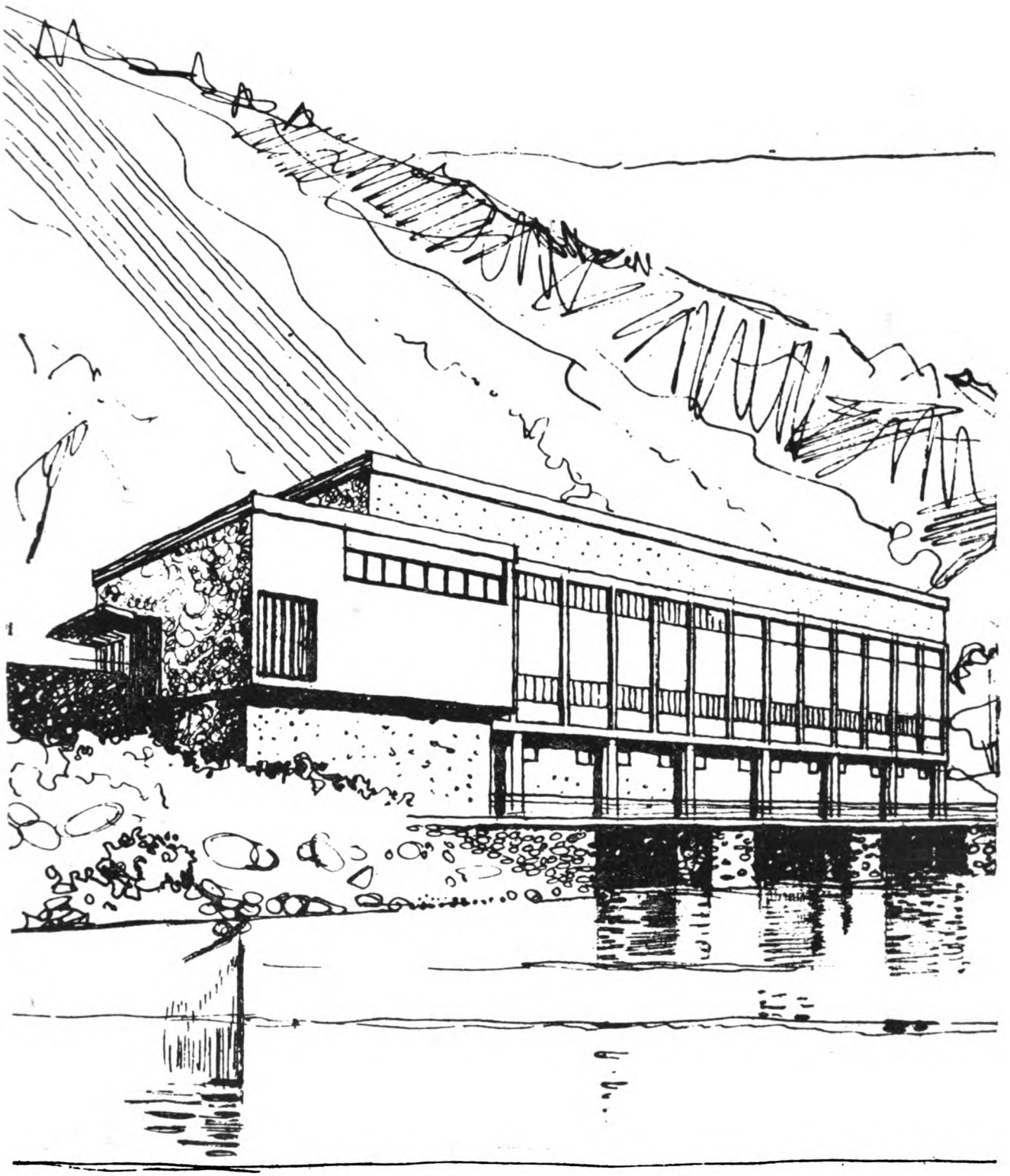

Preliminary sketch of future Power Station.

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basis for further planning. CONIEL engaged the firm Ing. G. Rodio to perform exploratory drillings in the Koka area and engaged Professor A. Desio to render geological assistance. Maps of the area of the dam, power station and reservoir area were also made. Based on these investigations CONIEL submitted various reports, plans and project drawings to the Imperial Ethiopian Government together with cost estimates.

In addition, the United States Bureau of Reclamation, through Foreign Operations Administration (Point 4), made geological and topographical investigations, undertook exploratory drillings and prepared a report.

A considerable amount of preparatory work thus took place during the years 1954-1956. As the demand for electricity was rapidly increasing, it became imperative that the construction of the Koka dam project be started as soon as possible.

Following the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 and the Reparations Agreement between Ethiopia and Italy it was convenient for Italy to pay the reparations awarded to Ethiopia by the peace treaty in Italian manufactured goods and Italian labour. The Ethiopian Government was willing to accept this arrangement and it was considered advantageous to give the construction of the Koka scheme preference over all other projects. This decision was subsequently embodied in the Reparations Agreement, signed on March 5, 1956. Thereafter the Koka hydroelectric project enjoyed a position of the highest priority in the public works programme undertaken by the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

The Reparations Fund, amounting to U.S.$16,300,000 was deposited by the Italian Government in the Banca d'Italia in Rome. The fund was non-interest bearing, and payments from it were made upon instruction from the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and issued in favour of Italian individuals, firms or companies who supplied Italian materials, equipment or services for the Koka Hydroelectric Project or other projects listed in the Reparations Agreement.

To implement the Agreement, the Imperial Ethiopian Government established the Reparations Office in November, 1956, headed by a Reparations Commissioner, Major Assefa Lemma. The expenses of the Reparations Office administration were covered by the Ethiopian Government. Three Yugoslav advisors, one legal, one technical and one financial, were employed by the Reparations Office.

PRELIMINARY WORK

Retention of Consulting Engineering Firm

After calling for tenders from internationally known consulting firms, the Imperial Ethiopian Government, on November 14, 1956, signed a contract with NORCONSULTANTS of Oslo, Norway, appointing them as consulting engineers for the Koka Hydroelectric Project.

Consulting services were to include all services required by the Government for the successful initiation, construction and completion of the Koka Hydroelectric Project, including the transmission lines and substations in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The cost of these consulting services, Eth.$930,000, was paid by the Ethiopian Government.

Topography

Drawing on preliminary work earlier performed, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation undertook a survey of the site and reservoir areas. The results of their work, embodied in a map having a scale of 1:10,000 with a contour interval of 2.0 metres, were used in calculating the reservoir capacity at various water levels.

Hydrology

(a) **Water Flow**

Regular routine measurements of the water flow in the Awash River at Koka were commenced in 1943 and have been continued since then. Readings were taken daily and show an average yearly water flow of 1,515 million cubic metres, which corresponds to 48.1 cubic metres per second. The largest period of flow, about 85 per cent of the yearly total, occurred during the big rainy season, i.e., in July, August and September. The maximum flood observed was about 630 cubic metres per second, and the minimum about 1½ cubic metres per second. During the dry season the water flow averaged about 5 cubic metres per second, but occasionally reached more than 60 cubic metres per second for very short periods.

When work began at Koka, recordings were available for only 13 years, a period normally insufficient to ensure a true picture of the hydrological character of a river. However, precipitation readings in Addis Ababa had been taken since 1902, and use of these data permitted a certain correspondence to be established between precipitation in Addis Ababa and the yearly flow at Koka. It was, therefore, considered safe to base the operation studies on the years for which records existed and to determine the necessary storage capacity on that basis. The annual drop in the reservoir level as a result of evaporation has been estimated at 1600 mm.

(b) **Seepage**

Losses due to seepage from the reservoir should not be high, as the Koka area has previously been a lake, although the volcanic character of the region may increase somewhat the chance of seepage.

(c) **Silting**

The Awash River carries a considerable amount of fine silt as the catchment area, of about 11,000 sq. kilo-

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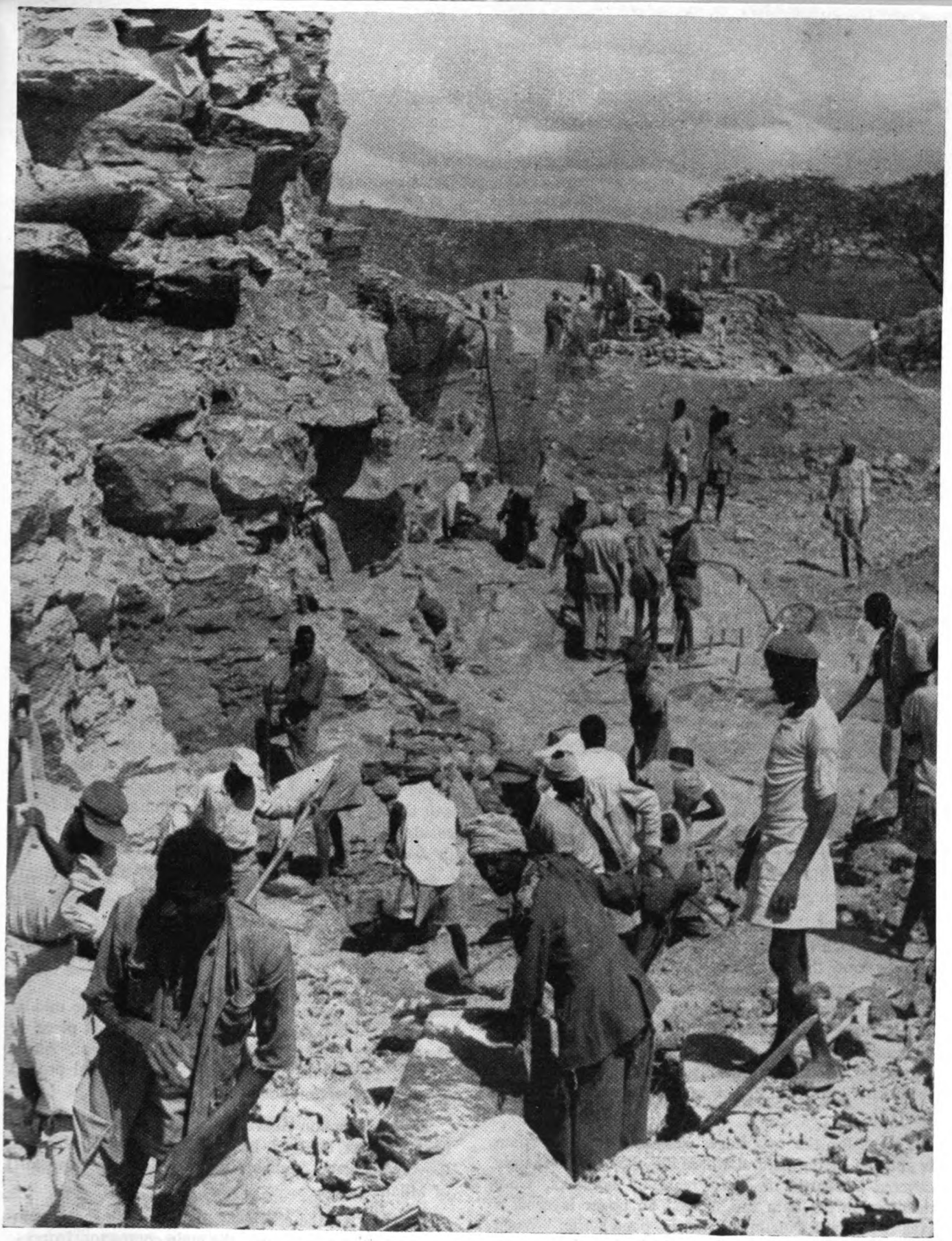

Beginning the work.

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metres to Koka Dam, includes wide areas in which considerable erosion is taking place. Most of the silt will be deposited in the process of storing the water, and as this occurs the capacity of the reservoir will be reduced. Various investigations have been made to estimate the rate of silting; such estimates are, however, difficult to make and are necessarily based on several unknown factors.

To reduce the influence of the silting, the reservoir capacity has been increased. Silting can also be considerably reduced by extensive afforestation of the catchment area. Such afforestation is now under consideration by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of the Imperial Ethiopan Government.

(d) **Spillway Design Floods**

The maximum recorded water flow in the river is about 630 cubic metres per second, as already mentioned. In the future, however, floods greater than those recorded since 1943 may well occur.

In order to handle unusually high floods, the dam has been so constructed that after the reservoir has been filled during the rainy season, a freeboard of 2.5 metres above the top normal level will exist so that, in emergencies, very large floods can be stored on top of full reservoir. The discharge from the dam will be over a spillway, usually closed by four large gates, with a normal maximum discharging capacity of about 1,000 cubic metres per second.

Geology

In the Awash valley where the Koka Dam and reservoir are situated, there is a certain amount of volcanic activity as indicated for example by the existence of many hot springs.

Upstream of the dam there is a great alluvial plain through which the Awash River meanders. Exploratory borings show that this plain is composed of a layer of clay on a lower layer of tuff. Sound rock (lava) was encountered about 55 metres below the surface. The topography and alluvial deposits, as well as the occurrence of fossils in this area, seem to indicate the existence of a great lake in former times. It was therefore considered there would not be a danger of excessive leakage of the reservoir.

Except for the two ridges between which the dam is situated at the natural waterfalls, the rock is mainly covered by earth, or downstream by boulders. Core drillings on the dam site showed an upper layer of a lava-rock type, identified as a pantellerite. When weathered it has a dark colour which gives the appearance of a basalt. The pantellerite was in most places fissured and was not very watertight, but was found to be a reasonably hard rock. The borings revealed that its average thickness was about 30 metres, but it was much thinner in the river bed and disappeared immediately upstream from the two ridges on which the dam is placed. Under the pantellerite a thick layer of tuff was encountered. Though a loose type of rock, this tuff proved to be extremely watertight. One very deep boring revealed a new layer of pantellerite about 55 metres below the top of this tuff.

Investigation drillings indicated that the rock at the dam site would form a sound foundation. As the rock was very fissured, however, various percolation and grouting tests had to be performed. These revealed that the site was feasible and that it should be possible without undue expense to make a cement grout curtain in the pantellerite underneath the dam to keep seepage within satisfactory limits. Drillings in the site area also indicated that the pantellerite would generally be fit for tunnelling.

The drillings showed moreover that the tunnel and power station should preferably be placed only on pantellerite, so that the underlying layer of tuff would not be encountered during excavation. A total length of more than 2,000 metres was drilled for investigation purposes.

Capacity of the power plant

The reservoir lake has a maximum surface of about 260 square kilometres, with a usable capacity of about 1,600 million cubic metres of water and a regulation height of 10.3 metres. The annual electricity production will be about 110 million kilowatt hours, spread fairly evenly over all years, but with minor deficiencies in the worst drought years.

For the installation three aggregates were chosen. Usually two will be sufficient for normal loads, leaving the third as a stand-by. At low water levels, however, when Koka is fully utilised, all three will be required.

Invitation to tender

Documents were sent out for tendering in the middle of August, 1957, and the opening of bids took place on October 30, 1957, in the Reparations Office, Addis Ababa. Five firms submitted bids on the total project and seven others on portions of it.

The construction contract was signed in Addis Ababa on November 18, 1957, between the Imperial Ethiopian Government and Imprese Italiane All'estero (Impresit) of Milan.

To carry out the civil works and co-ordinate the subcontractors' erection work, the main contractor, Imprese Italiane All'estero, established a special firm, Imprese

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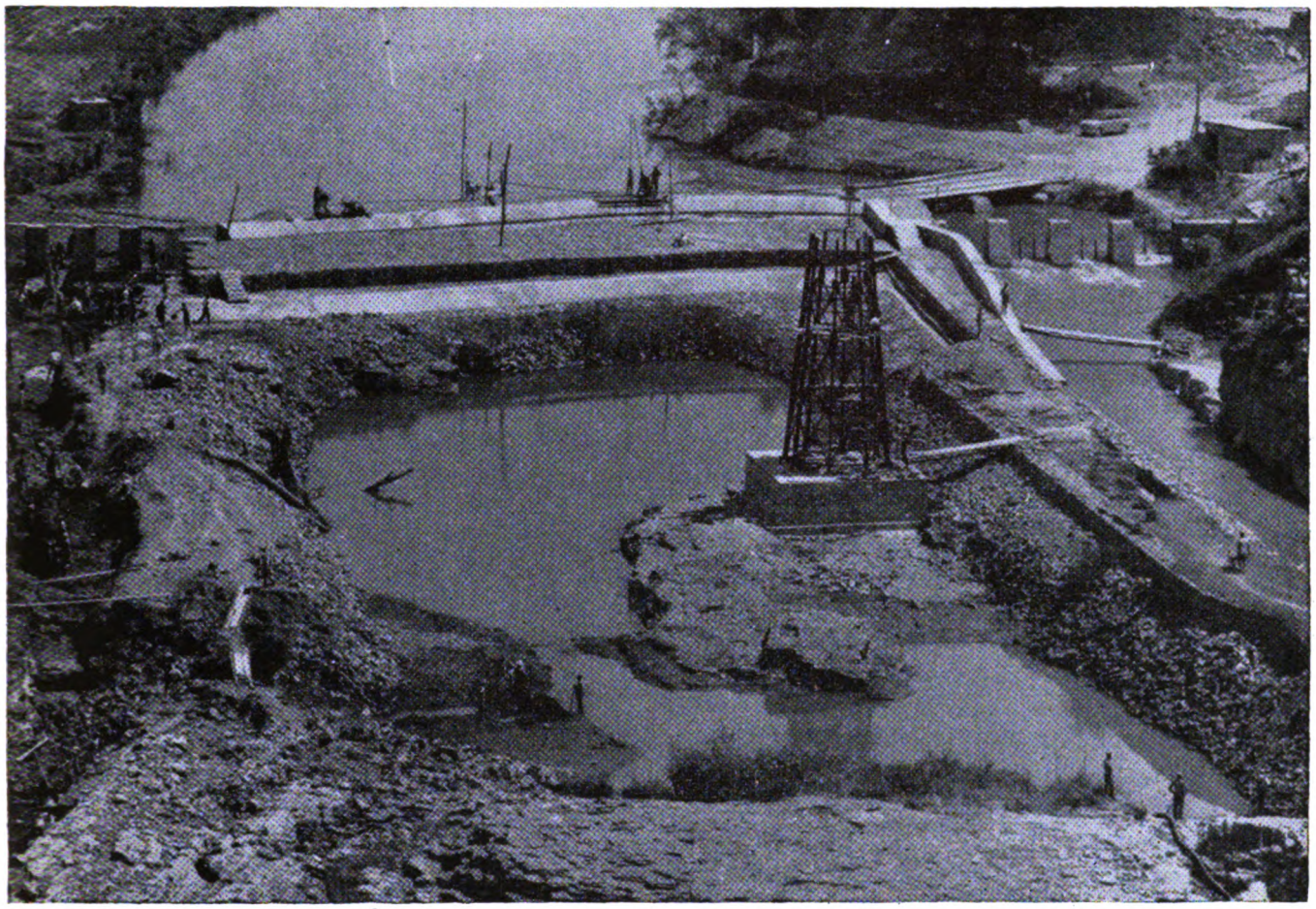

An early stage in the construction of the dam.

Italiane all'Estero (Filiale Ethiopia), with a head office in Addis Ababa.

The main sub-contractors were:

Machinery and Electromechanical Equipment:

Gruppo Industrie Elettro Meccaniche per Impianti all'Estero
Milan, Italy.

Transmission Lines:

Società Anonima Elettrificazione S.p.A.
Milan, Italy.

Grouting Work:

Ing. Giovanni Rodio and Co., S.p.A.
Milan, Italy.

CONSTRUCTION

General

The access road, 11 kilometres long, which branches off from the highway between Modjo and Nazareth, was ready for traffic in December, 1957. The permanent staff dwellings were completed in April, 1958.

Erection of site offices and camps, temporary works and rigging was commenced in December, 1957, together with the excavation for the gravity and coffer dams.

H.I.M. Emperor Haile Sellassie I laid the foundation stone of the Koka Dam on May 28, 1958.

The first major pour of concrete in the dam took place in July, 1958, and in the power station, in March, 1959. The dam was closed on June 26, 1959.

Erection of electromechanical equipment started in May, 1959. The first generator began to produce electricity in January, 1960. The second generator was put into operaton in April, 1960, while the third and last was to go into service in May, 1960.

Erection of transmission lines began in November, 1958. Stringing of the Koka-Addis Ababa line was completed in April, 1959, and of the Koka-Dire Dawa Line in October, 1959.

Health

In accordance with the contract, medical services for personnel employed on the project and their families were supplied under the responsibility of the Main Con-

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tractor. A doctor and two medical assistants staffed a small clinic for first-aid treatment on the site. Patients in need of specialised or hospital care were taken to the hospital in Nazareth or, to Addis Ababa.

Disinfection of the site area with DDT was carried out once a year by the World Health Organisation (WHO). This, together with the anti-malaria preventive treatment and the anti-typhus vaccinations which were carried out by the site doctor, have kept malaria and typhus to a minimum. On the whole, health conditions have been good.

The accident rate has been low. Three fatalities, two Ethiopians and one Italian, resulted from blasting accidents.

Insurance

In accordance with the Contract, the Contractor insured all local labourers against accident. The benefit in respect of death was equivalent to 36 months' wages but not less than Eth. $5,000, not more than Eth. $7,000. per person. The benefit in respect of permanent total disablement is equivalent to 48 months' salary but not less than Eth. $5,000—not more than Eth. $10,000. In case of permanent partial disablement the benefit is calculated according to the Italian scale. The benefit in respect of temporary total disablement is 50 per cent. of the weekly wages per week, up to a maximum of 52 consecutive weeks of disablement, excluding the first three days of disablement.

In case of sickness, the Contractor pays, according to agreements with the Government: 50 per cent. of the weekly wages per week, up to a maximum of 52 consecutive weeks of sickness, excluding the first three days of sickness.

From the beginning of construction there were among local labourers two deaths and two cases of partial permanent disablement caused by accidents. All four cases were settled by the insurance companies in accordance with the provisions of the Insurance policy described above.

Labour

The total labour force rose from less than 200 to a peak of more than 1300. Imported labour consisted of specialists from Italy. Local labour, both Ethiopian and Italian resident in Ethiopia, consisted of skilled labourers, such as mechanics, masons, drivers, carpenters, timekeepers, office workers, and also unskilled labourers. Of the Ethiopian labour force, the largest group, mainly the unskilled labourers, were recruited locally. The various labour groups worked together with great flexibility and in good co-operation.

During peak periods, shift work enabled operations to be carried on for 24 hours a day.

Accommodations

The labourers' camp, including family houses, was constructed to accommodate more than 300 labourers. The accommodation for specialists and artisans, consisting of double and single rooms was built for 110 persons.

The staff was accommodated in seven one-family houses built as permanent residences for the operational staff of the finished power plant, in a large house later to serve as a motel, and in some other family and single-room dwellings also constructed for this purpose. Total accommodation capacity for staff members was 33.

The camp included buildings for mess, laundries, stores, police station. Fresh water was supplied from a well drilled on the site.

Control of Water

As already mentioned, the Awash River at Koka has an all-the-year-round flow, with most of the water coming during the big rainy season; relatively large floods, once up to 100 cubic metres a second, have also been recorded in the dry season from October to June.

Various alternatives were considered for coffer damming the river and for diverting it during the construction period. It was, however, found impracticable to divert the river during the great rains; therefore the work in the river-bed area had to be performed only during the dry season. For the safe carrying out of this work, the coffer dams and the diversion structures had to be designed to divert at least 80 cubic metres a second.

When work started in December, 1957, it was found necessary to design the coffer dams to withstand flooding during the next great rains—July to September as a rule. The coffer dams, therefore, had to be finished before June, 1958, in order to be intact immediately after the flood. The excavation, concreting and grouting of the permanent dam in the river bed had then to be completely performed during a single dry season as the dam had to be ready for storing water by June, 1959.

The main coffer dam was made of concrete and was almost completed before the first big rainy season. Construction of the by-pass structure through the dam was.

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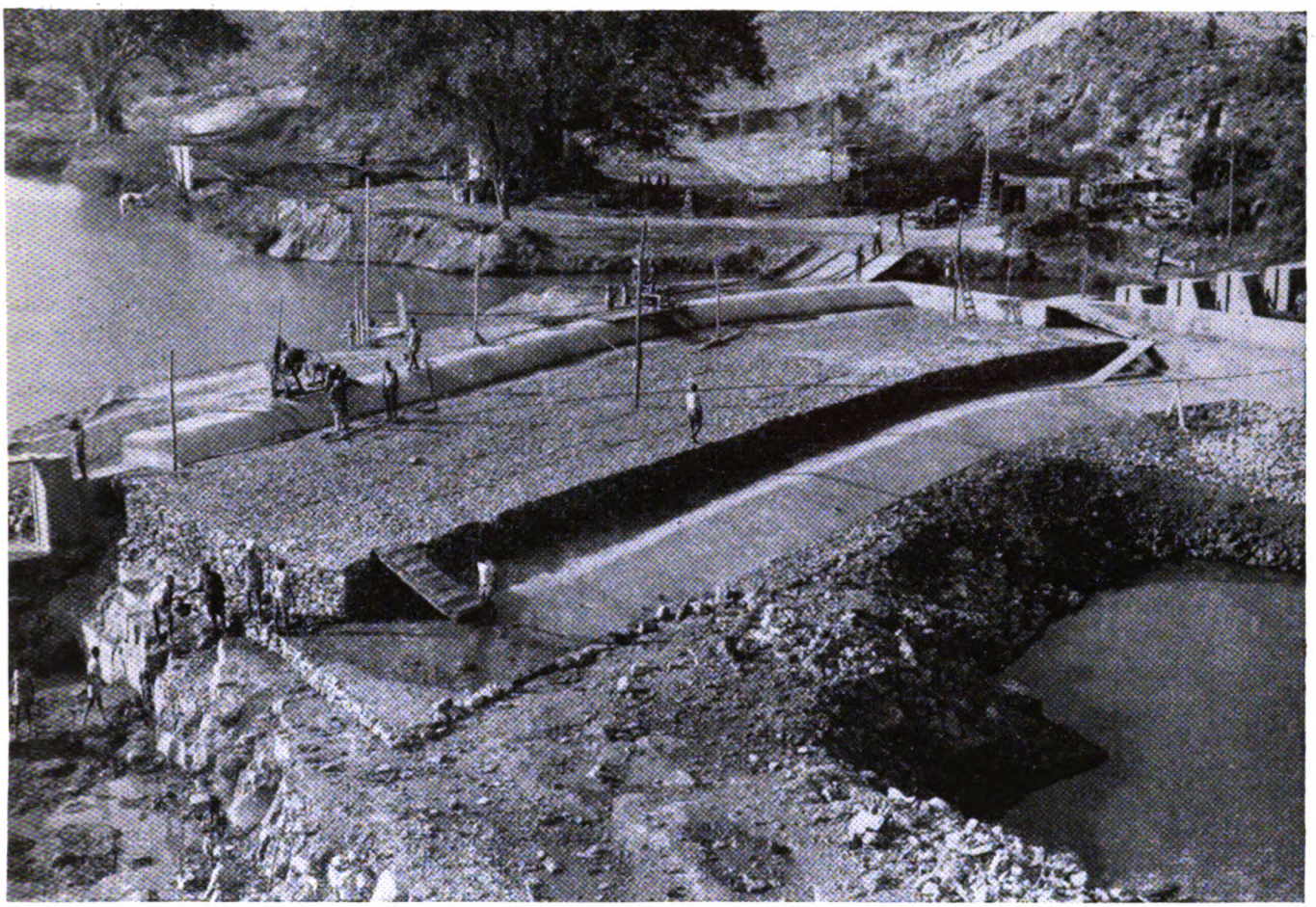

The Coffer dam; view at an early stage of the construction

however, only partly commenced at this time and had to be interrupted.

The flood was this year larger than ever previously recorded and lasted an unusually long time. No serious damage was, however, observed on the coffer dams, but the construction of the by-pass structures had to be resumed much later than anticipated, thus shortening yet further the construction period. Excavation was finished at the end of October, and concreting, grouting and gate installation, at the end of December, when the diversion of the river water through the by-pass was started.

The intake structures were performed in a dry bed protected by a temporary earth-filled coffer dam.

The power station work close to the old river bed was protected against the river water by a temporary masonry coffer dam.

For excavation of the tailrace canal, situated in the old river bed and with a length of about 700 metres, the river water was diverted on the right bank of the river and the excavation work protected all along the canal by a temporary masonry coffer dam. The excavation here was performed during the dry season.

Excavation

In total, about 43,000 cubic metres of ordinary excavation and 111,000 cubic metres of rock excavation had to be performed for the permanent structures.

All good rock was crushed and used as aggregate. Further rock required for crushing was obtained from quarries opened up on both sides of the dam.

Concreting

Owing to the very short time allowed for the construction, a modern mechanised crushing and batching plant was established on the site. An extensive system of conveyor belts was used to transport the aggregates. These consisted of the rock excavated on the site, pantellerite, and also a small portion of natural river sand found in the vicinity.

The mixing plant comprised small silos for each ag-

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gregate size, fed automatically from open-heap silos and a cement silo. Mixing was done in two mixers of the tilting type with a size of about 1 cubic metre each.

Of the cement, about 9,700 tons came from the Imperial Cement Factory Corporation in Dire Dawa, but about 6,800 tons was also imported from Italy. These figures include the cement used for grouting.

The total quantity of concrete poured was approximately 55,000 cubic metres. Owing to the hot, dry climate, curing was generally required for about two weeks after concreting.

Reinforcements were imported from Italy.

Grouting

As previously mentioned, a considerable amount of grouting work was undertaken in order to keep the seepage through the rock underneath the dam within reasonable limits. A cement grout curtain cut-off has been provided all along the front of the dam, below the concrete structures, through the pantellerite and down to the underlying watertight tuff layer. For the gravity dam on both sides of the river bed a first-stage principal curtain, formed by grouted vertical holes, spaced at about 3.0 metres, was later supplied with additional holes inclined 15 degrees to the vertical, where control holes showed this to be necessary. In the spillway area, where the pantellerite layer was much thinner and even partly missing, the principal curtain was formed by holes, inclined 15 degrees to the vertical in both directions of the dam axis, with additional control holes.

In all, more than 11,200 linear metres of rock drilling was carried out and more than 1,660 tons of cement injected. In exceptionally large holes pumice sand was added to the cement grout. On the other hand, in places where a very fluid consistency of the grout was required, for example, contact zones between concrete structures and tuff, bentonite was added to the cement grout.

The grout curtain has proved to be satisfactory, as no leakage has been observed in the dam area.

Transport from Italy

Most of the goods imported from Italy were transported from Djibouti by train. The heaviest item transported weighed 32 tons, and had to be carried on the railway on a specially made low-loading truck. There was, however, no need for either special bridges or for reinforcement of the line. Average transportation time from the Italian ports to the site was four to six weeks.

Supervision and Inspection

NORCONSULTANTS, who were responsible for the supervision and control of the project, established a special office with a well-equipped concrete laboratory on the site. In all, more than 9,000 cubes and briquettes were tested in the laboratory during the work.

Supervision on the site covered all civil works, as well as the erection of the electro-mechanical machinery, equipment and transmission lines. A temporary inspection department was established in Italy to control and test the manufacture of such equipment.

KOKA RESERVOIR

The new Koka Reservoir is a shallow lake of considerable size. At top water level the lake will have an area of about 260 square kilometres, with a difference between the highest and lowest water levels of 10 cubic metres.

Some of the inundated lake area was hitherto devoted to cultivation and grazing, but the greater part was forest, bush and swamp. A few thousand people in scattered settlements who earned their living by farming and cattle raising were moved to new settlement areas provided by the Government.

The forest, mainly consisting of acacia trees, scattered trees, such as the large wild fig trees, and bush, was cut and cleared from the lake area before the inundation. In peak periods more than two thousand people were engaged in this clearing. The cost of this work was met by the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority.

The rising water level in the reservoir made necessary the re-location of 11 kilometres of the Modjo-Shashamanna road. The new road is partly placed on highfill embankments and two new concrete bridges had to be constructed. The cost of this re-location, which was about Eth. $1.43 million, was also paid for by the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, though the work itself was undertaken by the Imperial Highway Authority.

The Koka Reservoir lake offers good possibilities for boating and fishing. Tourists will be attracted by the sight of hippopotami playing in the water, crocodiles sleeping on the shores, and other wild animals coming to the lake shore from the surrounding countryside to drink the water.

Reservoir Leakage

The bottom of the reservoir consists of a thick layer of clay deposited in the old lake. Below this clay there are, as previously mentioned, sand and tuff resting on a volcanic lava which is found at a depth of 50-60 metres. This lava is rather pervious and it carries in its cracks hot water penetrating upwards from a great depth.

The top clay layer being impervious, there is no direct communication between the water in the reservoir and the lower ground water. However, at some places the clay blanket is perforated and hot water comes up in the form of springs at several places in the plain. Through

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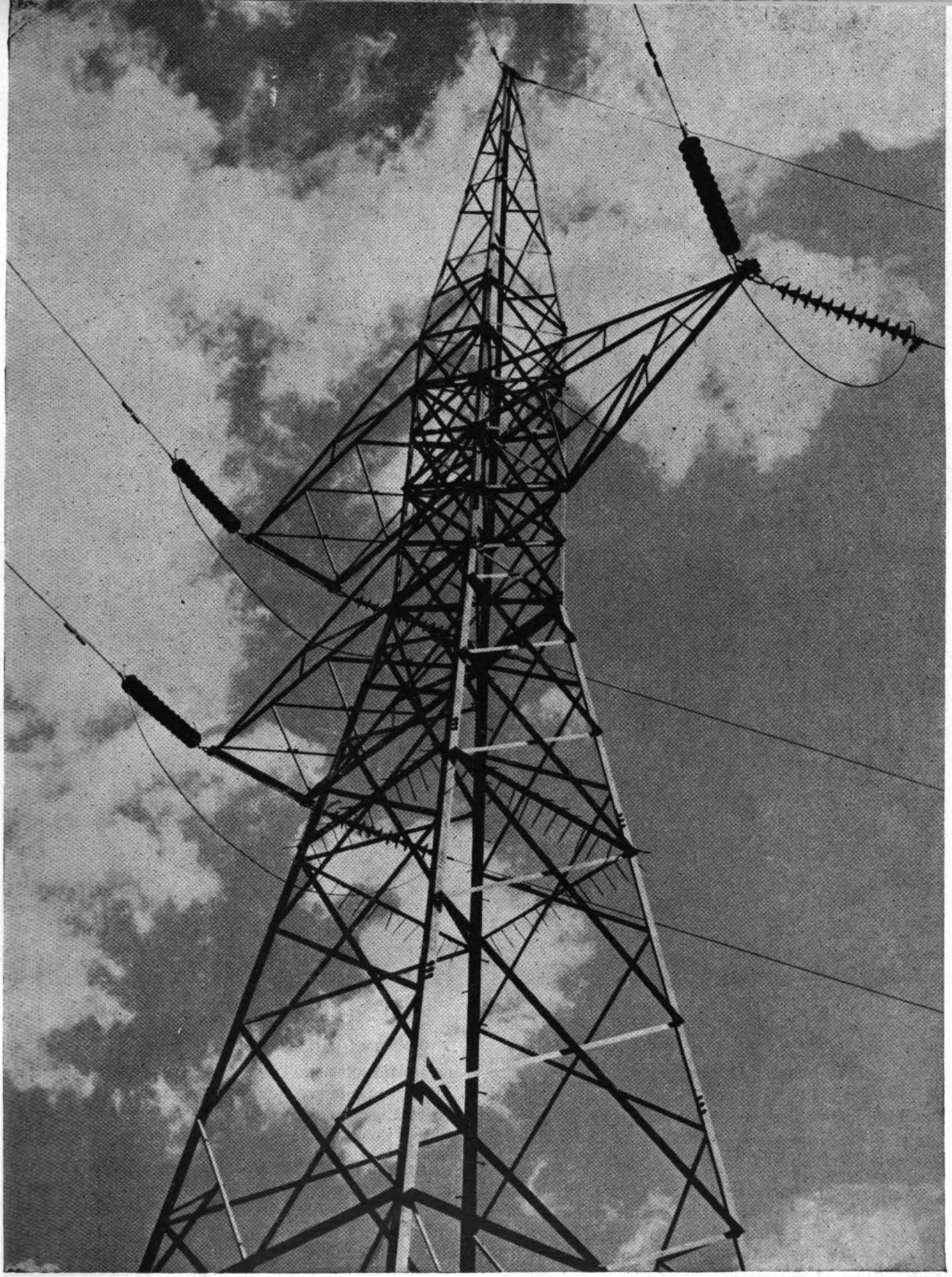

Transmission Lines.- Tension Tower

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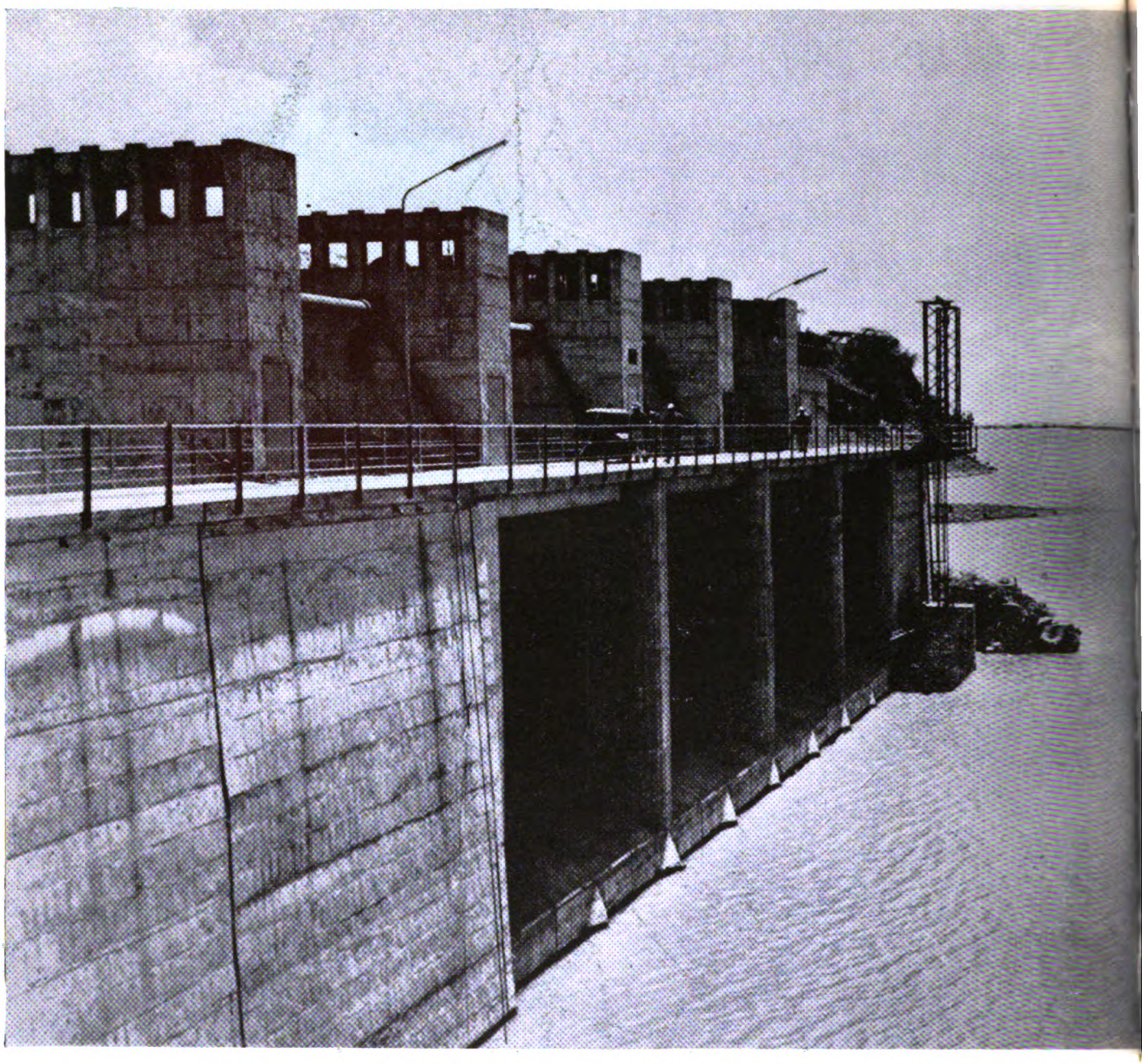

Koka Da

these cracks and holes the water from the reservoir finds its way down to the ground water. During the first several fillings of the magazine some leakage had to be expected, but its quantity is small compared with the loss of water due to evaporation.

Now it is known that the ground water below the reservoir is communicating with a fault running along the eastern boundary of the reservoir and there has always been a slow flow of ground water towards the fault. Some of this water is appearing as hot springs on a plain some two kilometres downstream of the dam. The increase in pressure of the ground water caused by the leakage through the clay blanket has caused the hot springs downstream of the dam to increase in quantity.

It is considered the leakages do not incur excessive loss of water and it is hoped they will heal themselves in time. Nevertheless the leakage is being followed and studied very carefully by various experts and the measuring equipment is installed which permits of constant inspection of the conditions.

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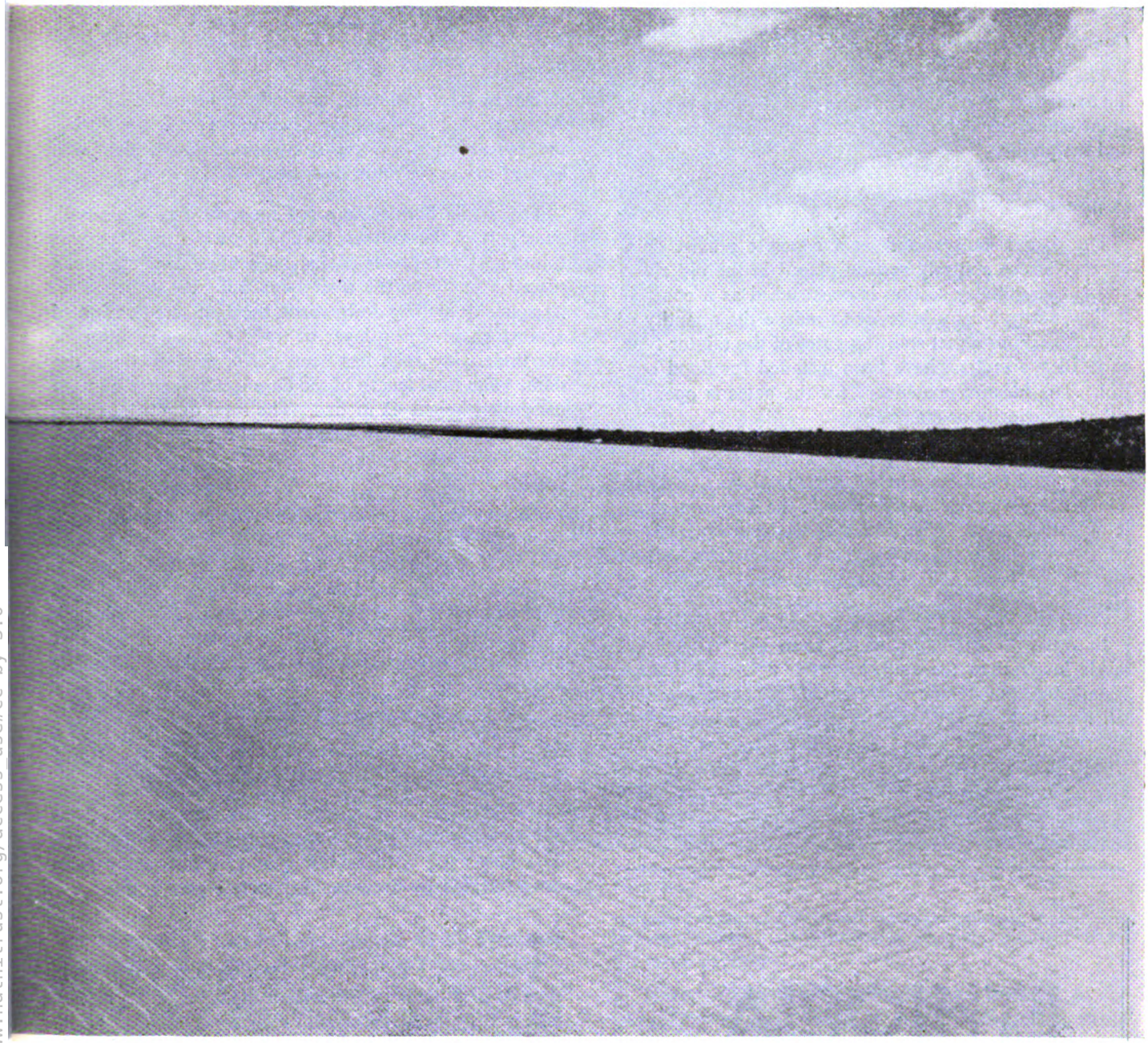

t Reservoir

COST

The total construction cost for the Koka Hydro-electric Project is about Eth. $31.5 million, including the transmission lines and sub-stations in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The Reparations Fund, as already stated, is non-interest bearing. However, calculating interest on the capital used for the project, at 5½ per cent. and assuming amortisation over 30 years for machinery and 50 years for civil structures, and by calculating normal maintenance and operation costs, the cost of electricity produced in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa should be about 2.2 Eth. cents per kilowatt hour. This figure assumes that the power plant is fully utilised, which means an average delivery of about 110 million kilowatt hours per year, transfer losses being deducted.

The total cost of the project, including the re-location of the Modjo-Shashamanna road, the clearing of the reservoir and the services of the Consulting Engineers, is about Eth. $34.5 million, and the corresponding cost of electricity about 2.35 Eth. cents per kilowatt hour.

The actual total construction cost of the Project is is only about 2-3 per cent. higher than estimated on the basis of the preliminary plans. Most of this excess is due to extension of the grouting work for the dam.

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BRIEF TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

General

The whole plant is designed and constructed according to modern principles with due consideration to maximum efficiency and safety for the operating personnel and the public.

Dam

The dam is constructed as a concrete gravity dam, except for the spillway section placed in the old riverbed. The spillway section is constructed as a concrete hollow buttress dam, in order to reduce the quantity of concrete. Four equal spillway gates of the taintor type, each 10 x 6 metres, have been installed for flood control. The hoisting machinery for the gates is operated either electrically or manually.

The water from the spillway is discharged into a stilling pool with an almost horizontal rock bottom. The sidewalls are of concrete while the downstream sill is of natural rock. The design of the spillway and the stilling pool is based on hydraulic model tests, carried out at the Istituto di Idraulica of the University of Naples.

In order to discharge water from the reservoir at levels lower than the spillway crest, a by-pass gate is installed on the right side of the spillway with a bottom sill about 21 metres below the future top water level. The gate is of the roller type with four pairs of fixed wheels, and is driven by a hydraulic oil hoist, electrically or manually operated. The free opening is 4 x 4 metres. The gate permits discharge of water at any water level and any gate opening. Upstream of the roller gate two emergency sliding gates are installed with free openings of 2 x 4.5 metres.

The by-pass structure had a dual purpose as it also served a main by-pass for deviating river water during the construction of the spillway section which was located in the previous river bed.

The whole dam is founded on rock except a small, deep part of the spillway section for which no rock was found and which was placed on a huge concrete block placed directly on the underlying tuff. As the rock on its right side sloping downwards, the dam here terminated against an overlying layer of tuff. Cement grouting of the underlying rock has been performed all along the dam. The total length of the dam is 458 metres and the maximum height 42 metres. The total quantity of concrete is approximately 42,000 cubic metres.

Intake

The intake is a reinforced concrete structure founded on rock which forms part of the left-side gravity dam. The inlet is protected by a trash rack consisting of two sections, each 7.1 x 10 metres, built up of vertical steel bars with a free opening of 5 centimetres. A trash rack rake, electrically driven, operates automatically, so that cleaning can take place without shutting down the power station.

The main control gate is of the taintor type with a free opening of 5.5 x 5.4 metres. The gate is operated electrically or manually by a hydraulic oil hoist.

Two emergency sliding gates with free openings 2.3 x 5.4 metres are mounted upstream of the taintor gate. The hoists for both taintor gate and emergency gates are protected by a common, concrete gate house.

Headrace

The headrace tunnel has a free, circular cross-section area of 23.8 cubic metres with a diameter of 5.5 metres, and is fully lined with reinforced concrete. The length of the tunnel is 67 metres and the slope approximately 1,500.

The tunnel is continued by a reinforced concrete headrace pipe of a total length of 132 metres with the same internal cross-section and slope. The pipe is founded on a masonry bed mostly resting on soil. Average water velocity through the pipe will be about 1.8 metres a second. The pipe is protected by an earth fill.

Surge Tank

The surge tank is of the cylindrical-shaft type with a shaft diameter of 18 metres. It is founded on rock and made of reinforced concrete. The surge tank will stand

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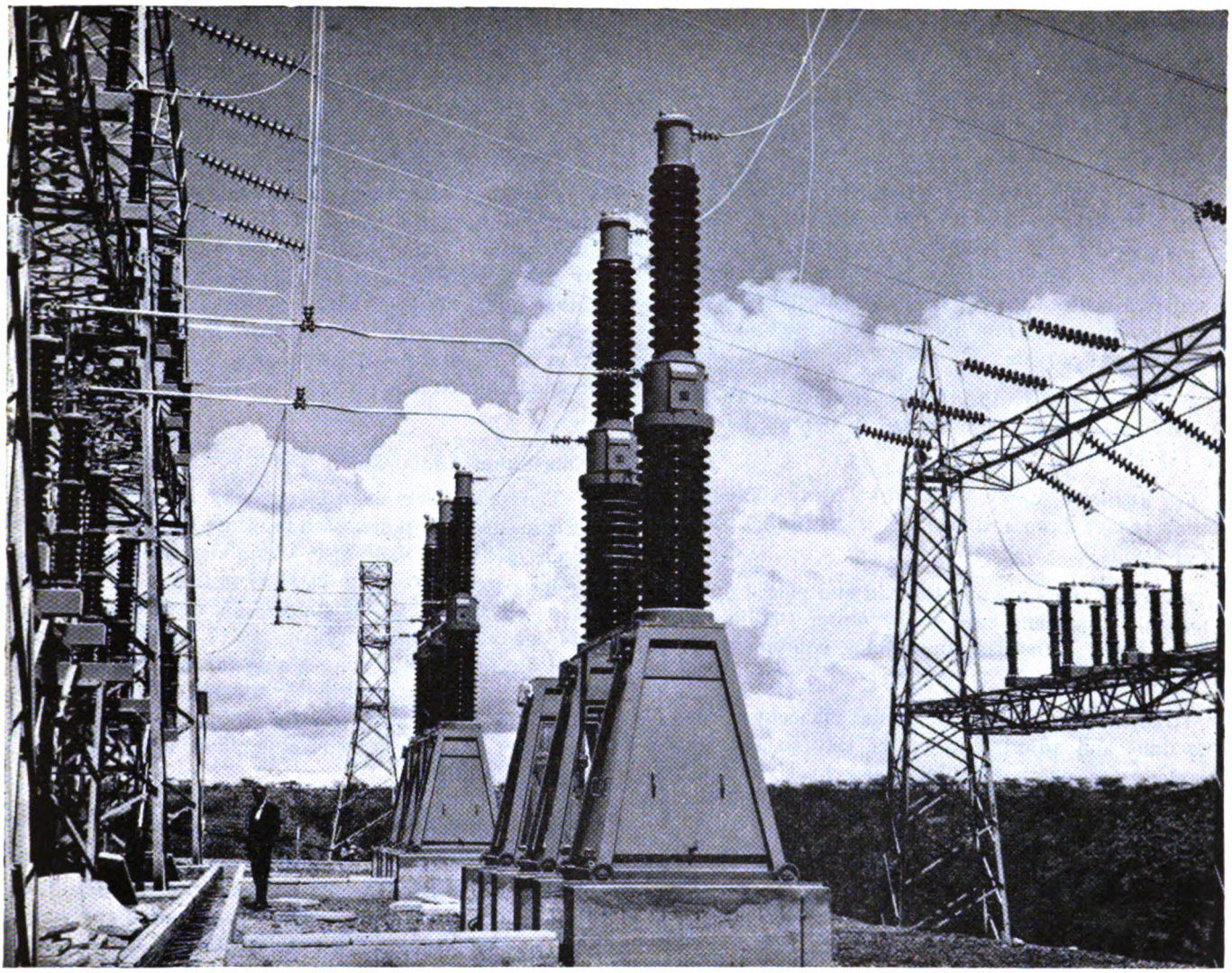

A part of the Switch Yard.

full throwing-off and full throwing-on of all three turbines. The water flow is divided into three penstocks. The design of the inlet structure has been based on hydraulic model tests performed at the Hydraulic Laboratory of the Norwegian Technical University. Each inlet has been supplied with gate guides and one sliding gate can close each of the three inlets.

Penstocks

The three steel penstocks leading the water down to the power station have a length of 51, 55 and 61 metres, respectively. The internal diameters are 3.5 metres and the plate thickness, 11 millimetres. They are equipped with stiffening rings spaced 1.5 metres apart.

Power Station

The power station is situated along the old river bed. The substructure is lightly reinforced concrete and the superstructure a comparatively slender structure of reinforced concrete.

Three vertical Francis turbines are installed in the power station, each rated at 18,000 horse-power under a net head of 38.0 metres and 214 revolutions per minute. They are designed to work under variable net heads of 30.8 to 42.0 metres.

Between each turbine and the respective penstock is mounted a butterfly valve.

Each of the draft tubes are of reinforced concrete, the inner part being steel lined. Here are two sets of gate guides mounted and two sliding gates can be transferred to all three draft tubes, making it possible to seal off one turbine at a time during operation of the other aggregates.

For erection and maintenance purposes an overhead, travelling type crane of 75 tons capacity, is installed

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in the machine hall. The crane has an auxiliary hoist with a capacity of 5 tons.

The complete power station is artificially ventilated by fans. The control room and the offices are air-conditioned.

Directy coupled to the turbines are installed three, vertical-shaft generators each of a capacity of 18 MVA at 0.8 power factor. Nominal voltage is 10.5 kV ± 10 per cent. The generators are totally enclosed and self-ventilated with water-air heat exchangers for cooling the circulating air. For fire protection, automatic CO_2 equipment is provided.

Each generator is directly connected to an 18 MVA, 3-phase, water-cooled transformer to step up the voltage to 135 kV.

For auxiliary supply, two 150 kVA, air-cooled transformers have been installed for a distribution voltage of 380 volts.

All transfomers are oil-insulated and placed outdoors along the upstream wall of the power station. They are provided with fire-extinguishing equipment of the sprinkler type.

To facilitate measurements of the efficiency of each of the units and adjustments of the turbine and voltage regulators, a permanent-type water load resistance of about 18 MW capacity has been erected.

A high frequency telephone system operating on the transmission lines has been installed for communication between the power station and the substations in Addis Ababa and in Dire Dawa.

In the control room are placed all relays and supervisory gear as well as all indicating and operating switches for remote control of the switch gear and generators.

Tailrace Canal

To lower the tailrace water level a tailrace canal has been excavated in the old river bed. Total length of the canal is about 700 metres and the bottom width, 16 metres. The slope is approximately 1:500.

Switch Yard

From the main transformers at the power station are brought three sets of bus bars up to an outdoor-type switch yard situated about 150 metres uphill. To obtain maximum flexibility in operating, a double set of bus-bars is provided to which are connected the two outgoing 132 kV transmission lines to Addis Ababa and to Dire Dawa. Throughout the plant, oil minimum circuit breakers for remote control have been used. The isolating switches, however, are manually operated.

The transmission lines are designed for resonance-grounded neutral, and the iron core reactors (Petersen coils) for this purpose, one for each line, are placed in the switch yard.

Transmission Lines

The 132 kV transmission lines to Addis Ababa and to Dire Dawa have a length of 81.3 and 336.9 kilometres respectively. The towers are of the lattice type and made of hot-galvanised steel. The conductors are steel-cored aluminium wires with an equivalent Cu cross-section of 95 cubic millimetres. To improve the lightning protection an overhead earth wire of galvanised steel of 50 cubic millimetres is provided for the total length of the lines.

Sub-station Addis Ababa

The sub-station in Addis Ababa is situated at the existing thermal power station of the Ethiopian Electric Light & Power Authority within the city limits. Two transformers have been installed to step down the voltage to fit the already existing 15 kV distribution system for the city. The transformers are of 18 MVA capacity and are self-cooled. For raising the capacity up to 22 MVA forced air-cooling by means of automatically operated fans placed on the cooler is provided. A sprinkler-type fire-extinguishing plant is provided for the transformers.

Sub-station Dire Dawa

The site for the sub-station is just outside the present residential district on the west side of the city. In a building containing equipment for operation and supervision of the sub-station are incorporated offices, workshop and store for the Ethiopian Electric Light & Power Authority's administration.

To meet the need for parallel operation with the power station in Alemmaya (45 kV transmission voltage and Ourso (15 kV transmission voltage) and with the local distribution voltage of 15 kV, the station has been laid out for three voltages.

The two main transformers are of 12 MVA capacity and are self-cooled. For raising the capacity up to 14 MVA, forced air-cooling by means of automatically operated fans placed on the coolers is provided. The transformers are of the regulating type with on-load tap changer.

Owing to the relatively long transmission line, an iron-core reactor (Petersen coil) has been installed. A shunt reactance coil has been erected to compensate the capacity voltage rise on the line at low load. This coil is 3-phase, star connected.

For the transformers and coils a sprinkler-type fire-extinguishing plant is provided.

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THE ASWAN HIGH DAM—A PROFESSOR'S VIEW

Sun and Shadow at Aswan

By Herbert Addison (Chapman and Hall 18s.)

Professor Addison has performed a service for which many people who have heard much of the projected High Dam in Egypt will be grateful. He has carefully described its construction and depicted in clear diagrams precisely its shape and extent.

He shows also diagrams and very excellent photographs of the existing dam and its surroundings. To avoid confusion, he has adopted the earlier transliteration, Assuan for the existing dam, which was current when that dam was erected, and the present usual transliteration, Aswan, for the projected High Dam, about which we have all heard and read so much controversy and discussion. He shows us the appearance and describes the construction of the existing Assuan Dam, as it was when originally built, as it was after the first heightening and as it is today after a second heightening, also as it would have been after a third heightening if a project of 1935 had been caried out.

His diagrams reveal that the proposed Sadd-el-Aali, or Aswan High Dam, if and when it is erected, will be immensely higher than the present dam, as well as being enormously larger in every dimension and of completely different shape and construction.

The first Assuan dam across the Nile was built under the British occupation, when Cromer was in control. It was commenced in 1898 and was completed in 1902. It is situated at the head of the first cataract, four miles upstream from the town of Assuan. It is founded on Assuan granite, which forms the bed of the Nile at that point.

Professor Addison reminds us that Assuan granite was famous in ancient times, as it is today. He tells us that Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames embankment, now as black as a coal fire-grate, is of Aswan granite and was a rosy pink when it stood in Egypt.

The dam was a mile and a quarter in length and a hundred feet thick at the base. 180 sluiceways were spaced along it, each 23 feet high and 6½ feet wide. To stop the pressure of water preventing the sluice-gates opening when required, rollers, invented by R. G. H. Stoney, which had proved their worth on the Thames, were employed. At the west end of the dam were four locks to enable ships to be navigated, despite the cataract which had hitherto been an insuperable obstacle. A barrage was built at Assiut to divert water from the reservoir into a system of canals. The dam was built of granite.

It was originally designed to hold up the water-level in the reservoir to 114 metres above datum level, but the scheme became the subject of acute controversy because the reservoir caused by it in the trough of the river created would partly submerge the ancient temple on the neighbouring island of Philae for several months each year. This prospect enraged the archæologists of the world and became the subject of widespread protest. The British authorities in Egypt offered to remove the temple and to erect it stone by stone, on higher ground, but the archæologists and Egyptologists rejected this proposal. The engineers therefore compromised by reducing the height of the dam and, consequently, the water-level in the reservoir was reduced to 106 metres, and the capacity of the reservoir was reduced from 2½ cubic kilometres of water to 1 cubic kilometre only. The temple of Philae was still partly submerged during the winter months; so not much was gained for the protesting influences by reducing the capacity of the reservoir, and very much was lost thereby to the prosperity of Egyptian cultivators. That the temple might not suffer by being annually submerged it was thoroughly repaired and strengthened, and after 607 years it was in better condition than it had been before the dam was built.

The dam, its iron and steel sluice-gates, the five locks and their gates, and the barrage or diversion weir at Assiut, cost £2,000,000. The capital was provided by

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Sir Ernest Cassel, a Jewish banker who formed an Irrigation Investment Corporation; British investors participated; the money was easily raised.

The Assuan dam proved highly beneficial to the Egyptian peasants who could now cultivate two crops instead of one. It increased the prosperity of the country. The desire to raise the dam and thereby to extend the reservoir and bring more land under cultivation was latent among the engineers who had been forced to reduce the original project. If the dam could be raised from 106 to 113 metres, instead of one cubic metre of water, two and a half cubic metres of water could be held in the reservoir. The Anglo-Egyptian Government was now much more prosperous than in 1898, and the construction could now be paid for from local funds. The work was begun in 1907 and completed in 1912.

Some difficulties had to be overcome. The temperature at the dam site varies from about 120 degrees Fahrenheit on the hottest day, to 40 degrees on the coolest night. Owing to great variation in temperatures, the masonry of the dam expands and contracts. In the course of the years since it was built, the vast mass had adjusted itself to these changes without injury to the structure. The new material now added to the crest of the dam and to its downstream face would only gradually adjust itself to these seasonal changes of temperature. Consequently, it was decided to leave a gap of six inches between the new stonework and the old, and to insert small stones between and liquid cement grouting. Iron rods inserted into the original face of the dam gave support to the new masonry. These expedients were entirely successful.

After 20 years it was difficult to see where the new and the old masonry joined.

In 1922, the British Protectorate terminated. The new constitution was promulgated in 1923. The Egyptian Government decided in 1927 to heighten the dam yet again. By raising it from 113.6 metres to 121 metres, the water in the reservoir could be increased to 5 cubic kilometres; much more land could be cultivated. The water held up by the dam was now used in the Sudanese Gesireh area as well as in Egypt. More water for irrigation was urgently demanded.

Above the dam, as now constructed, it was decided to build a wall of 25 feet, separated from the existing structure by a sheet of bitumen. At the back of the dam a series of buttresses would be erected on sheets of stainless steel and would be reinforced by iron rods built into them.

The second heightening of the dam was completed in 1934. The temple of Philae was now submerged annually, right up to the cornice of the main pylon; all the rest of it disappeared in the winter season of high Nile. The archæologists were not now however vocal, as they had been in opposition to the first building of the dam.

Much else beside this temple had been submerged; numbers of villages and many palm trees, which had provided the sustenance of numerous families. The Egyptian Government spent £2,000,000 sterling in compensating villagers who had been displaced, and in erecting for them new villages. The reservoir was now 200 miles long.

The Department of Antiquities in Cairo had been busy making records of temples, churches, cemeteries, stelæ, and forts erected by the peoples who had from time to time occupied this area during fifty centuries or more. The Egyptian Government could only afford to preserve the major relics.

In order that the water stored in the reservoir could be conveyed to the cultivators, additional barrages, canals, irrigation channels and pumping stations had to be installed; it was a great composite work of Nile control, growing continually.

All this is carefully explained by Professor Addison. His pages are enlivened by personal reminiscences of the development of the area and of the engineers, both European and Egyptian, who carried out the work. He shows how care of the dam and the subsidiary works gradually passed from the supervision and control of foreign engineers to Egyptian engineers—some of whom had been his own students.

After the second heightening of the dam, projects for using the vast force of water issuing from its sluice-gates began to be discussed. Eventually it was decided to instal turbines downstream of the dam. For each turbine, four of the sluiceways were allocated. The sliding gate of each sluiceway would be replaced by a fixed partition. Three pipes, each large enough for a man to walk down, would convey water through the dam and the twelve pipes were to be finally united to form an immense passage to the turbine intake. Each turbine would receive at high pressure as much water as normally flows down the river Thames! It was exceedingly ingenious, but amazingly expensive.

One hundred and twenty-four sluiceways would still

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be free for the irrigation of agricultural land. By the use of electric power, the immense quantities of limestone lying near the dam could be converted into fertiliser for agriculture, instead of importing it from Chile, as hitherto. The considerable deposits of iron ore in the eastern desert could also be reduced to metallic iron and steel, thereby greatly adding to Egypt's prosperity.

The hydro-electric power scheme was officially adopted in March 1947. Two years later in March 1949, the work was going ahead when controversy arose. It was claimed that the great pipes from the dam to the turbines would convey injurious vibrations to the dam which was so vital to Egyptian agriculture, the very basis of her prosperity. It was claimed that tunnels driven through the rock beneath the west bank of the river could convey the necessary water-power to the turbines, and that the power-house should be built upstream, and not downstream of the dam. The Egyptian Government decided to abandon the original scheme and adopt this new solution.

Professor Addison tells the story with the clash of personalities advocating the rival solutions. If all went well, he says, the Assuan power-plant under the new scheme, would be working in 1960.

Meanwhile, political changes were taking place in Egypt. The last British soldiers departed from Cairo and Alexandria in March, 1947.

There was now talk of again increasing the size of the Aswan reservoir to ensure Egypt against both flood and famine. The further enlargement of the dam was under consideration when an altogether new project based on the new science of soil mechanics was brought forward. It would cost, not two million pounds, like the original dam, but two-hundred million pounds sterling. It would consist of a dam and a reservoir, both immensely more vast than could possibly be provided by any enlargement of the existing dam. It would have no masonry, no locks, no sluice gates. It would be simply a vast mound. Beside it, the first dam, even after its second heightening, appears in Professor Addison's diagram a mere toy, though, as his photographs indicate, it is truly a massive and inspiring structure.

The huge projected new dam is called in Egypt Sadd-el-Aali, or the Aswan High Dam. Some call it "Nasser's pyramid."

The High Dam was under discussion, in July, 1952, when King Faruq was overthrown and not long afterward, as everyone knows, Lieut.-Colonel Abdul Gamal Nasser rose to supreme power in Egypt. President Nasser was determined to proceed with the high dam.

As the new structure does not depend on a granite foundation, as did the old one, there has been far greater latitude in deciding a site for it. Consequently, it has been possible to select for it a place in the river which will allow for the dam being three miles wide instead of one mile and a quarter, as is the original dam. The future high dam will rest merely on the natural sand, gravel and boulders of the river bed. Its construction was described by the Board of Consultants called to consider the scheme as "a rockfill dam, with a clay core, upstream blanket and grout cut-off." The dam will be two-thirds of a mile thick at its base and will rise 50 feet above the level of the river bed. It will be erected four miles upstream of the earlier dam. It will be constucted of millions and millions of tons of crushed rock and sand from the neighbouring dams and millions of tons of clay. The reservoir will have a capacity of 130 milliards of water, as compared with 5 milliards of the present reservoir.

The solution, which was the proposal of a Greek engineer, is really very much like that the Yugoslav engineers prescribed to meet the problem at Zula, where no rock foundation for the desired dam could be found in the bed of the Haddas River. The Nile High Dam is a rock-fill dam with a clay core; the Zula dam is a clayfill dam with a rock toe.

The High Dam of the Nile will be built of pieces of rock of all sorts and sizes, with a clay centre. It will have a thin outer coating of cement. No river water, no ships will be able to pass the High Dam; it will be a solid, impenetrable barrier raised across the Nile, like a huge mound or a small hill. The conception recalls the memory of the Ethiopian Emperor of old, who is said to have considered turning the Nile southward to punish the Egyptian ruler for persecuting the Christians of Egypt. The dam will not, however, be stopped in its ancient journey toward the sea. Such of its water as is not impounded in the great reservoir will flow through tunnels carved in the rock on either bank of the river and onward towards the original Assuan Dam.

There will be two great hydro-electric stations; one near the new High Dam, the other further downstream at the Assuan Dam. Electricity from the two hydro-electric plants will be fed to the same network.

It was calculated that receipts from the sale of electricity would provide means for the amortisation

(Continued on page 275)

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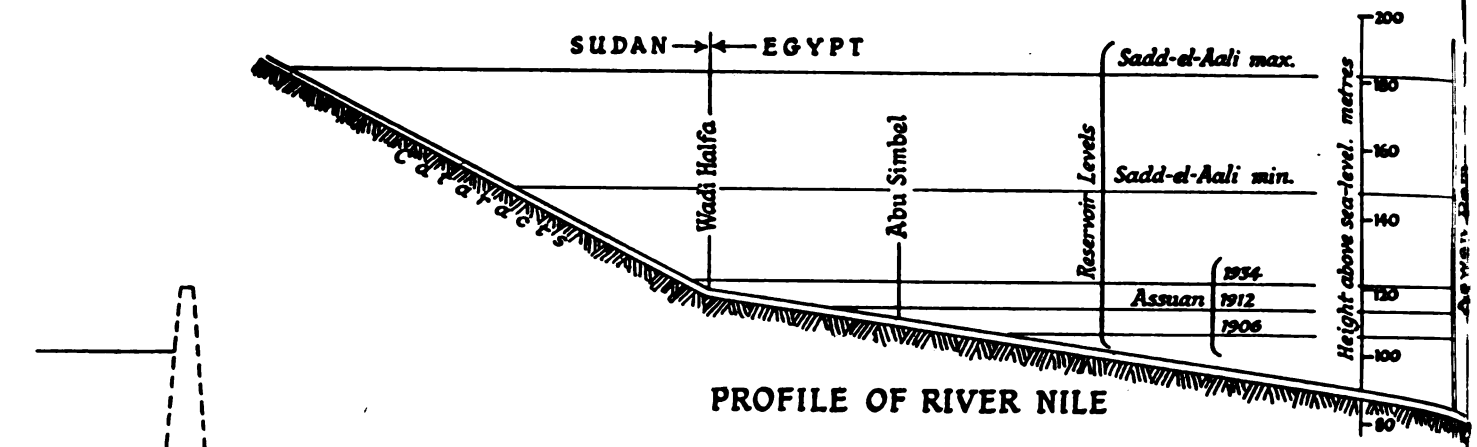
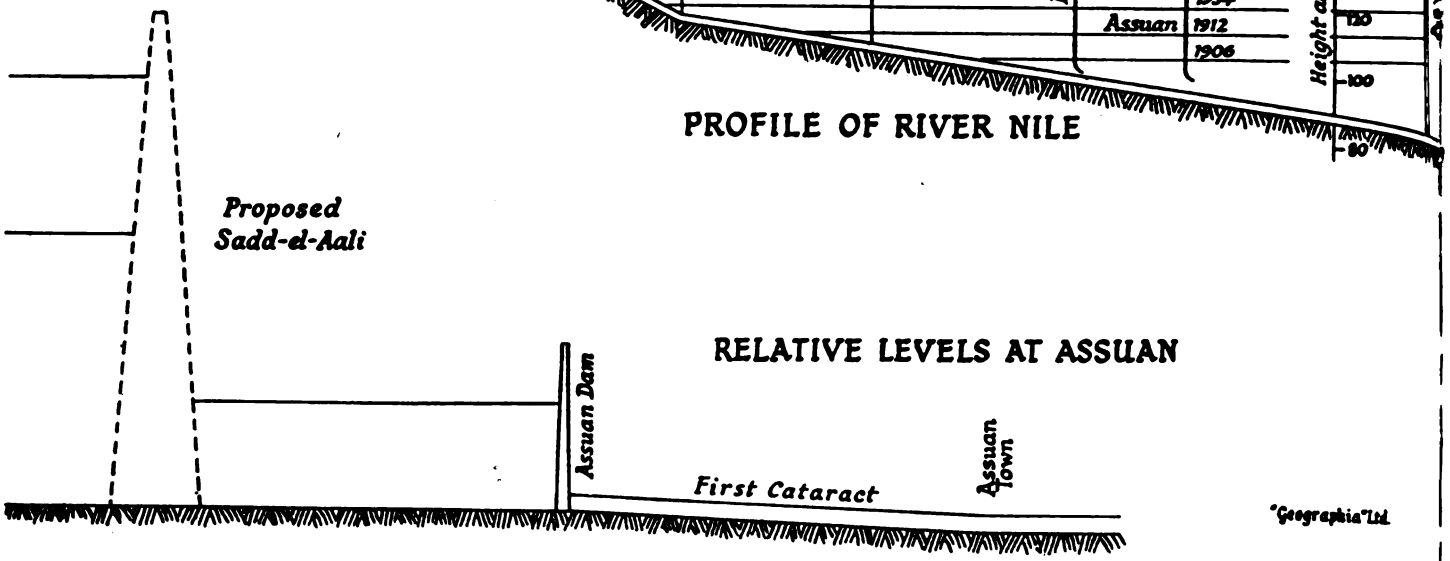
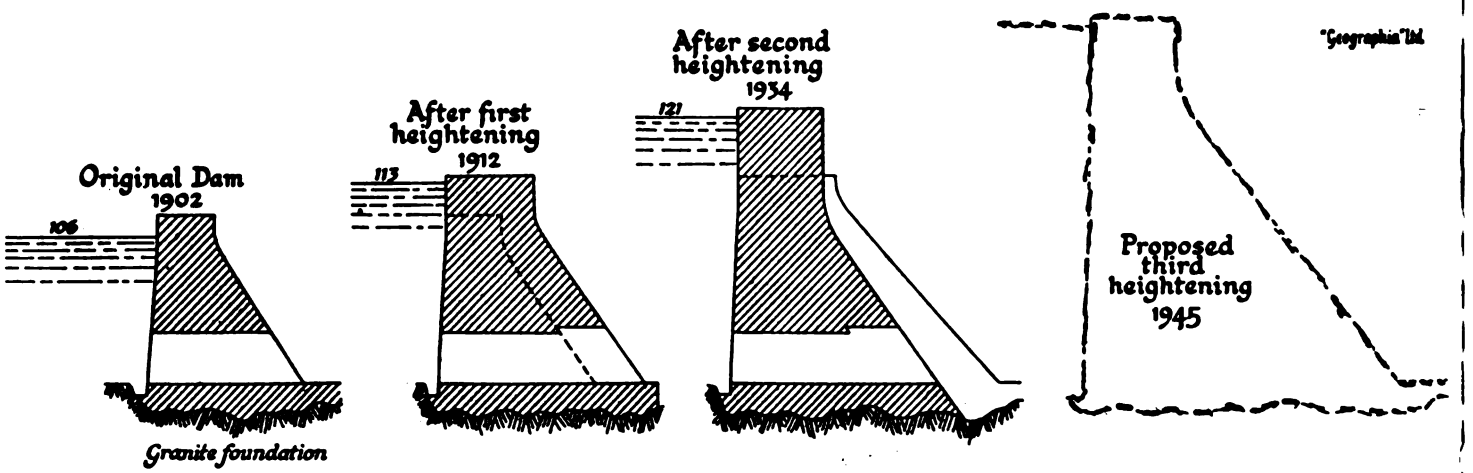


PROFILE OF RIVER NILE



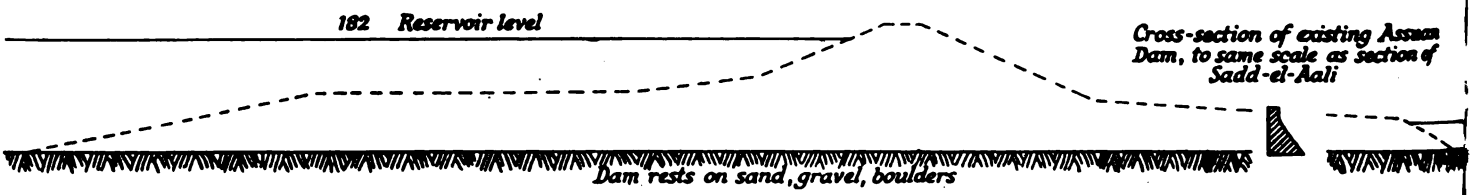
RELATIVE LEVELS AT ASSUAN



THE ASSUAN DAM IN ITS SUCCESSIVE STAGES

(Cross-sections to a common scale - Reservoir levels in metres above sea-level)

THE PROPOSED SADD-EL-AALI (ASWAN HIGH DAM)



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(The Aswan High Dam, continued from page 270.)
of the great loan required to meet the enormous cost of the High Dam.

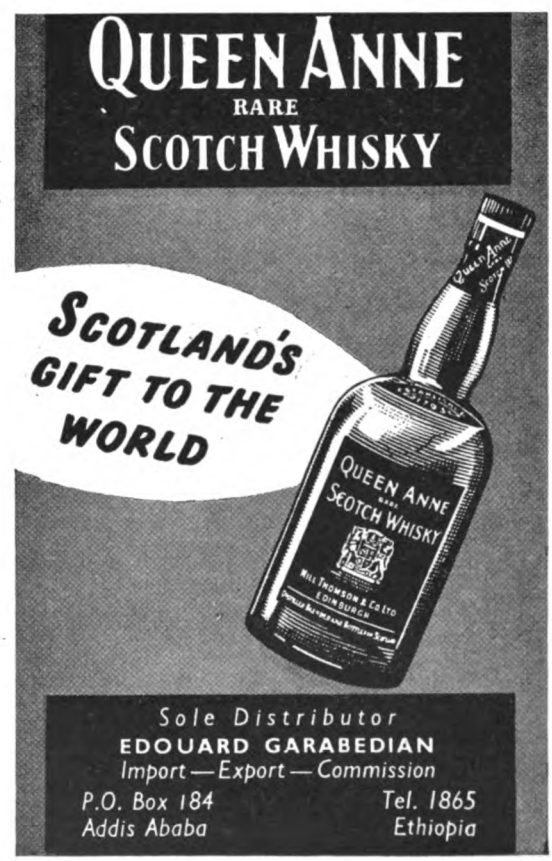
There were obstacles to be met. There was the controversy with the Sudan concerning the allocation of the water impounded in the High Dam; Egyptian proposals involved the surrender by the Sudan of the right to draw off large quantities of Nile water upstream of the High Dam, in return for an allocation of water from the dam, with which the Sudan Government was not satisfied. Moreover, a large area in the Sudan would be submerged.

There was also the problem of financing the building of the dam. The United States Government was reputed to be willing to grant a substantial loan for the project through the World Bank, the British Government was also considering a loan. However, on July 19, 1956, the United States offer was abruptly withdrawn; the British Government decided to act in conformity with the United States.

Professor Addison strongly deprecates the withdrawal of the United States offer. This was the reason he says, why President Nassar seized the Suez Canal in order to use its revenues for the High Dam and control of the Nile water. Having been "absorbed for the best part of a lifetime in events on the Nile," Professor Addison is greatly disatisfied that the High Dam project, which he was eager to see carried to completion, has been checked and that on this account an atmosphere was created which forced him to say farewell to his Egyptian friends. He is sceptical of the explanation given in the United States and in the House of Commons for the withdrawal of the loan. The American State Department said conditions were no longer favourable to the success of the project because Egypt had heavily mortgaged her future cotton crop to the communist states the economic situation was thus prejudiced. In the House of Commons Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said Egypt was spending much on defence and making plans for industrial expansion. On this account H.M. Government considered Egypt would not be economically able to devote the degree of priority necessary to the Dam project or, more bluntly, to make the annual payments in respect of the loan.

Professor Addison retorts to these arguments that one of the most important of the industrial projects referred to by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd was an artificial fertiliser plant, near Assuan, which a French and German consortium was to build at a cost of £22½m. Since the fertiliser project was to be one of the principal consumers of the electrical energy distributed from Assuan, which would commence operations in 1960, Professor Addison considers that by 1956 it was time to start building the fertiliser factory. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Mr. John Foster Dulles, whom Professor Addison blames greatly, regarded the whole matter of course from a different point of view. They had not, like Professor Addison, been absorbed in Nile control for a lifetime. Mr. Dulles regarded financial aid to Egypt as an insurance against Egypt drifting into the Russian orbit. When what he desired to insure against appeared to be happening, he considered it would be a waste of American dollars to make a large loan to Egypt. The motives of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd were probably more mixed. The desire to further Anglo-American co-operation probably played the main part with him. He may have been influenced by the fact that the great engineering projects in Egypt were tending, gradually, to be diverted from British to American and Continental firms. Who can say?

Altruism in politics is comparatively rare.



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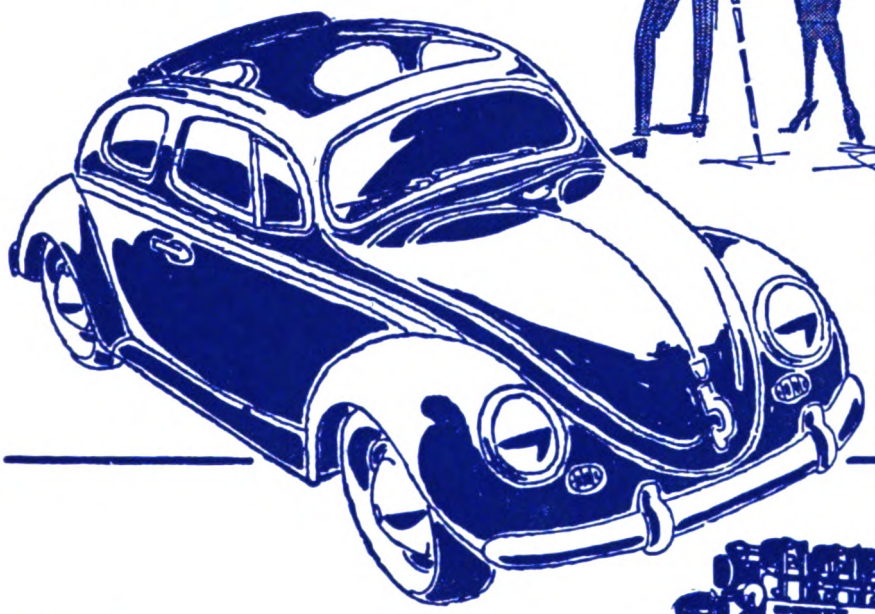

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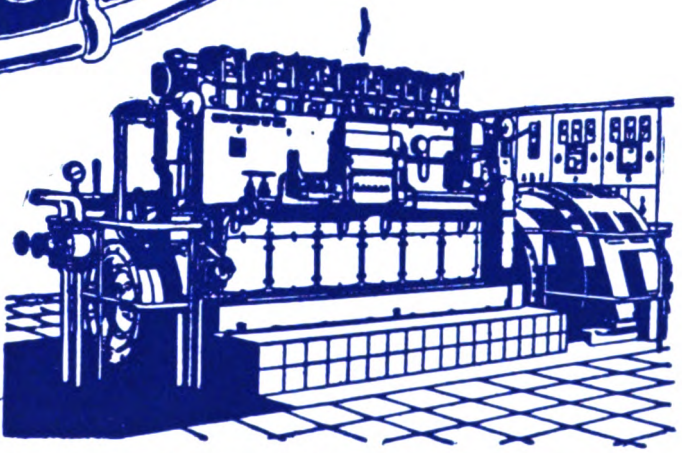

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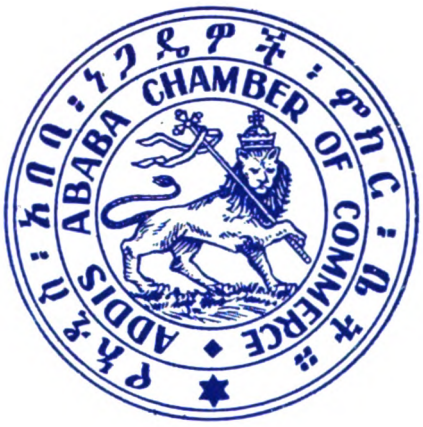

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Emperor Haile Sellassie Inaugurates Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa

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Published in Ethiopia and Britain **Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst**

Vol. IV No. 9 August, 1960

The Delegates of the Conference of Independent African States on the steps of the Ethiopian Parliament

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CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES IN ADDIS ABABA, JUNE 14-24, 1960

AN APPRAISAL OF ITS ACHIEVEMENT

The delegates of independent African states and the representatives of African peoples struggling to be free were warmly welcomed in Addis Ababa.

The Conference met under the conflicting auspices of the rejoicing that many African peoples have achieved or are about to achieve their nationhood, the still tragic but it was hoped brightening situation in Algeria where negotiations had been opened, and the intensified oppression in South Africa and South-West Africa, with the many difficulties overshadowing settler dominated East and Central Africa.

The first conference of Independent African States was fomed by the representatives of the African States Kwami Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana; Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Lybia, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan, the eight independent states existing at that time were represented.

The Accra Conference was the first official meeting of all the Governments of free Africa, the first manifestation of their collective solidarity. It was the first official intimation to the world that the Independent States of Africa would henceforth act together to achieve the freedom of all Africa and would co-operate for the economic progress and welfare of Africa as a whole.

That first Conference of Independent African States established what has been termed "informal machinery" but was in fact a secretariat. Stationed in New York it was formed by the representatives of the African States which are members of the United Nations. It was charged with the duty of implementing, as far as was then possible, the resolutions adopted at the Accra Conference. Even more important, the mission of this secretariat was to prepare for further conferences of the Independent States and to establish a permanent system of consultation and collective action among them. Thus was created the germ of what will doubtless become the United States of Africa in a form the details of which are not yet determined.

Already, therefore, it appears the Independent African States, most of them young and only just emerging, are on the high-road to achieving a unity of ideas and purposes and a substantial pooling of many common services, in a harmonious and friendly co-operation toward which the too often warring States of Europe have long paid verbal tribute, but have never yet been able to attain.

Divided by rival colonial invaders, the liberated States of Africa spontaneously gravitated to friendly co-operation, immediately their liberation was achieved. We hope for them continued relations of friendship and mutual agreement and we note that all the divers resolutions were adopted with unanimity; whatever may have been the differences of opinion among the delegates, a means was found of solving them.

The notice to the world and to the world's empires that the Independent States of Africa are united to work for complete African liberation and for African economic and social welfare is a truly momentous event. It sounds the death-knell and prepares the requiem of the fast retreating foreign rule, formerly established over African peoples unprepared to cope with the modern armament of the new arrivals on their continent.

Unity and co-operative effort by the liberated peoples of Africa will open to them wider horizons and larger aims and possibilities—the new world of opportunity foreseen by their far-sighted pioneers when they commenced the struggle for freedom.

The Second Conference of Independent African States, which assembled in Addis Ababa, has been able to build on the foundations well laid by the First Conference of 1958. The resolutions adopted at Accra had been tested by two years of consideration and discussion among the peoples and Governments of the Independent States. By 1960 only a proportion of the States had yet implemented them. They have now been further elaborated and it is anticipated that they will be implemented by all concerned. Moreover the number of States free to apply the resolutions has grown so greatly in the interim that their implementation will be far more effective than was possible two years ago. Whereas there were only eight independent African States then, fifteen are now self-governing or will be self-governing by the end of the year.

Boycott of South Africa
Arraignment of South African Government Before the International Court of Justice

Among the resolutions confirmed and amplified by the Second Conference the one liable to arouse greatest attention outside Africa is the decision to impose a complete boycott of South Africa, by refusal to purchase South African exports and to export commodities there, refusal to admit South African nationals into any of the Independent African States, refusal to allow South African aircraft to fly over, or to land in the territory of any of the Independent African States, and to admit South African ships to their ports. Appeals to Trade Unions of all countries not to

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General view of the Conference. Front rows, Ethiopian Delegation. Waizerit Judith Imru (Director-General, Foreign Affairs), second from left, front row

service South African planes and neither to load or unload South African ships.

The effect of the boycott of South Africa by the Independent African States will be direct and also indirect; its moral effect will undoubtedly be far-reaching. It will encourage similar action by non-African Governments, organisations and individuals, and will hearten those who have already put into practice the boycott. It will be a spur to action by the United Nations and will render more conspicuously unworthy and difficult to maintain the protection given by the present British administration under Mr. Macmillan to the South African Government, in its effort to avoid United Nations intervention against the "Apartheid" policy of segregation and oppression. Moreover if the boycott becomes effective even white South African inhabitants, inconvenienced by it and by "Apartheid" itself, may be induced to question the wisdom of their Government's action. Admittedly the white South Africans are a hard case and the boycott would require to be exceedingly effective before they would be influenced in the right direction.

South-West Africa

To bring the case of the South African Government's mandate to administer the trust territory of South-West Africa before the International Court of Justice for compulsory adjudication, with a view to terminating the mandate, a committee was appointed, consisting of delegates of Ethiopia, Liberia and two other Independent African States.

Central African Federation

A resolution was adopted urging the British Government to dissolve the Central African Federation on the ground that it is opposed by every section of African opinion in the territories concerned. Liberation for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia was demanded without delay, coupled with their right to federate or not, with any other part of Africa they might choose by their own free will.

For Southern Rhodesia a democratic constitution was called for on the basis of one vote per head of the population.

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All the political detainees in the three territories, it was declared, must be liberated and the ban on the African Nationalist parties must be removed. As no ban upon a political party is possible in the United Kingdom, the wholesale banning of African parties by the Colonial administrators epitomises the arbitrary character of colonial rule.

Action to Assist Algerian Liberation

No doubt the Conference refrained from declaring a boycott of France to assist the cause of Algerian liberation because the French Government and Algerian Provisional Government had already opened negotiations.

In any event the Independent African States neighbouring Algeria would have found the boycott difficult to impose at short notice owing to the fact that their economy was in the colonial period so intricately and closely geared to France that it would normally take several years to extricate them from economic dependence on their former colonial ruler. This was emphasised by the speech of the Moroccan delegate who told of the efforts his liberated country is making to this end.

Though a boycott of French goods was not proposed in the Algerian case, other steps were to be taken. The Conference called for the withdrawal of all African troops fighting in the French forces in Algeria. The Governments of the Independent African States, many of whom are already giving material aid to the struggle for Algerian liberation, were asked to intensify this aid and to give active support to the Algerian cause by every possible means. It was agreed they should make a united approach to the French Government and should continue raising the Algerian case at the United Nations. It was also resolved to send missions from the Independent African States to all the capitals of the world to obtain support for the Algerian cause by action at the United Nations and by bringing international pressure upon the French Government to terminate the war by granting independence to the Algerian people.

A telegram was sent from the Conference to General de Gaulle, as President of the French Republic, stating that his offer of June 14 to negotiate on the basis of the self-determination of the Algerian people was welcomed as a contribution to the cause of peace in Algeria and hoping the Franco-Algerian negotiations would speedily succeed. To the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic good wishes were sent for the happy result of the negotiations and for the realisation of Algerian independence.

Help to All Freedom Fighters

Provision was made to render help to all the African peoples struggling for liberty in all the African territories, with intensified effort in the areas of harshest race discrimination and oppression.

Economic Co-operation and Pooling of Resources

Despite the several generous resolutions to assist the struggle for liberation still continuing in parts of Africa, perhaps the greatest long-term importance and success of the Conference lay in the decisions it took to promote African unity and progress through effective co-operation.

The Emperor Haile Sellassie, in his inaugural address to the Conference, had emphasised the need of such co-operation and of the danger that States just emerging to independence, if unsupported by mutual aid from the free nations of Africa, might fall victim to new forms of Colonial penetration, with resultant problems of friction and discord attached.

African Development Bank

The Emperor had proposed the creation of an African Development Bank which would be of service to all the Independent African States. He had proposed also the joining of inter-African transport and communications, telephone, radio, road, rail and particularly air. Air transport throughout Africa, he had urged, should be entirely in African hands.

He had emphasised also the need for intra-African commerce, and for mutual exchange of technical and educational facilities.

Atomic Warfare

He had drawn urgent attention also to the menace to Africa and to the whole world created by the failure of the four Great Powers to come to an agreement to abolish nuclear and thermo-nuclear warfare and the vital necessity that all the Powers represented at the United Nations should take part in the discussions and the decision of this question which affects the whole of humanity.

The Emperor's speech was an able review of the matters he considered should be the subject of discussion by the Conference. The forthright proposals of his opening speech were, each and all of them, in fact subsequently embodied, in whole or in part, in the resolutions subsequently adopted by the Conference.

Ato Menasse Lemma, Ethiopian financial expert, speaking later in the conference, recalled the Emperor's advocacy of intra-African air transport and offered, on behalf of the Ethiopian Government, a merger of Ethiopia's efficient and financially successful air line with the air transport more recently inaugurated by some of the young African States. A commission to discuss the establishment of an all-Africa Airline resulted from these proposals. Councils were established also for economic, cultural and economic co-operation and instructions were given by the immediate establishment of a development bank and a commercial bank by the Independent African States.

Moreover the Conference, desirous of promoting closer African unity, requested the President of the Conference to consult the governments of the Independent African States on this matter and resolved to place the question of African Unity on the agenda of the next conference.

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ETHIOPIA CALLS FOR BANNING ATOMIC WEAPONS

Ato Haddis Alemayehou, Ethiopian delegate to the United Nations, followed up the Emperor's remarks on atomic warfare by reading the provisional draft of a resolution he proposed should be moved at the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for the banning of the manufacture and use of these weapons of mass slaughter and the destruction of the stocks of these weapons possessed by the Great Powers.

The resolution concerning such weapons, subsequently adopted by the Conference, was mainly devoted to a protest against the explosion of an atomic device by the French Government in the Sahara. Reference to the principle of nuclear and thermonuclear warfare and its suppression was in more general terms and included an appeal to the Great Powers to come to an agreement to desist from the use of such weapons.

No doubt on the initiative of the Ethiopian Government this question will be further discussed by the representatives of the Independent African States when they meet together at the United Nations.

The Conference was conducted throughout in a spirit of friendly co-operation. The delegations all repeatedly emphasised their pleasure in the excellent arrangements made for their comfort and the generous hospitality they had received in Ethiopia. They were entertained by a round of social engagements.

On June 15, the evening following the commencement of the Conference, the Emperor Haile Sellassie held a reception in their honour at the Jubilee Palace—the Palace built by the subscriptions of the Ethiopian people to celebrate the 25th Jubilee of the Emperor and Empress, which serves especially to entertain the guests of the country.

On June 16 the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Pen, Ato Aklilou Hapte Wold, who long and ably represented Ethiopia at the United Nations, held a reception for the delegates at the Ghion Hotel.

On Saturday, June 18, excursions were arranged to Debre Zeit (Bishoftu) and to Hagere Hiwot (Ambo) where accommodation was provided for delegates to remain overnight if they wished.

On Sunday, June 19, there was an excursion by air to Lake Tana and the old city of Gondar with its impressive castles.

On June 20 Ethiopian folk songs and dances were presented at the Haile Sellassie Theatre and their Imperial Majesties were present.

On June 23 the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ato Yilma Deressa, gave a reception at Ghion Hotel in honour of the delegates.

On the morning of Saturday, June 25, the Conference held its last session; the same afternoon the Emperor Haile Sellassie gave a Press conference at which Ethiopian and foreign journalists were present.

LECTURES BY DELEGATES AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

The mass of the Addis Ababa public: students, teachers, workers and employees, Ethiopian and foreign, being engaged in their usual avocations, were unable to attend the sessions of the Conference of Independent African States even had there been room for them in the visitors' gallery.

The National Library provided opportunities for the interested public to hear the views of some of the delegates to the Conference on several of the important issues the Conference had discussed with a view to action. This lecture course included the following speakers:—

June 7.—H.E. ATO YILMA DERESSA (Chairman of the Conference, Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs).

Subject: "The Forthcoming Conference of Independent African States."

Chairman: H.E. ATO AMDEMIKAEL DESSALEGN (Ethiopian Minister of Information).

June 21.—Mr. O. R. TAMBO (Vice-President, African National Congress, South Africa).

Mr. MBURUMBA KERINA, of South-West Africa.

Mr. ALEXANDRE RUTERA (Representative of the Union Nationale Rouandaise of Ruanda-Urundi).

Subject: "Problems of South and Central Africa."

Chairman: ATO BELAI ABAI.

June 22.—Mr. MBIYU KOINANGE, of Kenya (founder of the Kenya Independent Schools), now member of the Ghana Board of Directors of African Affairs—Accra.

Subject: "Kenya."

Chairman: ATO BEREKET-AB HAPTE-SELLASSIE.

June 24.—Mr. KEDRECK BROWN (Liberian Delegate).

Mr. ALI ATTIGA (Libyan Delegate).

Subject: "Report on the Conference."

Chairman: ATO HAPTAB BAIRU.

The lectures were largely attended; the hall holding 500 at a stretch was crowded; loud-speakers relayed the speeches in the corridors. Large crowds failed to secure admission.

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THE CONFERENCE ASSEMBLES

The second Conference of Independent African States, with observers from States still striving for liberation assembled in Addis Ababa from June 14 to June 24, 1960.

The Conference was held in the Ethiopian Parliament then in recess.

The approaches to the Parliament and its main chamber were gay with the flags of the African States, the red, yellow and green of Ethiopia, the black and white with green stars of the United Arab Republic; the green, yellow and blue of Sudan; the Liberian red and white stripes with a white star on a dark blue ground in the top left-hand corner, recalling the American Stars and Stripes; Ghana's green, yellow and red, with a black star on the yellow ground, and the many flags, in blue, red, yellow, green, black, white of the other African States—independent, or soon to become independent: Algeria, Guinea, Cameroons, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, Togo and Congo.

The gardeners of the Municipality had been active in beautifying the garden of the Parliament building which was truly resplendent with flowers.

The Conference opened with animation: delegates and alternate representatives, members of the Ethiopian Imperial family, high Ethiopian officials, interested visitors, journalists from many countries were driving up to the Parliament in cars of all colours and sizes.

Delegates, Observers and visitors were mounting the broad steps and streaming through the wide main door. In the vestibule, to right and left, Ethiopian men and women officials were seated at tables where telephones and informative literature of various sorts, "facts about Ethiopia," press bulletins and so forth, were provided for the convenience of delegates. Journalists were circulating between the vestibule, the comfortable press room, with facilities for writing and the press gallery where the early arrivals had already secured what they considered the most desirable seats.

There was everywhere a hum of pleasant anticipation. Representatives from many parts of Africa were greeting Ethiopian friends whom they had met on previous visits or at the Conferences at Accra, Monrovia, Cairo, or Bandung. Introductions were taking place till the chimes from the clock tower gave warning that the time to be seated was drawing near.

In the great Assembly Hall, where the Senate and House of Representatives meet at times in joint session, the pale cream coloured walls were brightened by the banners of the African States.

The largest delegation was that of the United Arab Republic, numbering fourteen, though in this case there were no alternative representatives to increase the total. Ghana, having sent eight delegates and six alternate representatives, actually equalled the U.A.R. in its total representation. Guinea, Morocco and Liberia had each eight delegates but no alternatives. Nigeria had seven delegates without alternatives. Ethiopia had six delegates, six alternatives. Libya and Sudan had a total of five delegates each. Cameroons, Somalia and Tunisia had each sent four. Togo and Congo for domestic reasons had not been able to send delegations.

The Algerian Provisional Government had sent five representatives recognised by the Conference as a regular delegation.

Observers came from other States struggling for independence: one from Angola, two from Tanganyika, one from Uganda, four from South Africa, two from South-West Africa. Among these last was Mr. Joriretunow Kozonguisi, President of the South-West African National Union, who had petitioned the United Nations to release South-West Africa from the oppressive rule of the Union of South Africa, to which it had been confided by the League of Nations as a Trust territory. South African Trusteeship, as is well-known, has been continued under the United Nations, but the Union Government has continually flouted the Trusteeship Agreement, refusing to submit reports and contemptuously rejecting all United Nations' intervention on behalf of the oppressed people of the Trust territory.

Kenya sent four observers and Mbiyue Koinange, well known as founder of the Kenya Independent Schools, with their 60,000 pupils and the Teachers' Training College of pre-Mau Mau times was also present among the Kenya representatives.

There were only two women delegates: Woizerit Judith Imru, Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mme. Barry Née Diallo of Guinea.

On the whole, the Conference, looking down on it from the press gallery, appeared mainly in the conventional modern garb worn all over Europe and America—and indeed nowadays all over the world—a prevailing assortment of greys and drabs with an occasional black or navy blue. Even the numerous Moslem delegates could only be distinguished, if at all, by a close-fitting cap—white or parti-coloured—along with the usual modern dress.

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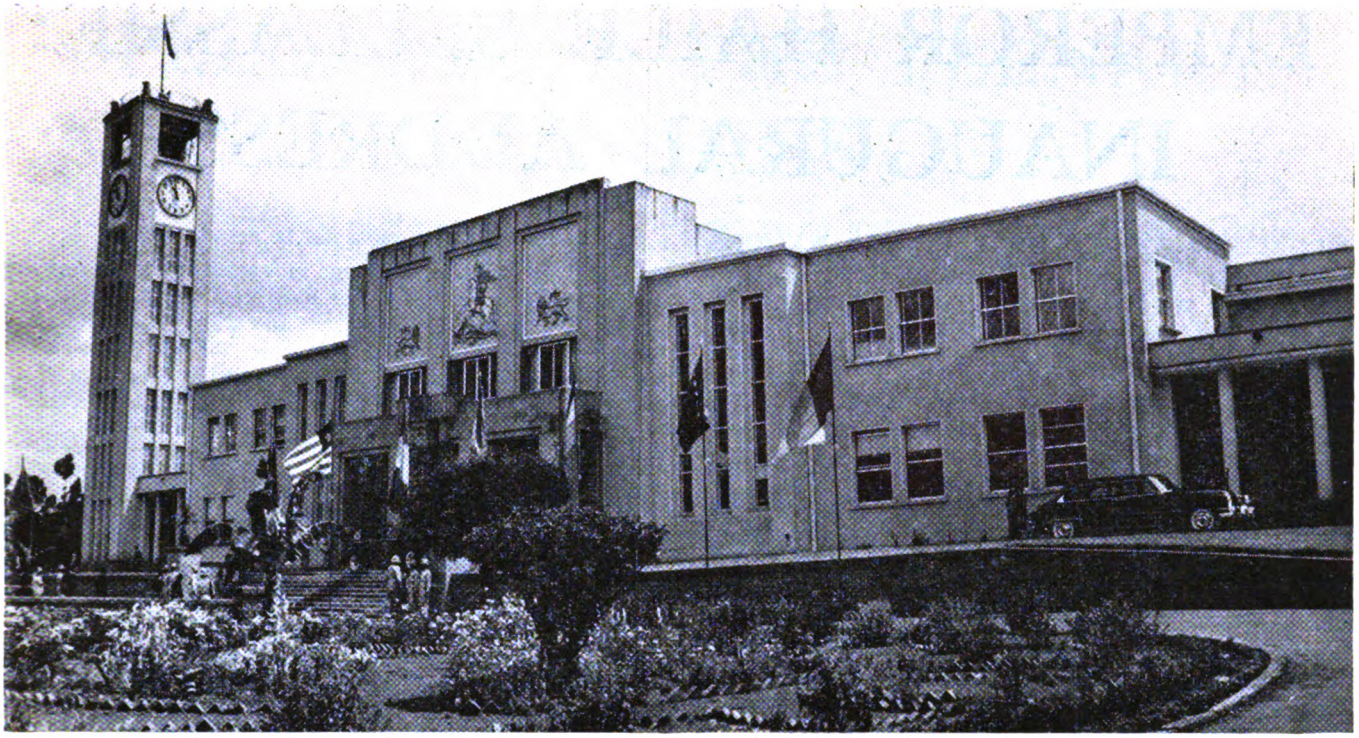

The Ethiopian Parliament where the Second Conference of Independent African States assembled

The chief Nigerian delegate wore picturesque flowing robes, but the two rows of delegates from Ghana and Guinea afforded the most striking contrast to the rest of the soberly clad assembly. The richly patterned, ample robes of local heavy silk hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, in opulent designs of red and blue, yellow and black, green and whatnot, worn by the delegates of these two allied States were a feast of vivid colours. The white, grey and dark blue robes of some Moslem representatives in this group were a foil to the brilliant national dress.

The entrance of the beautiful woman representative of Guinea, Mme. Barry, wearing a small dark crimson velvet hat and a dull lilac robe, a graceful adaptation of the national dress with exquisite gold ornament, evoked exclamations of admiration from some of the foreign journalists.

Until the proceedings opened, the journalists from afar, to whom all this was new and strange, diverted themselves by gazing upon the sumptuous Ghana-Guinea costumes, the Ethiopian triple crown, the crimson velvet curtains of the royal box from which the Emperor reads the speech to the Ethiopian Parliament at the opening of the Session, and the pictures on the rear wall representing events in Ethiopian history.

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EMPEROR HAILE SELLASSIE: INAUGURAL ADDRESS

MENACE OF ATOMIC WARFARE, ALL NATIONS SHOULD BE CALLED TO SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO FIND A SOLUTION: AFRICAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: AN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK: LINKING OF AFRICAN COMMUNICATIONS: NEED TO SAFEGUARD GENUINE AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

The Emperor came in quietly and stood behind the table where the officials are usually seated, further back than the Speaker's rostrum. The delegates had risen at his entrance. He waited for them to be seated and then delivered his inaugural address, speaking in Amharic in his familiar, even tones, without declamation or artifice.

Expressing warmest greetings to the representatives of the African States, on his own behalf and that of the Ethiopian people, he emphasised that the Conference was meeting at a moment of crisis in the relations of the world's Great Powers. The breakdown of the Summit Conference was a matter of concern to Africans as well as to the rest of humanity. All peoples were anxious to have the danger of nuclear and thermonuclear war removed from the world. Their desire and their efforts would be to bring about a negotiated settlement in disarmament and of matters which are a source of danger to world peace. The peace, indeed the survival of the numerous small nations, as well as of the great, was at stake. The small Powers should be heard and afforded equal opportunities of consultation and deliberation in these vital matters. Peace was essential to the prosperity and ordered progress to a higher standard of living on the African continent.

The political growth of the peoples of Africa, the Emperor continued, and their advancement in the struggle for independence had far exceeded all expectations and is "a vivid testimony to the wholesome vitality of the peoples of this great continent."

The impressive and inexorable advance toward the complete emancipation of Africa had not been without obstacles. The bloodshed and suffering of the past year were too vivid in memory to require recital.

"We must see to it," he declared, "that they will not recur. We must devise ways and means to arrest the senseless destruction of African lives. Africans have committed no sin, unless the pursuit of independence and freedom from colonial oppression is considered to be one. Therefore it is our duty to see that this yearning shall attain its goal by giving it appropriate expression in our decisions here at this Conference."

The Independent African States must unite as "fearless and determined advocates" for their South African brothers. To this end Ethiopia had granted financial assistance and scholarships to the orphans of those who had fallen victims in South Africa.

Independence must not be merely a name

Then followed a warning: independence must not be attained in name only. The emergence from colonialism must not be illusory, otherwise the word "independence" could be merely a screen; behind it "the same foreign influences which hitherto were revealed to the world as colonial interests could, in disguise, continue to operate."

Those who seek independence "must be prepared to stand on their own feet without dependence and without favours." They must "maintain their independence without exchanging it for financial support, or for subsidies." Independence must be "a principle admitting of no compromise, a principle demanding respect for self, and at the same time equal respect for the rights of others." While co-operating with all States and International Organisations, African States must be careful not to "accept formulae that perpetuate colonial regimes, or sow seeds of division among our countries by spurious methods, all-too-reminiscent of the days of colonial eras."

Turning to the economic field, the Emperor urged that the strongest foundation of African independence is the development of African economic resources. It was heartening to note, he said, that all African peoples were devoted to this central idea. "Africa is rich and can produce abundance of material prosperity."

Collaboration between African States could advance this ideal; roads, airlines and other services must be linked.

"We would propose the establishment, through subscription or share participation, of an African Development Bank for promoting the expansion of our trade, commerce, communications and international services."

By co-operation in all fields, the African States could be relieved of dependence on foreign markets, with all its adverse effects, and their freedom would be strengthened.

The Emperor's proposal of an African Development Bank is of course, highly important, offering as it does a means by which African economic co-operation may obtain practical realisation. Ethiopia's representative having thus taken the initiative and having expressed willingness to participate in the institution, it is for the other African States to co-operate. The delegations in fact all expressed this desire.

The Emperor now urged that five years have passed since the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung had advocated the adoption of the basic principles of economic co-operation. He declared it is time for a second Afro-Asian Conference to give practical realisation to these ideals.

The natural bonds of the African peoples had been weakened, he said, by the colonial fragmentation of the continent. Tribal differences and other regrettable vestiges of the colonial era were, even now, being exploited to the same deplorable ends. The history of the African

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SPEECHES AT THE PLENARY SESSIONS

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Lij Yilma Deressa, the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected President of the Conference. While sensible of this honour, he said, he took it to be a tribute to Ethiopia and to her great leader who for the major part of the present century had devoted himself to the freedom, independence and progress of the African peoples.

Yilma Deressa (President)

All were indebted, he said, to the first Conference of Independent African States which had established the basic structure and principles of the organisation: recognition of the equality of all nations, abstention from interference in the internal affairs of another country, respect for the right of every nation to defend itself, individually or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, the duty of refraining from acts or threats of aggression against the territorial integrity of any nation and of settling all international disputes by peaceful means, condemnation of racial discrimination and segregation and of all forms of outside interference against the independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity of the independent African States, encouragement of economic collaboration between African peoples and a call for the liberation of all African peoples from colonial rule.

That first Conference of Independent African States had addressed itself specially to the evils of "Apartheid" in South Africa, the abolition of atomic tests, the independence of Algeria, Cameroons and Togoland and the creation of machinery for economic co-operation.

Within less than a year, the Economic Commission for Africa had met and had established a permanent headquarters in Addis Ababa and New Africa Hall, the contribution of the Ethiopian Government, was nearing completion. A further gathering of the Economic Commission would shortly be held there while residential accommodation for the permanent staff of the Economic Commission was already built and occupied in the city. 200 scholarships for African students to attend Ethiopian educational institutions provided by the Emperor were another tangible evidence of African co-operation.

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peoples should be made known to each other. No effort should be spared to expand their scholarship and cultural exchanges with a view to sharing the historical heritage of the African continent.

Fate of African Continent now passing into African Hands

In the Conference of African States, at the United Nations and at any international forum, the unity of African States would be their strength. Formerly, colonial subjection had made such a Conference as this impossible. The fate of the African continent was now passing into African hands. The traditions of Berlin and Algeciras were being eradicated, Colonialism was being wiped out. Africans must be determined never to allow new forms of colonialism to threaten their hard-won independence.

Secretary of Conference Replies to Emperor's Address

The Secretary of the Conference, His Excellency J. Rudolph Grimes, principal Liberian delegate, replied to the Emperor Haile Sellassie's address of welcome, expressing the thanks and appreciation of the African States for the warm hospitality accorded by Ethiopia to the delegates. The history of Ethiopia was the pride of all Africans. The Emperor, he declared, was himself a "symbol of vigorous and enlightened leadership and the embodiment of the indomitable courage and determination of a free people to fight and to die to maintain their freedom for thousands of years—a people who had given inspiration to millions of their brethren to seek freedom."

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Congo, Somaliland and Nigeria were on the verge of celebrating their independence and Ato Yilma Deressa called on the delegates to rise in tribute to these new sisters among the Independent African States.

Nevertheless, despite occasions for substantial encouragement the problems of Apartheid, genocide and racial discrimination remained; slaughter in South Africa, Nyasaland and Kenya, atomic tests in the Sahara had persisted and economic and fiscal measures had been taken by certain European interests to preserve exclusive markets in Africa. European rivalry had resulted in the imperialist and economic partitioning of the African continent; the world was now being partitioned into vast hostile blocs bearing portents of doom for humanity. In face of these rivalries the peoples of Africa must proclaim their indefectible unity. Disunity among themselves could only serve the interests of those who sought to thwart their attainment of freedom.

The African States already independent, or on the verge of independence, were now "the largest single and cohesive force within the United Nations, with the power to utilise their strength for the advance of justice and freedom throughout Africa and indeed, throughout the world. Let us never forget our unity within the African continent, nor in the councils of international organisations."

While the conference could take heart in the fact that many territories on the West coast of Africa were securing freedom the situation on the East coast was less favourable. Therefore, it was particularly pertinent that the Agenda of the Conference should include discussion of the prevention of new forms of colonialism in Africa. The relentless forces opposed to African freedom were prepared "to insinuate themselves in the guise of supporting movements of independence—an independence compromised in advance."

"The independent African States must be prepared to oppose every attempt by foreign interests to compromise the independence of emergent African States. We must take positive steps to reinforce our unity.

"Every form of hostile propaganda, whether by press, radio, or word of mouth between African States and peoples should be absolutely excluded. There can be no conceivable justification for seeking by propaganda to bring in foreign commercial interests portending a partitioning of African economy.

"Against racial violence and discrimination, whether open or disguised, whether territorial, economic or political, against hostile forces, themselves united to a degree, and, in any event, far better armed, financially, and technically, than we can be for some time, our struggle cannot succeed, unless our unity be impregnable. Neither at the United Nations nor elsewhere, can we allow divided counsels to estrange us and there is no reason why our unity and brotherhood should not only provide the settlement of all internal differences but also ensure that no action be taken on the international plane, except by mutual consent and with full understanding. The day has long passed for Africans to appeal to foreign interests against their African brothers and neighbours."

LIBERIA

Mr. Rudolf Grimes, chairman of the Liberian delegation and Secretary of the Conference, welcomed with joy the growth of the family of independent African States.

Referring to the struggle still proceeding for African independence in other parts of the Continent, he said:

"Perhaps the world needs to be reminded that the failure of the League of Nations to uphold the principles of the covenant was the undoing of the League."

The Liberian Government will therefore propose at the next session of the United Nations the formation of a committee composed of African, Asian, European and American States to find a solution for the Algerian problem, and prepare a time-table for the more rapid advancement to independence of territories still under foreign domination

A protest against the declared intention of France to explode a further thermonuclear device in the Sahara should also be placed on the Agenda of the United Nations by the states represented at this Conference.

Concerning the boundary problems which are causing friction among African States, Liberia considers that though the existing boundaries were made by the Colonial Powers without regard to tribal, ethnic or economic considerations, nevertheless these boundaries have existed for a long time; to change them would create more problems than would be solved by the change. Ill-will and internecine conflicts might arise which might cause irreparable harm to Africa. Liberia therefore suggests the African States "agree to the principle of

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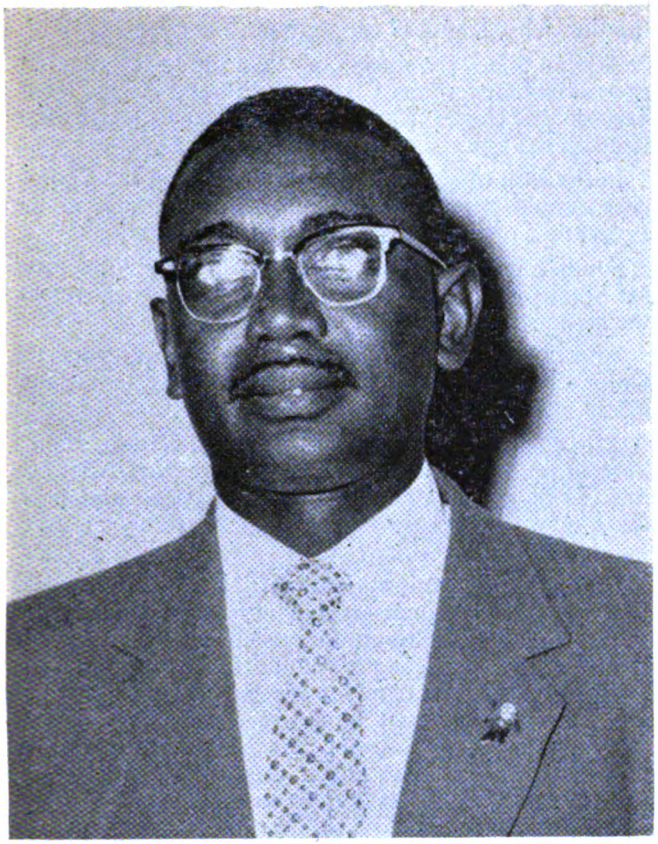

J. Rudolf Grimes (Liberia)

generally accepting the present boundaries between their respective States.

This principle has been agreed upon by Liberia and Guinea, as published by the Joint Communiqué signed May 27, 1960, by President Tubman and President Toure. If it is accepted generally, this would avoid the hostilities and antagonisms among African States which may create a natural attraction and breeding ground for outside influences to meddle in African affairs and for fostering their own ambitions and goals alien to ours."

Liberia proposes a plan of West African regional co-operation and also a larger African organisation called "the Community of Independent African States."

Independence for Africa must mean better education, better health facilities, better housing, a more balanced diet, a brighter standard of living for the African people and greater progress than has at present been attained.

African states should settle disputes by peaceful means, the Liberian delegation suggests the Conference propose adequate machinery to be used by African States in the settlement of their disputes.

United Nations technical assistance to Africa, has been helpful, but inadequate. The Technical Assistance Programme should be greatly expanded.

NIGERIA

Mr. Jusuf Maitima Sule, leader of the Nigerian delegation, declared the African States must close their ranks and move together as one people, irrespective of nationality or religion. There must be no mud-slinging of one against another. Pan Africanism, he said, is the only solution to African problems, whatever they may be. On the other hand Nigeria considered the union of all African States under one sovereignty would be premature at the present time. Nigeria would not agree to it at present. They considered it necessary to wait until all the African States were independent and had formed their own governments. African States would like to taste freedom and self-rule after being under foreign domination.

Moreover, though " we hope this will not happen, some of them may adopt unbearable policies; it is necessary to wait and see the types of government they make and the policy they pursue.

"Before there could be a union under one sovereignty all obstacles to free trade and free movement between the African countries must be lifted. A loose federation could be the beginning, but the need for unity, especially in West Africa, was undeniable and the United States of Africa must be their aim.

"Every State must formulate its own foreign policy according to its own circumstances. Nigeria feels it has acknowledged friends and must accept the duties, as well as the benefits of friendship. Nigeria has based her advance to independent status on the fundamental principles of belief in the rule of law, the sanctity of fundamental human rights, the right of the individual to freedom under the law, that the Government must depend ultimately on the consent of the governed and that those who wield political power are responsible to the whole nation and the minority should have the right to become the majority by constitutional means."

Nigeria felt that to accept systems of government in which these ideals were not inherent would be detrimental to her progress.

For these reasons she has chosen to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and to maintain a close relationship with the United Kingdom, believing she would thereby find a great identity of views on issues basic to the democratic way of life and that she would have an immense opportunity to interpret to the other members of the Commonwealth the aspirations of the African peoples, especially as regards the barbaric actions of the Union of South Africa. This would not commit Nigeria to join any Power bloc. Nigeria fully accepted the principles and obligations of the United Nations Organisation. While not excluding the question of a West African Federation or Union, Nigeria considered this premature at present, although it is her hope and ultimate aim.

Nigeria considered the foreign policy of African States, jointly and severally, should be as follows:

"A friendship with those countries whose friendship will be in the national interest of the State, with careful vigilance to ensure that none of the big Powers seizes the opportunity to swallow any of them;

"A SEATO or NATO type of defence community of all independent African States to guarantee Africa's freedom and to maintain it at all costs;

"Greater economic co-operation among African States;

"To open communication channels within the Continent and to remove the various restrictive measures

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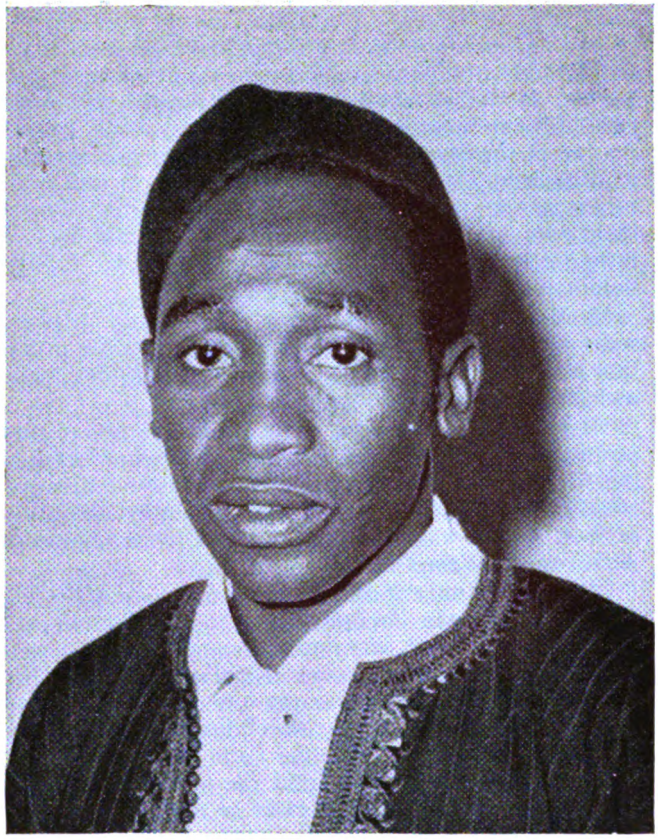

Jusuf Maitima Sule (Nigeria)

that continue to separate and divide African peoples, *vis à vis*, visa and immigration restrictions, currency, language barriers, etc.;

"Exchange of technical and educational information."

The motto of the African Independent States should be "Independent in all things, non-alignment in power politics."

The African States, in co-operation with the Asiatic countries, could act as a third force and be a deterrent to either of the two blocs that might threaten world peace. To achieve this position the African States must not align themselves with power politics. They cannot achieve this goal if, jointly or separately, they join either side. "Technical aid, yes, but not in exchange for anything that may be detrimental to our declared aim and aspiration."

A matter of immediate urgency, to which the present conference should address itself, was the situation in the Belgian Congo. Congolese were butchering each other on the eve of their independence, to an extent which had caused the Belgian Government to fly in its army to restore order. This conference should call on the Congolese leaders to come together in the interests of Africa. These leaders, Messrs Kasavubu, Lumumba and others, should be invited to meet a committee of this Conference which should fly to the Congo, with a view to settling these problems. Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United Nations should be asked to mediate on behalf of this Conference.

This Conference should oppose the manoeuvre of the Southern Rhodesia Government, which is deploying troops on the Congo border with the intention of annexing the rich Congolese copper belt.

African States should step up their aid to the Algerian Provisional Government. The African and Asiatic members of the United Nations should place the Algerian issue on the agenda of the General Assembly every year.

In the case of Central African Federation the Conference should demand either one man one vote in the Federation or the breaking up of the Federation.

South Africa had violated the Trusteeship Agreement for South-West Africa and should be made to surrender the charge.

Another attempt should be made to prosecute the Union of South Africa for genocide in the International Court at the Hague.

African and Asian States at the United Nations should keep the question of apartheid and South-West Africa on the agenda of the United Nations every year and bring these questions before the General Assembly at every opportunity.

Resolutions to boycott South African goods have been passed by many countries, but only a few have taken steps to render the resolutions effective. "A follow up is necessary; each country should forward a quarterly or biennial progress report to the secretariat of the Conference. The secretariat should send members constant reminders on this and other current issues that call for positive and immediate action. South African representatives should be banned from visiting member States and no member should invite South Africans for any reason whatsoever."

Of nuclear and thermonuclear tests in Africa, the Nigerian delegate declared no language too strong to condemn them. French assets should be frozen. French goods boycotted, French officials banned from visiting member States if the French Government exploded another bomb on African soil.

The Nigerian delegate considered the Conference of Independent African States the most effective mechanism for fostering African unity. It should be a permanent organisation with a secretariat in Africa and a regular schedule of meetings. He did not, however, advocate disbanding the secretariat in New York; this should also continue.

LIBYA

Dr. Whabi Buri, leader of the Libyan delegation, paid tribute to the courageous peoples of colonial Africa and their heroic national leaders in their struggle for liberty.

"At all stages of their political life," he said, "the African people have shown their belief in the principles of the United Nations Charter. The advance of science and invention, the astonishing speed of communications and the beginning of the conquest of space are gradually reducing the significance of boundaries and distance. It is no longer possible for peace to prevail in a limited part of our globe only. All humanity looks to the nations producing atomic power to divert the use of this source of energy from destructive and harmful uses to peaceful and productive enterprises. If this atomic

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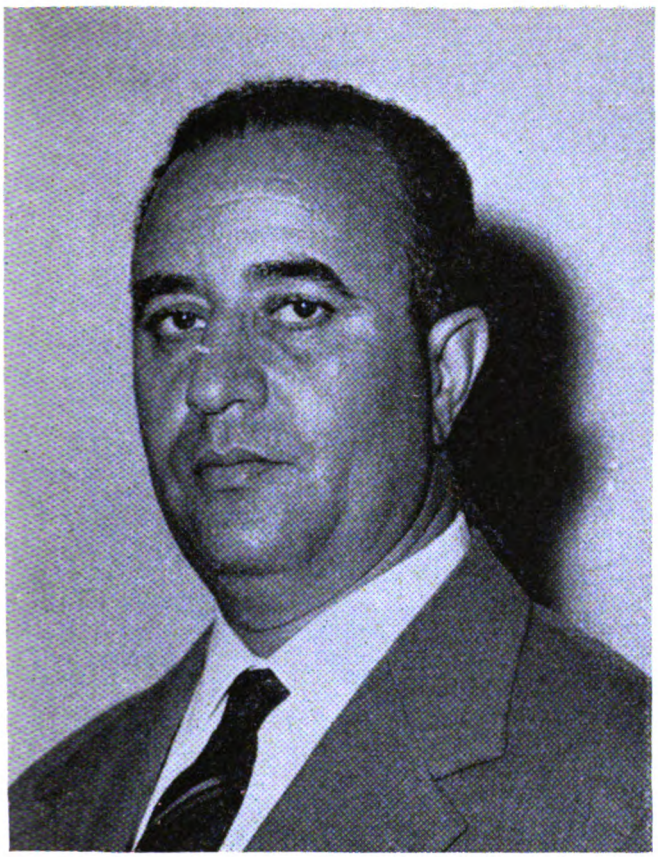

Dr. Whabi El Buri (Libya)

energy could be used for the advancement of peoples the world over, the development of their resources and the improvement of social conditions, it would be one of the fundamental factors in the establishment of peace and the elimination of the causes of conflicts, hatreds and harmful conditions among nations. For the world to reach this essential point it is necessary for all States to place their faith in the United Nations, to work for the implementation of its decisions and to take a united and decisive stand before any nation that implements policies contrary to the decisions of the United Nations."

France and the Atomic Bomb

France had flouted a resolution of the United Nations and the united protest of the peoples of Africa by exploding an atomic bomb in the African Sahara. Thereby she had attacked the foundations of the United Nations, caused much bitterness to Africans and obstructed efforts to save the world from the horrors of atomic warfare.

"France, well versed in civilisation and culture, has done all this for pretentious purposes and for the upholding of past glories which have long vanished. The real glory of a nation is its contribution to world stability, peace and the establishment of tranquillity among nations.

"We hope France has now satisfied her pretentions and will put an end to this defiance of our lives and our capabilities. All of us in this Conference must make clear to France that we will never forgive her for this act and that we are fully determined to put her in her place if she tries to commit another crime on our beloved Sahara.

"The world will never know peace, stability and comfort as long as subjugated and innocent people do not obtain their rights and so long as their cause is not dealt with in the spirit of equality and justice. Many of our people in Africa are now struggling to rid themselves of the colonial shell and for the attainment of their legitimate rights to a free life, which is the right of all humanity. These heroic people turn to us today at this conference with all their hopes and expectations and call upon us to extend a strong helping hand to champion their cause. They have suffered and still suffer from all sorts of degradation, pressure, suppression of basic liberties, the imprisonment of their political leaders and the establishment of detention or concentration camps. But Africa today is not the Africa of yesterday; her people have fought, suffered and sacrificed when the opportunities of success were very small indeed. Fortunately today the opportunities for success are much greater. The Africans struggling for liberty today are encouraged by the support of their independent sister countries in Africa.

Algerians Have Paid the Price of Freedom Many Times

Turning to the war in Algeria, the Libyan delegate continued:

"The Algerian crisis has become a deep and bleeding wound felt by all Africans and all people who believe in sacred human values and the right of the individual and his society to live in freedom and dignity. The Algerian war which began six years ago and which costs hundreds of lives every day, accompanied by destruction, expulsions and dislocation, and which every day implant new seeds of hatred, bitterness and the desire for revenge, must be stopped; the nations which assist, support and aid France should realise their errors and correct them by pressing France to recognise what is real and to accept the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence. If most nations have paid a high price for their independence, the Algerians have paid this price many times and have set the highest example in our era, of dedication and sacrifice and the exchange of their blood for their right to a free life.

"France alone is responsible for the continuation of the Algerian war. The Algerians who have resisted France for six years are prepared to resist her for many years to come. As long as they are demanding their legitimate rights the peoples of Africa, Asia and other peace loving nations the world over will support and assist them. No matter how great the sacrifices the truth will certainly triumph in the end."

The South African Tragedy

Declaring the world deplores the racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa the Libyan delegate insisted it is the sacred duty of the Independent African States "to do all we can to put an end to this human tragedy and to stop the irresponsible and foolish acts of the ruling European minority."

Economic Development in Libya

"We in Libya," he said, "are anxious to speed up our economic development." Since achieving independence an appreciable proportion of the budget had been expended on education and public health.

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"The recent discovery of oil in substantial quantities would provide funds to finance the economic development programme. At Libya's request, the World Bank had just submitted a comprehensive survey of Libyan resources, problems and needs. The Libyan Development Council was now being reorganised in order to enable it to act as the planning and co-ordinating agent in economic activities. The Libyan Parliament had adopted legislation dealing with the encouragement and regulation of foreign capital investments, with trade organisations and with the promotion of industries.

Trade Fair

"Early in 1962 an international trade fair would be held in Tripoli. It was hoped African countries would take an active part in the undertaking, where they would have an opportunity to show each other samples of their products and skills and where African business men could become acquainted with their common problems, interests and resources.

"The Libyan delegation appreciates the efforts of the Economic Commission for Africa to find solutions for the economic and social problems confronting the African Continent. No doubt the studies made by the Commission during the two years since its inauguration will have thrown light on present economic conditions in the continent and its various territories. The Libyan delegation hopes all African countries will co-operate with the Commission in order that its aims for the welfare of Africa may be realised."

African countries, Dr. Wabi el Buri urged, must make sacrifices to strengthen their educational and scientific services and must co-operate therein. There is today "a substantial number of young Africans in Libya studying in our schools and universities on equal terms with our own students; in fact they are given special facilities and assistance."

GHANA

Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ako Adjei, conveyed to the conference the greetings of president Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Nkrumah expressed great regret that he had been prevented from coming to Addis Ababa by the tremendous amount of work required of him in preparation for the proclamation of the Republic of Ghana in two weeks' time, and for his inauguration as first President, to which office he had been elected by the people of Ghana by an overwhelming majority.

The Ghana delegate gave thanks to the Emperor and government of Ethiopia for the kind hospitality delegates had received and for the "elaborate arrangements made for their comfort during their stay in this historic city."

Mr. Ako Adjei gave a brief review of the previous conferences of Independent African States and the meetings, of their leaders in which Ghana has itself taken so prominent a part and also of the new States which have emerged in Africa since that time:

The first conference of Independent African States was held in Ghana at Accra in April, 1958.

The people of Guinea voted against inclusion in the French Community on September 28, 1958, and the New Republic of Guinea came into being on October 2, 1958.

On May 1, 1959, President Sekou Toure of Guinea and

Ako Adjei (Ghana)

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana met at Conakry and agreed to the Union of Ghana and Guinea.

On July 19, 1959, President Tubman of Liberia, Presi- Sekou Toure of Guinea and Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana met at Sanniquelli in Liberia and agreed to a declaration of principles, which in their view should form the basis of the Union of Independent African States.

On July 3, 1959, the Government of Ghana handed a note to the Government of France protesting against its intention to test nuclear weapons on African soil in the Sahara. The Government of Ghana froze the assets of all French companies operating in Ghana to emphasise its protest. The other African States also protested, each in its own way. The United Nations adopted a resolution supporting the African protest, but France persisted with the atomic test.

In August, 1959, a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Independent African States was held in Monrovia, Liberia.

In addition to Governmental conferences, varlous other conferences were held:

The first All-African People's Conference was held in Accra in December, 1958.

The All-African Trades Union Preparatory Conference met in Accra in November, 1959, and April, 1960, and also in Casablanca, Morocco.

The second All-African People's Conference met in Tunis in January, 1960.

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Two Afro-Asian solidarity conferences were held in Cairo and Conakry respectively.

A conference on Positive Action and Security in Africa was held in April, 1960.

Many other African conferences of youth, Trade Unions, culture and political organisations have been held during the period.

In addition to the Republic of Guinea on October 2, 1958, the following African States have achieved independence:

Republic of Cameroons, January 1, 1960;
Republic of Togo, April 27, 1960;

Other states nearing independence are:

Madagascar, June 25, 1960;
Congo, June 30, 1960;
Somaliland Protectorate, June 27, 1960.
Somalia, July 1960;
Federation of Nigeria, October 1, 1960;
Sierra Leone, April 27, 1961;

The establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in 1959 was an achievement of which all African States might be justly proud.

A council for Economic co-operation among African States should be created to act as liaison with the Economic Commission and to co-ordinate the efforts of National Economic groups.

Ghana, said Mr. Ako Adjei, would co-operate in aiding South African and South West African brothers by an economic boycott of the Union Government and would also co-operate in positive action for the freedom of Algeria.

Ghana is desirous of promoting unity and co-operation among the African Independent States. The Ghana delegate echoed the anxieties expressed by the Emperor of Ethiopia, that newly emerging African States might become the prey of European interests which were ready to grant independence, but upon conditions which reduce independence to a mere name. He recalled the Emperor's words:

"In such a situation, the emergence from colonialism is but illusory, and the use of the word 'independence' would constitute, not only a distortion, but also a disservice to the cause of African freedom, by creating a screen behind which those same foreign influences which hitherto were revealed to the world as colonialist interests would continue to operate in disguise."

The Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, speaking of the need for African States to co-operate, had said: "Three alternatives are open to African territories now emerging into nationhood: They can choose to stand alone, in which case they risk early and certain disintegration. They can be persuaded to bolster the imperialist tendencies of their former colonial powers. When this happens it is not difficult to see the great harm done to the movement for the Unity of African States.

"The third alternative, and the wisest course for us in Africa, is resolutely to pursue our policy for the achievement of unity among ourselves."

A council for economic co-operation among African States, argued the delegate of Ghana, could be a source of unfailing financial, technical and other services to new African States and would render them free of exploitation by the former Colonial Powers.

In his inaugural address at Monrovia in January of this year, President Tubman had put forward a similar view.

But recently Dr. Kwame Nkruma had discussed with the Prime Minister of Togoland, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, the question of closer co-operation among the African States. At the Sanniquelle Conference in July, 1959, the presidents of Liberia and Guinea and Dr. N. Nkrumah of Ghana formulated the following basis of a **community of Independent African States:**

"Each State or Federation which is a member of the Community shall maintain its own national identity and constitutional structure. The Community is being formed with a view to achieving unity among independent African states. It is not designed to prejudice the present or future international policies, relations and obligations of the States involved.

"The acts of States or Federations which are members of the Community shall be determined in relation to the essential objectives which are, freedom, independence, unity, the African personality, as well as the interest of the African peoples.

"This policy shall be based essentially on the maintenance of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, on the basis of equality and reciprocity with all the States of the world which adopt a position compatible with African interests and African dignity.

"Its main objective will be to help other African territories, subjected to domination, with a view to accelerating their independence.

"The Community shall set up an Economic Council, a Cultural Council and a Scientific and Research Council.

"The Community shall have a flag and an Anthem to be agreed upon at a later date.

"The motto of the Community shall be 'Independence and Unity.'"

The Ghana delegation further proposed the establishment of a committee of experts to work out the details of the proposed Union of African States, the formation of a customs union, the removal of trade barriers, the establishment of an African development fund and kindred matters. Ghana was prepared to co-operate fully in such a venture.

A Summit Conference called by African States.

Ghana called for effective organisation by the African States against the dangers now threatening the peace and security of the world. Her representative proposed that a "Summit" Conference of the heads of African independent States and those of peace-loving nations in Asia and Europe should be called. This Conference of Independent African States should express itself on the vital question of disarmament.

The war in Algeria was a matter of life and death; Ghana would co-operate fully with other African States in practical and constructive measures to bring it to an end.

GUINEA

Mr. Diallo Abdourahmane, chief of the Guinea delegation, addressed the conference in French. His speech was in some respects the most militant yet delivered during the conference. He declared that in the struggle for independence many Africans had fallen and many more would fall. African unity was essential and

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Diallo Abdourahmane (Guinea)

the Ghana-Guinea Union had been formed as a step in promoting unity in Africa. It was the duty, he said, of the Independent African States to help their brothers still under colonial domination. The total liberation of Africa was essential, for until the entire African continent is liberated, the independence of individual African States will not be complete. All foreign military installations and bases must be barred from the territories of African States whose policy should be absolute neutrality in the conflicts between the Great Powers. "No problem of world magnitude," he said, "can be solved without the countries of Africa and Asia. If the Great Powers believe they are the judges of everything, we must tell them their "summit" conferences will be no more than "unfinished symphonies."

"Controlled disarmament has been approved by all peoples, but though Africans support disarmament, it is not their highest ambition. We must say at this conference, very clearly," declared the Guinea delegate, "that disarmament in itself, and disarmament alone, cannot solve the problems of African liberation, or even make an appreciable contribution to the economy of the under-developed countries without vigilant pressure of popular opinion.

"It would be illusory to imagine that disarmament would transform imperialism into a charitable enterprise. General disarmament is certainly the dream of humanity, but it will not be fully achieved unless it is accompanied by total liberation of the countries still in subjection.

"We pay homage to our Algerian brothers who for years have waged a war which is our war. We here must find means to end this bloodshed; every Algerian who falls on the battlefield of honour is a son of Africa and a loss to Africa.

"It is not enough to say; the war in Algeria is our war; the African Independent States must concert together to help our Algerian brothers:

"By making regular budgetary contributions to a fund to sustain their struggle;

"By withdrawing all African troops from the French forces in Algeria. We must especially urge that our brothers in the African States of the French Community immediately they obtain their independence, shall put an end to the scandal of African participation in a war against Africans who ask nothing but to live in peace and freedom;

"By approving the organisation of a corps of volunteers for the war in Algeria—our war.;

"On the diplomatic plane, by a concerted action of all the independent African States to oblige the French Government to recognise the Algerian Provisional Government. We salute as a great contribution to the African cause the recent recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government by the sister Republic of Liberia. We hope that shortly there will not be any African Independent States which has not done so."

The Guinea delegate also urged that the conference declare a boycott against South African goods and refusal to permit South African aeroplanes to fly over the territory of Independent African States.

On the economic plane, he urged the formation of an inter-States African Transport Company and mentioned with pleasure a recent transport agreement between the Government of Guinea and that of Ethiopia in relation to air transport.

He advocated an African Press Agency.

TUNISIA

Mr. Taïb Slim, the chief delegate of the Republic of Tunisia, said the evolution of the French Community is a new phenomenon; it is being watched with interest by the Independent African States which were formerly part of the French Colonial Empire. He anticipated the African members of the French Community will eventually join the great African Community to which they of old belonged. They will come, he said, one by one, and in devious ways, but all of them will join Independent free Africa before long.

At the time of the Accra Conference it had been said the delegates of the Independent Africa States who met there were agitators who would plunge Africa into chaos and desolation, anarchy and communism. "Even many of our brothers in the French Colonies" he said, "doubted us then, but now they wish for nothing better than to join us".

"We Tunisians pledge ourselves to support by all possible means our brothers fighting for their rights, their dignity and their liberty. This conference must study all possible means of assistance to them, in order to hasten the success of their struggle. Any help the

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Taib Slim (Tunisia)

Independent African States can give to their brothers still under colonial domination is a duty, not a charity".

He did not believe a single person in any country, even in the colonial empires, believed in the survival of the colonial system. Therefore the conference should launch again the appeal of President Bourgiba to the reason and good sense of those who still retain in their hands the destiny of African countries not yet liberated, urging them to renounce, once and for all, the absurd policy of attempting to retard the inevitable. A meeting around a table with the adversaries of yesterday would be useful and should be possible. The last of the colonial powers would thus have a final chance to save the possibility of co-operation and of peace. The examples of Ghana, Nigeria and Somalia should be followed in Kenya, Rhodesia and Tanganyika.

Tunis agrees with the Liberian delegation that a timetable should be worked out between representatives of the Independent African States and the colonial powers for the liberation of the African territories still under colonial rule. Moreover, as President Bourgiba had said, the programme for liberation should be accompanied by plans for economic aid to these underdeveloped countries at the time of their liberation. Nevertheless, he said, independence must never be sacrificed for economic aid.

Action of Tunis on Security Council

Tunis, said her chief delegate, is the only African State on the United Nations Security Council. She proposed there that sanctions be imposed against South Africa on account of the racist policy of the Union Government and its refusal to obey the terms of the mandate for South-West Africa. Tunis had not been supported in this demand and therefore had voted for a resolution giving the Secretary-General of the United Nations a mandate to visit the South African Government on behalf of the Security Council to explore the possibility of a solution. Tunis hopes the Secretary-General will succeed in this rather delicate mission, but, without

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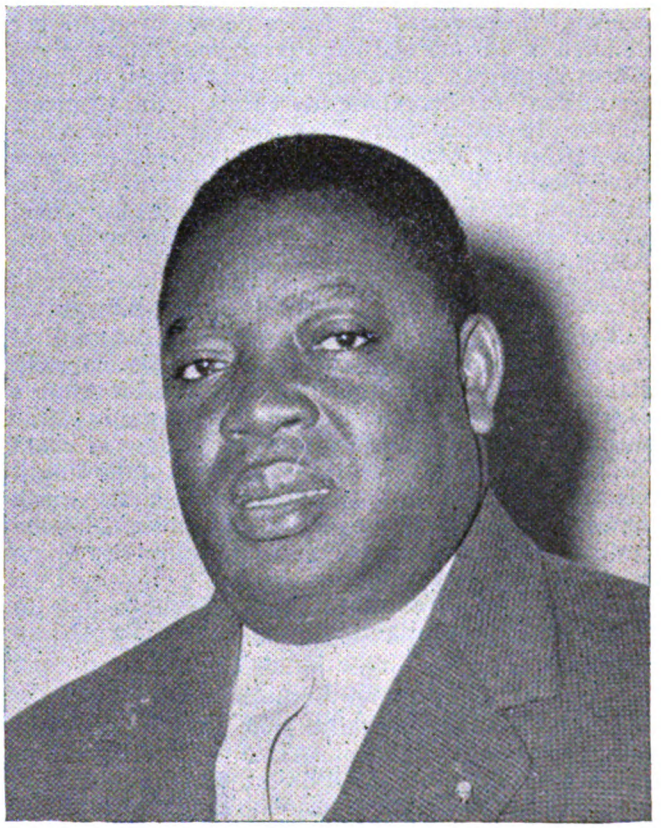
REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

Mr. Charles Okaia, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the newly established Republic of Cameroon, brought greetings from its President, Mr. Amadou Ahidjo, and from the Government of this young African State. He paid tribute to the people of Ethiopia and their valiant Sovereign. When the fascist hordes had momentarily triumphed against brave Ethiopia, he said "all Africa was enslaved with her." Throughout the brief foreign occupation of her soil "Ethiopia had always remembered she was Africa."

He expressed admiration for all African freedom fighters and pledged the Republic of Cameroon to support any form of co-operation among African States and to share the struggles to liberate the whole of Africa; this he said is "a sacred task". Africa he added, "must be freed internally, as well as from foreign domination by the levelling of tribal barriers."



Charles Okaia (Republic of Cameroons)

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being pessimistic, the Tunisian delegation is sceptical. Therefore it was necessary that this conference of Independent African States consider measures to secure the approval of the United Nations Organisations for adequate sanctions against the racist state of South Africa.

Since 1954 the Algerian war had been before the United Nations and had been a source of anxiety to world public opinion. France itself had been obliged to accept the principle of self-determination. This principle, of the United Nations Charter had been solemnly affirmed by General de Gaulle. Unfortunately, despite the intervention of the United Nations, the useless war still continues. There is a danger of it spreading; Tunisian and Moroccan villages have been bombed. Tunis believes a cease-fire, to allow negotiations between the belligerents, and a valid referendum, would be the best means of obtaining a solution.

France Treats Africa as a Fief

Discussing the action of France in exploding an atomic bomb in the Sahara, the Tunisian delegate protested that "France treats Africa as a fief where she can do as she pleases."

Tunisian foreign policy, said her chief delegate, is based on African unity, Tunis will not join the power bloc either of East or West; she will not be a satellite of either the one or the other. "The world of today is a world of giants: Russia in the East, the United States of America in the West". Europe is seeking by economic integration to achieve a political unity. Africa in the face of these unities must not remain passive with her economy disintegrated. If Africa desires to assure her children of a better and more prosperous future, if she wishes to play an active part in world affairs, she must co-ordinate and harmonise her efforts in the economic sphere. In Africa there must be national economic development of African countries and regional economic development of African regions, commerce must be organised between the various African regions. There should be exchanges of commercial information between African Chambers of Commerce.

Advantages of an African Development Bank

The Tunis delegation welcomed the proposal of the Emperor of Ethiopia of an African Development Bank. This could contribute largely to combat Africa's lack of capital. In addition to the contributions of its members, the Independent African States, it could obtain contributions from the World Bank of the United Nations and from private financial interests which hitherto had hesitated to lend to the individual Independent African States but would feel able to rely on the collective guarantee.

The African Development Bank would be able to supply technical assistance, as well as loans for African Development.

Exchange of Technical Aid

Mutual technical assistance should also be organised among themselves by the African States; Tunis had made progress in certain spheres: banking, the merchant marine, technical education, agricultural education. She is prepared to give scholarships in these fields to students from other African countries and to exchange technicians.

Finally Tunis desired to emphasise the importance of establishing a permanent Secretariat for the Conference of Independent African States to maintain the correspondence with African countries and thus render possible inter-African co-operation.

President Kwame Nkrumah to Emperor Haile Sellassie

On the eve of his inauguration as President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah cabled the following message to the Emperor Haile Sellassie, congratulating him on his opening address to the Conference of Independent African States:

His Imperial Majesty
Emperor Haile Sellassie,
Addis Ababa.

I have been deeply touched by the warmth and sincerity of your opening address to the Conference of African States. On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, I send your Imperial Majesty our most hearty congratulations.

KWAME NKRUMAH,
Prime Minister.

June 16, 1960.

His Imperial Majesty replied:

The Right Honourable Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,
Prime Minister, Accra.

We thank you for your kind message of felicitations concerning our address in opening the Conference of African States. The solidarity manifested by yourself and other African leaders on this occasion should be a cause of gratification and encouragement to all peoples of Africa.

HAILE SELLASSIE I, Emperor.

June 20, 1960.
Addis Ababa.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE to BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

News of the crisis in the Congo arrived while the Conference was in session; accordingly the President despatched the following cable:

H.E. The Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Brussels.

The Second Conference of Independent States is deeply concerned at certain news reports referring to large scale movements of troops from neighbouring countries on the frontiers of the Belgian Congo. The Conference wishes to remind your Government that such troop movements can constitute a threat to the territorial integrity of the Congo for whose defence your Government are still fully responsible. The Conference would like to be informed of the veracity of this news and to receive an assurance from the Belgian Government that all necessary steps have been taken to counter this threat.

YILMA DERESSA,
President of the Conference.

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ETHIOPIA

Ato Menasse Lemma, who is responsible for Economic and financial matters in the Emperor of Ethiopia's recently formed private cabinet, headed the Ethiopian delegation to the Conference.

He expressed his consciousness of the great effort and ability which had made it possible for practical, concerted measures to be taken by this conference to implement its ambitious programme. The first conference of Independent African States at Accra, the Conference at Monrovia, the Accra Conference on atomic tests and the manifold efforts by the informal permanent machinery of co-ordination during the past two years had all prepared the way for the action he believed it would now be possible to take.

He commended the excellent report prepared by the informal permanent machinery entitled "Appraisal of the Implementation of the Resolutions of Accra and Monrovia Conferences," and its recital of what has actually been accomplished to implement those resolutions. The lack of success in certain fields, frankly acknowledged in the Report, was, he considered, more than counterbalanced by success in other directions and by the far-sighted initiatives taken to give life and substance to the resolutions adopted by the Conferences.

African Unity Essential

This Conference had the task of building "firmly and with daring" upon the "solid foundations of thought, labour and initiative" already laid.

"Our essential problem," the Ethiopian delegate continued, " is always to achieve the natural unity of which we have been deprived by colonialism. Everything has been done to prevent any such practical unity under the imperialist theory of 'divide and rule' which seeks to create and propagate differences, and if possible, to lead into conflict local peculiarities which should, in fact, be complimentary and conducive to the establishment of a strong African community.

"To achieve unity of purpose an atmosphere must be created which will guarantee the harmonious co-operation of African States in all fields. Co-operation to solve their common problems is essential to the progress of the African peoples.

"African countries must of necessity import capital goods for developing their natural resources, but they must avoid entanglement in a political turmoil which would have detrimental effects on them. In the field of economics, attention should be given," he said, "to the pitfalls into which African States may fall, *vis à vis* the united economic front organised by European and other non-African States. The conception of Eurafrica, as envisaged by the promoters of the European community of Coal and Steel, is merely a device to render Africa a lucrative European market. One doubts whether the European Powers have any sincere intention to develop Africa. It is imperative that Africans be vigilant toward plans emanating from such organisations as the 'Inner Six' and the 'Outer Seven' so that the political freedom African States are acquiring may not be hampered by a new form of colonialism."

Nuclear Warfare

Expressing disappointment that, despite the protest of African States, in defiance of world public opinion and a Resolution of the United Nations, France had persisted in exploding an atomic device in the Sahara, the Ethiopian delegate proposed the Conference request the United Nations to prepare a draft declaration banning all nuclear and thermonuclear tests.

South-West Africa Should Be Declared Independent

The tragic problem of South-West Africa had hitherto been considered in its legal aspect. The Ethiopian delegation now proposed this conference should urge at the United Nations that South-West Africa be declared independent, without waiting any longer for the lengthy and complicated procedures of the Trusteeship system.

The Trust Territory of Ruanda Urundi should also be given independence without further delay.

A Programme for South Africa

An effective programme should be initiated to force the South African Government to come to reason and to extend human dignity and fundamental rights to the African people of South Africa; the Ethiopian delegation would move a resolution in this regard.

"The economic development of Africa is all-important," urged the Ethiopian delegate. " We believe," he added, "that prosperity and higher standards of living are an essential guarantee for the political independence and the stability of our great continent."

Air Transport: Ethiopian Air Lines Would Consider a Merger

"Of the six inhabited continents, Africa has the poorest communications. It is essential for the African States to enlarge the basis of our trade by finding new outlets for our exports and more convenient sources for our imports. To attain this goal an ever-increasing movement of trade between African States is a necessity. We must direct the development of our transport facilities, road, rail and the most important medium of international travel in modern times—air services—toward this end. Thus we may stimulate at an accelerated rate the movement of persons, ideas and goods, and may knit more closely the African peoples to achieve the unity of our continent. My delegation intends to move a resolution to this effect.

"For the immediate future and for a long time to come, aviation will remain the backbone of our transport. We should default in our duty to our ideal of unity were we to relax our efforts in this supremely important sector of our economic life. The accession to independence of new African States should force us to yet greater efforts to ensure that aviation on this continent becomes an essentially African enterprise devoted to the service of its peoples and to their best interests.

"The need of progress in this field is so urgent that we must devote our efforts at this conference to devise means to meet its challenge. As an immediate practical step, my delegation would wish the Third Committee of the Conference to give close attention to ascertain the degree to which air lines and air rights might be pooled or otherwise consolidated.

"Ethiopia has had to build her airline in face of the most unremitting foreign opposition. In consequence she is proud of having achieved a successful independent

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African enterprise, despite hostile pressures. Nevertheless Ethiopia is prepared to consider an equitable merger or pooling of rights, skills and capital for the common good."

Telecommunications

"It is equally important to develop better telecommunications. Our Continental system leaves much to be desired. Rates are appallingly high and service very poor. For the rapid exchange of contacts necessary for the development of trade within Africa is urgently necessary to remedy this situation.

An African Bank

"As has been said by my august Sovereign, it is highly important that we give serious thought to the establishment of an African Bank to stimulate inter-African trade, to facilitate payment between States and to contribute through its funds, or by borrowing, to African projects.

Cultural and Social Development

"If I have devoted considerable attention to the economic problems, it is because in the fiercely competitive world of today, the economic stability and progress of our continent are the basis for that unity we want and we must achieve.

"The political and economic development of our continent in general, and of each African State in particular, must go hand in hand with social and cultural improvements. In fact they are so closely related that a deliberation on one of them entails consequences for the others, which, unless viewed and considered together, might jeopardise the smooth, over-all progress of our continent. Our continent must know itself, and our people must assert their personality.

"Through cultural and social collaboration, we must pave the way and prepare the background for political and economic co-operation. We must build a sense of unity and a oneness of purpose among ourselves. This can only be had if we know each other and appreciate each other's culture. Therefore, we must strengthen our cultural bond which colonial rule has weakened by fragmenting the continent and by accentuating tribal separatism, language variations and religious and social differences. We must dig deeper and base our unity on strong cultural appreciation, casting aside these superficial and accidental differences of tribe, religion, language, etc. Indeed it is not in keeping with this century of interdependence to capitalise on such minute peculiarities. In this sphere my delegation firmly believes this Conference should consider concrete ways and means to implement the resolutions of the first Conference of Independent African States, as well as exploring new approaches.

"Mr. President, it would seem to my delegation that the development of our culture can be promoted by encouraging research activities and projects in our institutions of higher learning in such fields as history, archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, geography, and so forth, and by establishing a genuinely African educational system for our youth attain that unity for which we are striving."

Scholarships

Scholarship schemes are a productive contribution. "Ethiopia is doing her share in a modest way. During the first Conference of Independent African States, the granting of 200 scholarships by my august Sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, was announced. This programme is now completing its second year, and students from over 17 African countries are now studying in our various institutions of higher learning. In addition the Ethiopian Government has granted 30 scholarships for South African students whose parents or relatives were slaughtered at Sharpeville. Ethiopia has also so far granted over 30 scholarships for various dependent territories to enable students of these territories to study in our secondary schools—all these in addition to the scholarships offered to the United Nations Trust territories.

"Our problems still remain wide. In the many political and economic struggles that lie ahead, even long after all the Continent of Africa has become free, we must not forget that colonialism has exploited us. We have a long road to travel before we can compete on equal terms with those same interests which have grown at our expense; we must learn to maintain an African economic and political front.

"This is the great challenge to which we must address ourselves. For its part, the Ethiopian Delegation is confident that all delegates will rise as one man to meet this challenge and make this Conference a culminating point in this age old struggle for the freedom and equality of man."

MOROCCO

Mr. Ahmed Taibi Benhima, Secretary-General in the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed the Moroccan delegation. He warmly thanked the Ethiopian Government for "the remarkable organisation" of facilities for the Conference and its delegates "which had rendered our work so easy and our sojourn so agreeable." "Addis Ababa," he said, "is one of the oldest capitals on the African Continent and one of the first where our struggle for liberation originated."

A factor in the success of colonialism, he continued, had been the "domestication" and "docility" of the African chiefs under colonial rule. "The dignity and courage with which His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia opposed the invaders of his country was the starting point of an action against colonialism, in which the people of Africa have united behind their leaders." Their Ethiopian action had an echo in Morocco where the people had followed the same road to liberty and their sovereign had had "a similar destiny."

Africa has all the raw materials that Europe and America possess and therefore, by public and semi-public investments and by international assistance, can achieve an industrialisation which will enable the African peoples to free themselves from dependence upon the colonial powers.

The economy of Morocco was essentially complementary to that of France; Moroccan commerce had been with France to the extent of 83 per cent. After four

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Sayed Ahmed Taibi Benhima (Morocco)

years' effort commerce with France now amounts to 47 per cent. Moroccan imports from France amounted to 156 milliards of francs in 1959; they are now 144 milliards. Moroccan exports, on the other hand, have risen from 118 milliards to 144 milliards. Trade deficits with countries from which Morocco imports certain basic foodstuffs, for example, sugar and tea, had been wiped out by 1959 and a favourable balance has now been secured. What Morocco has done, other African countries can do and many can do more.

In protest against the explosion by France of an atomic device in the Sahara, Morocco had denounced the diplomatic connection she had with France and had recalled her Ambassador from Paris. The explosion of the bomb has worsened the relations of Morocco with France, which were already very bad and has accelerated the country's determination to solidify African unity, political, economic and cultural. The Moroccan delegation has a resolution to move on this point.

By direct order of the Moroccan Government, the delegation fully supports the proposal of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, that a second conference of the nations represented at Bandung should be held.

The Moroccan delegate declared his country's intention to remain outside the East-West blocs. "It is not our intention," he said, "to form a front against anyone or to remain in isolation. For Africa to assume her true vocation she must be an active and responsible element in the international community. The unreserved accomplishment of this duty will confer upon her the strength to be heard and to be respected."

SUDAN

Sayed Ahmed Kheir, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan and leader of the Sudanese delegation, brought greetings from President Abboud, the government and people of the Sudan. Everyone in his country, he said, is following the deliberations of the Conference with interest and wishes for its success. The gathering in Addis Ababa, he declared, is of special significance to the Sudanese, "the nearest neighbour and kin to the Ethiopians and their comrades in arms" in their struggle for liberation. "We are here among a people," he said, "who except for five years of struggle, have always been free. It augurs well for our second Conference of Independent African States that it has been opened by a man whose special place among the freedom fighters of the whole world is already honoured and recognised.

"Since the meeting in Accra, two years ago, there has been a great deal of progress. There were eight of us then, and we are fifteen now, thanks to our own efforts and those of freedom lovers all over the world. When we meet next, our family, according to our present schedule, will be more than doubled—but I hope and pray that by that time all Africa will be free."

The Sudanese delegate now issued an invitation on behalf of his government to the third Conference of African Independent States to meet in Khartoum.

He went on to declare that the partition of Africa had not been accidental: Europe had sat down at a

Sayed Ahmed Kheir (Sudan)

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table and shared out Africa. "Now that it presumably knows better" Europe should surrender Africa, in its own interest and in the interest of the world as a whole. Africans, he said, have a great deal to give; their energies must be released.

Peace Loving Nations Should Call Their Own Summit

This cannot be fully realised without peace on earth. The failure of the Summit Conference, though disappointing, was not unexpected. He begged the Conference to join the "liberal courageous voices" urging that the failure of the summit should not stop "those who are interested in peace from making a further heave toward it."

Turning to Algeria he said, "the gallant fighters in the hills and valleys, the towns and villages of Algeria have elevated their case to a symbol of the indestructible human urge for freedom." They had put the whole world to shame. The Sudan had done what it could to help them to the best of its humble means and was still prepared to do what was possible to give further assistance.

Horrible Isolation of South African Government

The South African refugees who were attending the Conference and all the Africans of South Africa knew they were welcome everywhere on the continent; they were not alone in their struggle. It was "their self-appointed masters" who were alone. "They may try to avoid the fact of their horrible isolation, but they will have to face up to it in the end. The policy of apartheid they want to enforce, in the face of world opposition, is bound to bring their downfall. It is a march against history. Master races have always paid the price of delusion."

The Sudan Government, acting on the resolution adopted by the Accra Conference last April, has boycotted South African goods, as well as making a small contribution to the victims of police action.

The South African Government, he added, is unworthy to govern South-West Africa, a ward of the international community. The United Nations must take over the territory and prepare it for self-government. within a specified period.

Central African Federation in its present form, he continued, is unacceptable. France, "in her quest for grandeur", had exploded her bomb in the Sahara, disregarding the protests of the African people "who were the first to come to her aid when she was looking for friends in her moment of crisis."

Mr. Ahmed Kheir urged closer economic co-operation between Independent African States, "it is the duty", he said, "of the larger units to see that the smaller and poorer brothers are not wholly dependent on aid from outside the continent."

The Government of the Sudan would do its part in co-operating in the field of economic development and also in the field of education

Mahamoud Youssuf Aden (Somalia)

SOMALIA

The delegate of ex-Italian Somalia, which was then on the verge of its independence and has since achieved it, was the Minister of Education in the transitional Somalia Government, Mr. Mahamoud Youssuf Aden. He conveyed greetings to the Conference from the President of the Somalia National Assembly, Mr. Adan Abdule, the President of the National Assembly, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Abdulahi Issa. Having conveyed these personal messages, the Somalia delegate expressed thanks "first as neighbours and then as cousins" to the Emperor and Government of Ethiopia for the kind hospitality and the arrangements made for their comfort during their stay in Ethiopia. Somalia, he said, is happy to be among the African countries becoming independent to swell the strength of free Africa. He added: "We are pledged and dedicated to the ideal of African Union, and, in earnest of this we have taken practical steps for the Union of the two dependent Somali territories—the Somaliland Protectorate and Somalia—under one flag, one Parliament and one Head of State, as soon as independence is reached on July 1, 1960." He continued: "Africa awakens from a long hypnotic sleep in which it slumbered for centuries. while the colonial vampire sucked its blood. The vampire has not yet disappeared and roams about waiting for us to sleep once more, pillowed on our incomplete victory." The Somalia delegate was extremely eloquent, but his assertion here is rhetorical rather than authentic. Ethiopia certainly did not "slumber in a hypnotic sleep for centuries." Her history is one of unremitting struggle to maintain her independence.

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The Chiefs or Sultans of some of the coastal tribes, it is true irresponsibly signed agreements with representatives of the British, French and Italian Governments* which resulted in a ribbon development of European colonies around the entire coast of Ethiopia and entirely hemmed her in, leaving her dependent on the good pleasure of the colonial powers for her commerce and cultural intercourse, as well as for arms for her self-defence. Her victory at Adowa was achieved by the astuteness and clever diplomacy of the Emperor Menelik II and his cousin Ras Makonnen, who succeeded in procuring arms which enabled them to face the Italians on fairly equal terms, as well as by the mutual rivalries of the European powers at that time. When Italy attacked again in 1935, the mutual agreement of the three European powers, France, Italy and Britain, prevented Ethiopia from obtaining arms. The failure to implement the League of Nations covenant to defend Ethiopia against Italian aggression completed the treacherous betrayal.

One may pity the Chiefs and Sultans who signed away the freedom of the lands where their nomadic followers roamed and the access to the sea of the farming people of the interior. They were ignorant men who did not realise the meaning of the "protection" they had accepted. In most cases they did not at all know, in all probability, the meaning of the document they had signed, but they knew very well that the Europeans who had come in their warships had promised them payment, in most cases an annual subsidy, in return for their agreement, to whatever it was these foreigners asked of them. The history of those transactions is a very sad one. It can be read in the agreements which are still extant. The subsidies were nothing of importance to the Governments of the European powers, but they were a substantial fortune in those times to the persons who received them for their personal benefit.

Their poor followers in the coastal areas and the larger populations of the interior were the sufferers from the folly and cupidity of those who accepted the European silver. One can but say they did not understand what the "protection" they were paid for would involve, as the Europeans consolidated their power. Their folly was not unique; it has been known to exist elsewhere.

To tell the truth the Ethiopians were not "slumbering" when the coast was sold. Their history has been an almost continuous fight against the invasion of Ethiopia: Theodore, Johannes and Menelik fought, each in his turn, and their people with them, to preserve the freedom of the Horn of Africa. Theodore and Johannes died in defence of African liberty. Menelik could not win back the coast, but he saved the interior to remain Africa's last stronghold. Let this be ever remembered by all Africa, not least by the descendants of those who were sold by their ignorant local rulers in the days of the European "scamble for Africa".

The Somalia delegate continued:

"Let us beware of complacency! We should be the more vigilant, for cannon sounds are heard from North Africa, where a whole people is fighting for freedom,—and was it not only yesterday that we were the unfortunate witnesses of that atomic mushroom in our continent?

"Brothers, the more we become conscious of these things, the more we should close our ranks, elbow to elbow, shoulder to shoulder, facing those who wish our divisions.

"Free Africa is now spread over the greater part of the continent. We have a great mission and have to harness all our pooled power and resources for the fulfilment of our ideals for Africa."

The advice is good: "Elbow to elbow, shoulder to shoulder." The Somalia delegate continued with truth:

"We have to remove and unlearn a lot of rubbish thoughts and beliefs which have sunk deep into us and are likely to inhibit us in our dealings with each other. The peoples of Africa must come together with open arms prepared to embrace each other, with understanding and mutual respect in a spirit of complete brotherly co-operation. Thus only, can we get out of the mire of frustrations which fettered us in the past. By reaching a better understanding of each other, we shall make it easier to bring about the unity of effort and thought which will release to its full capacity the dynamic force which is latent in Africa."

How profoundly true are those words of the Somalia delegate! Yes, the "rubbish thoughts" inculcated by colonialism have got to be unlearned. The preaching of "divide," in order to rule, has done too much harm in the past colonial era; it must not be carried over into the era of freedom, either on the Horn of Africa, or in any other part of the continent.

The outstretched arms to embrace the African brothers must not be reserved for those who lie far away; the embrace is all the more necessary for the nearest African brothers who live just the other side of the frontier drawn by the European colonists whose reign has come to an end.

The Somalia delegate spoke of boundaries:

"Furthermore, colonialism has left in Africa and in Asia miserable heritages, to ensure that our unity would not be achieved on its departure.

"We find ourselves facing today problems of boundaries all over the continent; these will most endanger our African Unity, for which we are here assembled

(Continued on next page)

* Having secured a foothold on the Red Sea coast near Assab, the Italians obtained from the local Sultan of Aussa on July 7, 1887, permission to build a road from Assab toward the interior. For this permission they agreed to pay 1,500 Maria Theresa thalers a year. The thaler fluctuated according to the price of silver from 2s. to 3s. in value. On August 10, 1887 the same Sultan handed the administration of justice in his area to the Italians in return for 18,000 thalers to be paid to him within four years. In December, 1889 he recognised the whole Danakil coast, from Amfila to Ras Dumeira, as an Italian possession.

On March 11, 1862, Sultan Diny and other chiefs ceded to France the harbour of Obok and the plain from Ras Aly to Ras Dumeira for 50,000 thalers (50,500 francs).

On September 21, 1884, the Sultan of Tajourah "gives his country to France," for 100 thalers a month for himself and 80 thalers a month for the Vizir.

Both these examples are given in Hertslet, "Map of Africa by Treaty," quoting for the first instance, "the Italian Green Book," 1890, page 376, and for the second, De Clercq, Vol. IV. page 418.

A number of Treaties were made by the Somalis with Great Britain. The Colonial Powers were pleased to accept territory in return for payment as warfare was more costly.

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief Delegate of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Hussein Zulifika Sabre, brought greetings from the President of the Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Government and people.

He paid tribute to Ethiopia—"a country which," he said, "has been able to maintain through thousands of years the tradition of freedom and independence, never wavering, never hesitating in sacrificing lives, and whatever else human beings hold as most dear, so that no outsider could infringe its freedom and liberty.

"As the representative of the United Arab Republic, it is a matter of special pride to me to point to the numerous historical and unbreakable ties which have bound, and are still binding, our two countries."

East-West Struggle

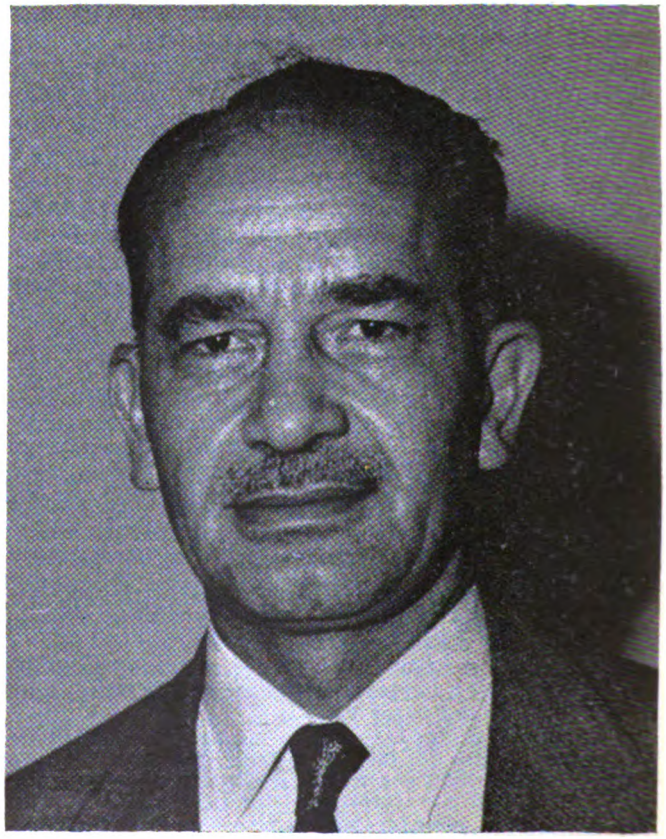
"The world is in the frightful grip of the death-struggle between East and West; which threatens to engulf all humanity in an unholy holocaust. In Power politics no hold is barred; everything is permissible. Either side is out to get as many countries as it can to prop its own military bloc. Materialism is reigning again in this era which Power blocs wish to make the era of State feudalism.

"But the African fight for independence, the African fight against racial discrimination and all its evil practices, helps to remind the world every minute of the day that the individual is still the symbol of humanity, that States are institutions which came into being to serve the individuals, and not to become instruments through which the smaller nations are subjugated into a serfdom more vile than that of the darkest Middle Ages, since it is serfdom on a mass scale. It is a serfdom of nations, nay of whole continents, a serfdom in which the whole resources of the small nations are geared to the selfish war effort of the Big Powers and their lust for still more power."

Algerian Conflict: General De Gaulle's Offer

"How sadly misguided are the French! The true glory of France, I contend, resides in the revival of its revolutionary spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity, so that it may be sincerely projected into its international relations. Atom bombs, were they even to be of the most modern types, are but a sorry stop-gap or rather a misguided deviation.

"It is now clear that de Gaulle's offer was never sincere. Neither was the one which he televised two days



Hussein Zulifika Sabre (United Arab Republic)

(Continued from preceding page)

today. These problems should be treated urgently by the interested States in a friendly and co-operative manner in the African spirit and justice."

Surely in this time when all Africa upholds the United Nations and proclaims the gospel of African Unity and co-operation, the African people will not permit any heritage left by colonialism to destroy their unity and mutual goodwill, the spirit of brotherhood now expressed with so much eloquence!

Guinea and Liberia have given a valuable example; Ghana and Guinea have also shown that they do not pay lip-service only to the African brotherhood.

All true friends of Africa and of African freedom sincerely hope that as the colonial governments, which sowed discord, return whence they came, the problems they created will not continue to divert attention from the real problems facing the African people; the need to abolish poverty, to develop the natural resources of Africa for the benefit of her people, the necessity of damming the fugitive rivers in order that dry lands may be irrigated and hydro-electric power may be generated; the need to expand and connect transport and communications, roads, railways, air services, telegraphic, telephonic and radio services.

All this has been fully discussed at the conferences of Independent African States. Every delegation has expressed its aspirations for the realisation of these essential aims; quarrels about boundaries, or any other matter, could only postpone the better life for which the peoples of Africa are yearning and for which they have waited far too long.

Nor are such quarrels nowadays to be tolerated; the day for them has long been passed; today all Africa is and must be working to overcome those great shortages of water, which, in former times, caused conflicts between tribe and tribe and rendered the position of the boundaries the colonial powers were making—where no boundaries were before—questions of survival or starvation for the people and their herds.

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ago. But I would draw your attention to one sentence used by de Gaulle himself, when he said it was not easy to solve in one day a problem which has existed for 130 years. That one sentence clearly shows that de Gaulle himself is aware that the African problem began 130 years ago with the occupation of Algerian soil by French troops. De Gaulle himself acknowledges that the occupation was the cause of all that is now happening in Algeria. If he is really seeking a just solution, let him attack the problem at the root and withdraw all his troops across the Mediterranean to France, where they rightfully belong. It behoves all countries which supported France last year to reconsider their position, or the onus of the large-scale slaughter still going on will be theirs.

Big Power Pressure at U.N.O.

"The Charter of the United Nations speaks in its preamble of fundamental human rights. Where are those human rights? Are they to be found between the lines of the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Algeria? Are they to be found in the terrorised towns of the Union of South Africa (for example, Sharpeville) or in the arbitrary jails set up by the big plantation owners over there? Are they to be found in the Bantu Act for education? (You will excuse me. You all know, of course, that the word 'education' is a misnomer.) Are they to be found in the restrictive laws now prevailing in Uganda, or in the state of emergency which again has been clamped down on the Nyeri district of Kenya?

"What are the specific actions which the United Nations could have initiated and which were blocked either by Big Power pressure or through military bloc companionship? Some representative of one Big Power or another would privately concede: 'yes, we do agree that the Algerians have the right of self-determination, but what can we do? France is our ally. Without her, NATO would be greatly weakened . . .' And then they proceed to feed France with still more guns and to pump into her crumbling economy still more money to help her to kill still more Algerians. The above mentioned words were personally said to me by the representative of a country much more powerful than France is, or ever hopes to be.

"To know the true value of so-called neutrality, you have only to witnesss the inability of such a Big Power to vote in accordance with its conscience, or at least with what it has professed. No country is really free to express an honest opinion in international matters unless it is tied to no military bloc or defence agreements with any of the Big Powers. The freewill of the people was never respected when Nyasaland was forced to federate with the apartheid-infested territories of the Rhodesias.

"And what of Rhodesia itself? Was it not originally a British protectorate? Why did Britain choose to hand over the fate of those territories to the small minority of entrenched Europeans, rather than accede to the right of self-determination of its peoples? Britain cannot exonerate herself from blame or responsibility.

"The United Nations is an admirable organisation whose carefully drafted principles can serve international co-operation and preserve world peace and security—if only the Big Powers would abide by them—if only the Big Powers would not bring pressure to bear — political, economic or otherwise — so as to compel smaller countries to cast their votes in blatant contradiction to those very principles which the Big Powers themselves proclaim and extol at every turn of the tongue because they are themselves held in the grip of a force very much stronger than belief in principles—military blocs companionship!

"Last year every single item of the Pakistani resolution on Algeria passed the test of the two-thirds majority, only to fail a few minutes later when passed to the vote in its entirety. I shudder to think of the various and concentrated forms of pressure to which some countries had been subjected during those few short minutes. But I would shudder still more, as would any man with still a shred of humanity in his heart, to realise that since that ill-fated vote, lives, brave lives, have been lost every minute of the day, every minute of the night, and that blood, human blood, has not for one minute ceased to flow on the glorious Algerian soil.

"The French Government is contemplating the dismembering of Algeria. Already it has delimited the Sahara into a distinct area. But that is not enough—it has already been hinted that the fertile coastline usurped by European settlers might be separated from the rest of the country. If we examine Aricle 16 of the Charter of the United Nations, we find it is concerned with the progressive development of trust territories toward self-government or independence. The Government of the Union of South Africa simply ignores this vital principle as regards the unhappy territory of South-West Africa.

"It is but a simple step from transgression against individual human rights, such as now prevails in South Africa, to a trespass upon the integrity of a whole nation. In this connection we must not forget that originally the mandate over South West Africa was conferred upon Britain to be exercised by the Union of South Africa on her behalf. In this case, also, Britain cannot exonerate herself from blame or responsibility.

"The Big Powers have been encouraged to ignore all the basic and vital principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, because when they were first violated, at their instigation, many smaller countries, either under political or more often under economic pressure or simply because of misguidance or misinformation, chose to accept the monstrous and artificial solutions laid before them in United Nations debates as "accomplished facts"—thus paving the way to the very dangerous possibility of creating established precedents."

Palestine

The delegate of the United Arab Republic now made a strong attack on Jewish immigration into Palestine, which he termed "the rape of Palestine," and on the Jewish State of Israel.

The United Arab Republic he declared is prepared to take part in economic and cultural collaboration between the African States.

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Ethiopia Calls for World Prohibition of Atomic Arms

ALL NATIONS SHOULD SHARE DECISION

Ato Haddis Alemayehou, Ethiopian Delegate to the United Nations, raised the question of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which is causing widespread alarm in many countries and is a threat of mass annihilation to all peoples.

He urged, as the Emperor Haile Sellassie had done in his inaugural address to the Conference, that this question, so pregnant with menace to all nations, should no longer be left solely to the decision of the Great Powers. All the States members of the United Nations should now come into the discussions and should take part in the decision.

Hitherto, said the Ethiopian Delegate, the General Assembly of the United Nations had passively assumed that only the Great Powers could decide this vital issue and had contented itself with appealing to the Great Powers to come to a decision.

The peoples and Governments of all countries, including the Great Powers who possess these terrible weapons, had expressed agreement that the stock of nuclear weapons which have been manufactured should be destroyed and that such weapons should not be used. Unfortunately though the four Great Powers had expressed their agreement with this general opinion in principle, they had found themselves unable to agree as to how the principle should be applied.

If the small and medium Powers, who are the great majority in the United Nations, would abandon their passive attitude and take an active part in solving this problem they could bring about a declaration of the United Nations prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of mass destruction and could order the destruction of the stock already manufactured together with all necessary safeguards. Such action would assist the Great Powers to solve their own dilemma. A declaration prohibiting nuclear weapons by the 81 States members of the United Nations, supported by the public opinion of the world, would pave the way for the signature of binding covenants by all the Governments.

The speaker recalled that toward the close of the nineteenth century the development of weapons having the capacity of wide diffusion, such as poison gas and related substances, and the possibility that they might be used in war had caused public apprehension. It was argued then that the use of such substances would cause unnecessary suffering to the combatants in the field and by their wide diffusion "they would cause such physical and mental suffering to the civilian population that, this being beyond the scope of war, the employment of these substances must be prohibited as contrary to the laws of humanity."

The rulers of the various nations in those days were apparently more responsive to popular opinion and more interested in preserving mankind and its civilisation than those of the present. Accordingly by the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868 the Powers represented there issued a declaration prohibiting the use of poison gas and other injurious material of wide diffusion as contrary to the laws of humanity.

This declaration was followed by a convention adopted by the Hague Peace Conference of 1899:

"The undersigned Plenipotentiaries of the Powers represented at the International Peace Conference at the Hague, inspired by the sentiments which found expression in the Declaration of St. Petersburg of the 29th November (11th December) 1868, declare as follows: The Contracting Powers agree to abstain from the use of projectiles, the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases."

The Geneva Protocol of 1925, signed by the States members of the League of Nations, amplified the Hague Convention:

"The undersigned Plenipotentiaries etc. . . . , Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and of all analogues liquids, materials or devices, have been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world; and whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are parties; and to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations; Declare: That, the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use

CABLES TO FRANCE AND ALGERIA

On June 23, the Conference of African Independent States sent cables to the head of the French Government and of the Algerian Provisional Government hoping that goodwill would prevail in the Franco-Algerian negotiations.

The telegrams were signed by Ako Adjei, first Vice-President of the Conference:

H.E. General de Gaulle,
President of the French Republic, Paris.

The Conference of Independent African States regards your statement of June 14, as a contribution to the cause of peace in Algeria and throughout the world. We have noted with satisfaction the positive reply given by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to your offer and we hope that the Franco-Algerian negotiations will succeed in finding a solution for the Algerian problem based on the loyal and sincere application of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination.

(Signed) AKO ADJEI,
First Vice-President of the Conference.

H.E. Mr. Ferhat Abbas,
Prime Minister of the Provisional Government
of the Algerian Republic, Tunis.

The Conference of Independent African States would like to inform you of its satisfaction at your Government's decision to send a delegation to France to try to reach a peaceful and negotiated solution of the Algerian problem based on the right of your people to self determination.

We extend best wishes for the success of your initiative and the realisation of the aspirations of your people and of their right to independence.

(Signed) AKO ADJEI,
First Vice-President of the Conference.

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of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be found as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration. The high contracting parties will exert every effort to induce other States to accede to the present Protocol."

The Ethiopian Delegation, the speaker urged, consider the earlier international conventions and Protocols prohibiting the use of deleterious substances of wide diffusion injurious to civilian populations as contrary to the laws of humanity, should cover nuclear, thermonuclear and other similar devices, the evils of which are graver and more widespread than the substances prohibited in former times by an international comity of nations less highly organised than at present at a time believed to be less enlightened.

He read therefore a resolution which the Ethiopian delegation will doubtless move at the United Nations in due course and which surely will have the support of all the African Independent States.

The General Assembly

Mindful of its responsibility under the Charter in the maintenance of international peace and security as well as in the consideration of principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments.

Considering that, while the progress made in the field of disarmament is slow, the rapid development of modern weapons of mass destruction and wide diffusion, coupled with the tense world situation, makes it imperative for the United Nations to take all precautionary measures designed to mitigate human suffering which might result from any possible war.

Recalling that, under similar circumstances in the past, precautionary measures, taken by the civilised community of the world in prohibiting, through declarations, conventions and protocols, the use for war purposes, as contrary to the laws of humanity, of certain weapons and substances of wide diffusion and causing human suffering, have greatly contributed to the discouragement of the use of those weapons and substances in subsequent wars.

Recalling that weapons and substances prohibited from being used in wars as being contrary to the laws of humanity by the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868, The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 and the Geneva Protocol of 1925, to which the majority of Member States of the United Nations have been parties, were those projected by any means and having wide diffusion and causing human suffering;

Considering that nuclear and thermonuclear weapons projected by any means, have wide diffusion and cause human suffering to an immeasurably great scale;

1. **Declares** nuclear, thermonuclear and all related substances to be weapons of wide diffusion and causing human suffering within the meaning of the aforesaid declaration, convention and protocols, and, as such, their use in war to be prohibited as being contrary to the laws of humanity;

2. **Declares** further, States using nuclear, thermonuclear and all related weapons and/or substances in wars, to be acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as such to be committing a crime against mankind and its civilisation;

3. **Recommends** that a United Nations Conference of "Prohibition of the use of Nuclear Weapons for War Purposes" be called as soon as possible to sign a convention outlawing the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons in war;

4. **Appeals** to all States, Members and non-Members of the United Nations, to become parties to the Convention;

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to make the necessary preparations, including preparation of a draft convention for the use of the Conference, and to report on the result achieved by the Conference to the next session of the General Assembly.

Representatives of Peoples Struggling to be Free

ALGERIA

The greatest ovation of the conference, the warmest and most passionate applause, the most fervent atmosphere of solidarity and whole-hearted admiration greeted the chief delegate of the Algerian Provisional Government, which has established itself in the teeth of bitter and relentless war. The representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria were accorded the status of Delegates.

Mr. Mahmed Yazid, Minister of Information in the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, when the storm of applause had abated, paid high tribute from his gallant warrior government to the Emperor and people of Ethiopia for their own earlier heroic resistance to imperialist aggression.

"As His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie pointed out in his inaugural address, the aim of our Conference is not only to translate the aspirations of our peoples into deeds but also patiently to discover all the necessary means of establishing a just peace in the world.

"The Emperor of Ethiopia, one of the most valiant heroes of African resistance to foreign domination, was the right person to utter those noble words. He reminded us that we must always keep the task before us in its true perspective: the struggle for the national independence of our peoples, their economic development and the restoration of their cultural heritage are necessarily linked with the desire to participate in the task of freeing mankind from oppression, want and ignorance.

"We shall pay great attention to these precepts, particularly as they stem from the heroic struggle of the people of Ethiopia against imperialism.

"This struggle will remain a symbol to all Africans. Africa as a whole will also recall the glorious page written by Ethiopia in the annals of our continental history.

"We shall never forget that Ethiopia has had to struggle singlehanded against fascism and that the West allowed our Ethiopian brothers to be slaughtered, while it remained content with a flow of beautiful words. Today we find these same Western powers making light of the principles of freedom and independence, from the North to the South, from the East to the West of Africa."

It was touching and deeply impressive to find members of the Algerian Provisional Government, fighting a bitter struggle against a great European power never-

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Mahmed Yazid (Algeria)

theless able to direct their thoughts objectively to the problems of other African peoples, and to plans for unity among African peoples who have already gained freedom—a unity in freedom they hope to share.

The Algerian delegate continued:

"It is with great feeling and pride that we today salute the nations of Africa on the verge of independence. This new step forward on the road to our freedom has been made possible by the struggle of all the peoples of Africa without distinction.

"We should now like to deal with the exciting question of African Unity. It is unquestionably a decisive event in world history to see peoples who have only just attained independence, or are still under foreign domination, meeting on the basis of a common determination in order to transcend the narrow limits of nationalism in more ways than one. We cannot but pay tribute to the wisdom and foresight of the African leaders who have raised the problem of the unification of our continent as the basic element in the future of Africa. This concern for unity finds its justification in our conscious belief that the political, economic and cultural preoccupations are interdependent."

Turning to the Algerian struggle the Minister said:

"The war in Algeria is in its sixth year and the colonialists have not succeeded in breaking down Algerian resistance. France has mobilised her military and economic potential to its maximum without securing a military victory. Colonialism will never defeat the glorious Army of National Liberation.

"We must emphasise how important it is that the African States should recognise the **Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.** The decisive action of Liberia in recognising our government has strengthened our position and will contribute to the progress of our struggle. We hope other African States will soon join the eight States of our continent who have already recognised us."

"The imperialist Powers have full support among their allies. N.A.T.O. has become an instrument in the war of reconquest which France is conducting in Algeria. The U.S.A. are today the bankers of French colonialism whom they provide with arms. Not content with supplying money and arms to the French expeditionary forces, the U.S.A. are now sending their technicians to Algeria to maintain American aircraft supplied to France.

"We, Algerians, are waging a war imposed on us after every peaceful means of achieving our aspirations had been denied us.

"We are fighting for independence, but are ready to make peace. We think that a democratic, peaceful, negotiated settlement is possible within the frame-work of self-determination by the Algerian people. France should be realistic enough to realise that such a solution is the only one in conformity with her interests.

"The war we are fighting is a war against colonialism, not against the people of France. We record with satisfaction the existence in France of democratically-minded persons, workers, students, and intellectuals, who are fighting for the cause of peace in Algeria. The people of France will some day realise that the prosecution of a colonial war in Algeria is likely to ruin irretrievaby all her chances of co-operation with Africa."

S. AFRICA AND S.-W. AFRICA

A memorandum was submitted to the Conference of Independent African States by the South African observers who attended the Conference representing the Pan-African Congress and the African National Congress of South Africa and the South African Indian Congress, the South-West African National Congress and the South-West African National Union. All these bodies found themselves able to agree on a united memorandum, an exceedingly favourable indication that whatever their origin, they are working harmoniously together against the South African Government's Apartheid policy.

Of the African organisations in South Africa itself, the African National Congress is older than the Pan-African Congress; it has a larger membership and more numerous branches than the younger organisation which was commenced as a " ginger " group to promote more advanced and drastic policies. When, however, the Government applies coercion it makes no distinction between the two organisations and the two organisations coalesce to form a united front to face their oppressors.

The five organisations, four African and one Indian, declared in their united memorandum that the South

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African Government's " Apartheid " policy is " the last stand of white supremacy " in South Africa. Apartheid, they said, has " reduced the African people to a state of pitiable poverty and suffering."

To peaceful representations and legitimate protests, the Government had replied by ruthless oppression, baton charges and shooting. All this had culminated in the savage massacre of Sharpeville.

The South African Government has now declared a "State of Emergency," the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress have been banned; 180 African leaders are in prison, 20,000 Africans are in detention, and all political activity is ruthlessly suppressed.

The African political organisations are nevertheless operating underground and are " preparing the people for a long struggle against white supremacy."

The delegation declared the African people under the Apartheid Government " are now launched in a national struggle which will only end in the complete destruction of white supremacy and the creation of a Society based on the principle of one individual one vote and one vote one value."

The delegation called for international intervention in South Africa. They urged:

1. A boycott of South African goods. To obtain the maximum effect this boycott must be operated by governments.
2. Denial of landing facilities to South African aircraft and refusal to service them.
3. Refusal to load and unload cargo to and from South Africa.

The memorandum expressed appreciation of the fact that large numbers of individuals and organisations and some governments, inside and outside Africa, are already taking the above steps. They expressed the hope that by the end of July, this year, the governments of all Independent African States will be taking a full part in the boycott.

They urged that the present Conference should take the initiative in economic sanctions against South Africa.

South-West Africa

In relation to South-West Africa the delegation asked the Independent African States " to take the case of the Mandate to the International Court of Justice for compulsory jurisdiction, as provided in Article 7 of the Mandate Agreement for South-West Africa. Concurrently," they urged, " diplomatic and other activities against the South African Government should be intensified."

In conclusion the joint delegation expressed the high appreciation of the people of South and South-West Africa of the moral and material support given to their cause by the Independent African States and by the peoples of all Africa. This support, they were aware, is due to " the determination of the peoples and leaders of Africa to rid the entire continent of every trace of colonialism and white domination." The people of South and South-West Africa were resolved to play their full part in the struggle for the liquidation of imperialism in Africa and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The Conference received very warmly the United Delegation from the sorely oppressed people under the harsh rule of the South African Government—refugees all—who would be imprisoned if they returned to their homelands. These delegates explained to the representative of *Ethiopia Observer* that when the State of Emergency was declared the joint executive of the African Congress, which had come together to face the new situation, had instructed the leaders and organisers concerning the course they were now to follow. Some were instructed to leave South African Government territory by any possible clandestine means; some were to disappear within the country for underground activities; others were to continue their usual avocations until arrested. The members of the delegation, having obeyed the instruction to escape from the country, had been able to present themselves at the Conference. After its termination they would travel to other countries to stimulate support for their cause. The youngest of these delegates had been a political organiser since he left school. He had taken his wife and baby to safety in New York. Any unguarded action, he said, would cause a massacre of the South African people. The responsibility borne by the party organisers was therefore very great. Yet the people could not continue in their wretched condition of oppression.

KENYA

The same stirring sympathy as had greeted the delegation of the war-worn Algerian provisional Government and the representatives of the oppressed peoples under South and South-West African apartheid, welcomed also the delegation from Kenya. Its members were fresh from a struggle now promising to be nearing the final stages, but with many barriers and pitfalls yet to be passed.

The delegation of the Kenya African National Union was led by Mr. Gichuri and the statement it laid before the conference was issued by Mr. O. S. Ayodo, member of the Kenya Legislative Council. The "Legco", as it is familiarly termed in the Colony, was formerly a most exclusive assembly, from which Africans were, until recent years, entirely barred.

Having presented thanks to the Independent African States for the help, individual and collective, they have given to the people of Kenya in their struggle for liberty, the statement declared:

"The world has been told that the State of Emergency in Kenya is ended and the Colony is now a normally free country, except in the Nyeri district of the Central Province".

This, however, is not correct: " In so far as the movement passes are concerned, yes, the State of Emergency has ended. All else is still essentially the the same. Political meetings are still controlled by the government, as in the emergency days, and the mentality of the government and that of the European settlers is now even more harmful to the country than during the emergency.

" In declaring the State of Emergency at an end in January of this year, the Governer of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, well said that the Kenya Government would forget the past and start afresh. Africans took these

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words to mean what they would normally imply. We set out to help the government to have this promise fulfilled. Accordingly we demanded the release and return to normal life of Jomo Kenyatta, the leader of Kenya Africans. The Government, however, wish still to connect our leader with the State of Emergency they have declared at an end and refuse to release him. The people of Kenya have used all constitutional means to secure the release of their revered leader, but the government will not listen to them. Let it be known that the people of Kenya will not rest until Jomo Kenyatta is released. Along with that mighty soul are many others, among them, Walter Odede, Ex-Senior Chief Koinange, Fred Kubai, Achieng Oneko, Kungu Karumba and many others who still live in restriction and whose release, in the name of peace, we demand. In another class of restriction belong Mbiyu Koinange and Joseph Murumbi, whom the Kenya Government will not allow to set foot on Kenya soil and remain free people. We declare today that our respect for our arch-leader Jomo Kenyatta and the others referred to above, must be recognised by the Kenya Government.

"The stubborn refusal of the Kenya Government to comply with the demand of the African people, the owners of Kenya, should show the world why we refuse to accept the present Kenya Settler Government.

"We declare before this conference of African patriots that we are earnest in our demand for independence now.

"Since the Colonial Secretary announced the increase of African constituency elected members of the Kenya Legislature, the forces of colonialism have been at work endeavouring to divide the Africans of Kenya and the leaders of the African organisations. These forces are playing up tribalism in order to divide the African people. The mischievous concept of the protection of minority rights, which can only serve to nullify our efforts for effective self-government, is given wide and constant publicity. We have refused to be misled by these hostile forces and will ever remain vigilant against them."

Memorandum of Mr. MASIUDE MULIRO, President of the Kenya African Peoples' Party

"This item is on the agenda of the deliberation of Independent African States. During our Conference in Accra on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa, last April, I spoke on this item. I am pleased that it is on the agenda for finalisation during this Conference of the Independent African States.

"All comrades here assembled know how important financial and material assistance is to a nationalist struggle. This assistance can be most dangerous in the peoples' struggle, especially if it has apron-strings attached to it. The aid we look for, as far as I am concerned, must be regarded as a duty by African Independent States, for which no reward is expected except to see a given territory free from Colonialist and Imperialist exploration. I, for one, and my party will never accept any assistance from anyone, as long as it has any strings attached to it.

"One of the most baffling things is going to be the basis upon which a given nationalist movement in a given territory will be assisted. It is easy to say that only genuine nationalist movements will be helped, but who has to decide, which is the genuine movement. If, for instance, in a given territory there are two or three Political Parties all dedicated to independence and total liberation of their territory but because of some local circumstances they are not one, is it the organisation of Independent States that will decide to which Party to give assistance? If as a result of the general election in that country matters prove to the contrary of the deliberation of Independent States, that will be the beginning of dissension within our African solidarity which we are trying to establish.

"It is my submission that the Independent African States should try as much as possible to assist the nationalist struggle without being looked upon as playing a partisan rôle in the internal politics in various territories.

"The question whether Kenya is to be independent or not, is no longer in question. The question now is when is Kenya taking her place among the independent African States and what sort of independence will it be? The time lies with us; the only part African Independent States can do is to give financial and material assistance for the completion of the work.

"I happened to have been right in the centre of Kenya politics from the time were were only eight Africans in the Kenya Legislature three years back, and I have seen changes from only 10 black faces in the Kenya Legislature, to 26 black faces in the same council in three years, and now I am looking forward to seeing the African majority in the Legislature, as a result of the recent Round-Table Conference in London.

These changes have been effected with only a patched unity among at first, eight African elected members, and later on 14 members. To any outsider, or even to a Kenyan, who lives out of Kenya, the Kenya situation looks very confusing. But it is my submission that the two major Political Parties the Kenya African Peoples' Party and Kenya African National Union are more united on the issue of democratic independence than the Elected Members were in their patched unity. What divides us is more domestic and personal rather than our ultimate objective. We are all determined to speak with one voice demanding our independence today and not tomorrow.

"Our urgent problem in Kenya and in this I would like this Conference of Independent African States to pass resolutions to this effect. We have our dear old ex-Senior Chief Koinange, a man a 100 years of age, confined at Kabarnet in Banngo District, some 250 miles away from his home. This old man, who served the British imperialists all his life, has no other expectation than to die in his house. This Conference should pass a resolution calling upon the British Government to release the old man. The second resolution should call upon the British Government to release Elijah Masinde, a man who has been confined in the Northern Province of Kenya for the last 12 years for no reason at all.

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NORTHERN RHODESIA

It was the intention of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party to present the case of the people of Northern Rhodesia, but owing to mounting tension in that territory he had been obliged to return there. His place was taken by Mr. Wainza Chona, the deputy president.

Mr. Wainza declared that there are two urgent demands by the Northern Rhodesian people—one is for constitutional changes which will give them the right to control the affairs of their territory; the other is for the break-up of the present Central African Federation "which is controlled by selfish foreign settlers." Mr. Kaunda, he said, had had talks with Mr. Macleod, the British Foreign Secretary, "we all had great hopes that something would come out of those talks," but "after the meeting Mr. Macleod announced to the press that there would be no constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia until after the Monckton Commission had reported and after the review of the Federal Constitution in January next year. We are being told to 'shut up' he added while every country north of us is advancing to independence!" The terms of reference of the Monckton Commission excluded the consideration or recommendation of the break-up of the hated Federation. In consequence the African organisations had boycotted it.

The review of the Federal Constitution has, in fact, nothing whatever to do with the constitutional advancement of Northern Rhodesia. It states that the political progress of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will not be affected by the advent of Federation. If the Review of the Federal Constitution has any connection at all with Northern Rhodesia's political advancement, it is to make that advancement more urgent, because the Northern Rhodesian Government has, at present, no single person in it who can claim to represent Africans.

There are 10 members: 4 Europeans representing the Colonial Office; 4 settlers elected by settlers; 1 African elected by settlers and 1 other African nominated by the European Governor after consulting the leader of the settlers. It follows that there must be immediate changes giving Africans effective representation in the Government itself before the Federal Constitution is reviewed. In this way, the Northern Rhodesia Government Delegation to the Review Conference will consist of some representatives of the majority and indigenous population instead of consisting only of those serving foreign interests.

Some British officials say we should not have another constitution because we had one last year! This constitution is far worse than the previous one. It has raised the franchise qualification from £240 p.a. or £500 property qualification to £720 p.a. or £1,500 property qualification. The average wage of an African is officially known to be £5 per month; while that of a European is officially known to be £100 per month. That is to say, nearly all Europeans can vote, while most Africans cannot. Under the previous Constitution, we had one European appointed to represent African interests. His place has been taken by the African settler nominees (referred to above). Far from being progressive, the constitution was a big step backward. In fact we boycotted the mock elections and Zambia, the African National Congress led by Mr. Kaunda, was banned. He and many other sincere leaders and followers were arrested and detained in specified areas. Many, including Mr. Kaunda himself, were later imprisoned. We called the elections "mock elections," because any idiot could see that the settlers would have an overwhelming majority and that no sincere African would have a chance of being elected.

The presence of settlers is the greatest problem facing emergent Africa. Nothing can dispel their unfounded fear of African Nationalism and most of them are fanatical dreamers who foolishly advocate the complete reverse of reality.

Yet there is no question of our conceding any of our human demands. Over the Federation of Central Africa, our Southern Rhodesian brothers and sisters have come right into the open, and have made it clear that they support us in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in our demand to have the Federation broken up. Since we have repeatedly said this, I feel it is sufficient for me to quote from the Annual Report of Sir Jack Campbell, Chairman of the Booker Group. He says no form of federation or association in Central Africa can command African acceptance or support "if its effect, however veiled, is to inhibit African Constitutional progress in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to sustain European domination."

The Central African Federation must never be confused with the Nigerian or West Indian Federations or the United Arab Republic. In Central Africa, it is a federation of the Europeans, for the Europeans, by the Europeans. The Africans count for nothing. It is a "partnership" of the Europeans and their African nominees.

We are glad the State of Emergency has been lifted in Nyasaland, albeit overdue. There is no mention that detainees such as Messrs. Chisiza and Chipembere (who were secretary and treasurer of the banned Nyasaland Congress) will be released. We must continue to demand their release as well as the release of those detained in Southern Rhodesia.

In Northern Rhodesia, though Mr. Kaunda and all his followers were released in January; the British then enacted a law, called the Public Security Ordinance, which enables the Governor to do anything which he chooses in an emergency. He has already used these powers several time. When the Monckton Commission was in Northern Rhodesia, about 200 United National Independence Party members in Luapula were detained. In the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia about 200 members of that party are now in detention or imprisonment. Reports of eye-witnesses say that people are sometimes made to run 10 miles and these include pregnant women and old people. They are brutally assaulted and tortured.

A European who deliberately burnt a P.W.D. garage and said it was the work of U.N.I.P. was later arrested, convicted and imprisoned for two years. A small European boy who poured petrol on his own leg and tried to burn himself then said U.N.I.P. had tried to burn him was later arrested and convicted, but dis-

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charged. The Magistrate asked for the case to be publicised. The High Court reviewed the case and sent it back to the trial magistrate with instructions that the boy should be given "exemplary punishment." The Magistrate ordered the boy be caned.

Recently a sad incident occurred involving a European woman, Mrs. Lilian Burton, and her two children. The car driven by her was apparently attacked by Africans who set it on fire. The small children got out without any injuries, but she caught fire and later died from the burns. The settlers declared this was the work of U.N.I.P. Here was an opportunity for demanding the banning of this organisation. At that time, U.N.I.P. had not only the support of the African masses, but also of many Europeans.

U.N.I.P. denied responsibility for the Burton incident, and Mr. Kaunda denounced violence in the strongest possible terms, both in America and in London. By the grace of God, Mrs. Burton on her deathbed said no political party was connected with the attack on her. This has been repeated, again and again, by her husband who took the trouble to contact Mr. Kaunda in London. In spite of all this, the settlers were not prepared to lose their only chance of banning U.N.I.P. Through their infamous press and radios they cried to the Governor and of course he had to obey his own people; he banned U.N.I.P. on the Copperbelt on 11th May. About 300 people were arrested and most of them are still in detention or have been imprisoned. U.N.I.P. is still banned on the Copperbelt which is bordering Katanga in the Congo.

RUANDA-URUNDI

Observers from Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian Trusteeship attended as observers and on their behalf Mr. Alexander Rutera, presented a memorandum to the Conference. This memorandum stated that the people of the territory are hopeful yet anxious. They have united in the National Ruanda Union to secure their independence.

Pressed by this organisation and the struggle for freedom throughout Africa the paternalist Belgian regime had been forced to envisage independence, but, adhering to their device, "divide and rule," toward the end of their administration they had begun to foment conflicts apparently inter-racial in order to tell the world that the people of the territory are incapable of self-government. By fomenting disorder they were seeking to create conditions which would enable them to establish an anti-democratic regime manned by their tools before the inevitable self-government is established. "This is the plan they are in the course of realising before our eyes, despite the disapproval of the United Nations" declared the Ruanda-Urundi delegate. Under the pretext of restoring tranquillity the Belgian Government had proclaimed a State of emergency under a military chief "who has full power and armed forces such as the country has never known before."

Alarmed by this state of affairs the United Nations last March sent a commission of enquiry to the territory which recommended that the General Election shall be held under the supervision of the United Nations, that a round table conference be held in Brussels to examine the situations in Ruanda-Urundi, that officials from the United Nations be received in the territory to assist the Belgians to put affairs in order and that a date for the independence of the territory be fixed.

Unfortunately the Belgian administration has broken all the promises made to the United Nations Commission. It has arbitrarily established a provisional Government which is detested by an absolute majority of the people. This Government has deposed the King and arbitrarily nominates chiefs and sub-chiefs designated by the military occupation. Further troops are being imported from Belgium. The elite of the Nationalists—in all some 2,200 people—are either in prison, in concentration camps at Nyamata, or in exile. Meanwhile all democratic liberties have been suppressed. The military authorities have announced a general election without informing the United Nations. Citizens are forced to become members of the organisation which collaborates with the Belgian authorities under threat of imprisonment. The membership cards of this organisation serve as movement passes permitting the holders to move from one place to another.

Instead of holding a round table conference of genuine representatives of the people, the Belgian authorities have called to Brussels only their subservient tools.

The Ruanda-Urundi delegation demanded: (i) withdrawal of the Belgian troops, re-establishment of the former democratic liberties and an amnesty for the political prisoners. (ii) Convocation of a round-table conference composed of delegates of the Belgian Government, representatives of the United Nations and of all the democratic organisations of Ruanda-Urundi.

Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa

The conference adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of liaison between the conference of Independent African States and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.A.). Accordingly the Executive Secretary of the commission, Mr. Mekki Abbas, of Sudan, attended to address the conference on June 18. He explained that the terms of reference of the Economic Commission gave power to establish liaison with intergovernmental organisations operating in the same field. Consequently the Economic Commission at its first session in December, 1958—January, 1959, had adopted a resolution to establish liaison with the Economic Committee of the Arab League and the Committee for Technical Co-operation South of the Sahara and requested the Executive Secretary to establish liaison with these bodies.

He had, in consequence, established contact with the League of Arab States and the Commission for Technical Co-operation South of the Sahara (C.O.T.A.). These organisations had been asked to send observers to attend

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the technical meetings of the Economic Commission for Africa. An example of the utility of these contacts had been the studies made of the impact of the European Common Market. The Secretariat of the League of Arab States studies the effect of the European Common Market on the trade of the Arab States in Asia, as well as in Africa, whereas the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa studies the impact of the European Common Market on the trade of Africa as a whole.

Liaison between the Conference of Independent African States and the Economic Commission was also necessary on a reciprocal basis, said Mr Mekki Abbas. He had found the report of their first conference exceedingly useful in preparing his memorandum on the work programme of the Commission.

The Economic Commission for Africa had emphasised the importance of studying the economic problems of Africa in a regional or sub-regional context. This was particularly essential in the field of foreign trade. Top priority was therefore given to studies of the state and potentialities of intra-African trade and industry and to the measures which might be adopted to stimulate activities in these important areas. The Commission also requested the Secretariat to study the impact of European economic groupings on industrialisation in Africa, intra-African trade and Africa's economic development in general. "The first results of our work," he said, "will be presented to an *ad hoc* committee of representatives of members and associate members of the Commission, which will meet here, in Addis Ababa, early next year. This committee will, in turn, report to the third session of the Commission, which will take place soon after the meeting of the Committee. This is only a beginning; we are making plans for expanding our activities in future years. An important part of these plans consists in the establishment of facilities for improving and processing African trade statistics in line with the requirements arising from recent economic and political developments in Africa.

"During the first year of the Commission's work, a meeting of African statisticians worked out a programme for the statistical survey of Africa which is a basic requirement for constructive economic planning. Another meeting discussed techniques and problems of economic programming and recommended that E.C.A. should render advisory services to all African countries. The Commission, with the help of UNESCO, has also initiated a survey of natural resources.

"The documents submitted to the second session of the Commission included an economic survey of Africa since 1950, a paper on the impact of the European Economic Community on African Trade, and the review of international assistance now being given to African countries. The Commission has already rendered advisory services to a number of African countries. The delegations whose countries have joined the organisation for the control of locust will recall that this scheme involved the Special Fund and F.A.O.

"There are established in the Secretariat today an Economic and Social Research Division, a Statistical Section, an E.C.A./F.A.O. Joint Agriculture Division, and a Community Development Division. In addition, a Division for Industry, Transport and Natural Resources is being established. The General Assembly has approved a manning table of 40 professionals in 1960. We shall have between 75 and 100 professionals by 1964.

"Africa has practically no research institutions and the research departments of the growing number of universities are not sufficiently established or equipped to provide facilities for government and inter-governmental organisations comparable to those found in Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Far East. The volume and quality of the work of the Economic Commission for Africa must make up for the comparative lack of qualified people and institutions. These are some of the facts which should ultimately decide the size of the professional and other staff of the Commission."

I am fully aware that inter-governmental organisations in Africa, in Europe and elsewhere give consideration during their meetings to certain political aspects closely related to economic matters. I realise that in such inter-governmental organisations the inter-play between politics and economics is inevitable. Therefore, some of your meetings will, of necessity, have to be closed meetings and I am sure you will agree with me that international civil servants working in economic and social matters should not get involved in discussions of highly political matters between nations or group of nations. But, I have no doubt some of your meetings and your resolutions will be connected with economic and social development and the improvement of the standard of the African peoples purely and simply. This is where I think liaison will be essential and beneficial.

"On matters of African economic, industrial and social development, and as far as regional and sub-regional trade co-operation is concerned, this forum and the forum of the United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa, are not very different.

"Countries which have achieved independence and others which are about to achieve it, can automatically become full members on becoming members of the United Nations. At the last session the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi were admitted as associate members. At the coming session the Commission will consider two applications for associate membership made by the United Kingdom on behalf of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and on behalf of the High Commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

"I can assure you, Mr Chairman and distinguished delegates, that as Executive Secretary of E.C.A., I will study very closely your resolutions regarding economic, industrial and social development."

MEXICO

Mr. Alexandro Carillo, the Mexican Ambassador to Ethiopia, was accredited to the Conference as an observer, presumably because of the strong support Mexico gave to Ethiopia at the United Nations at the time of the Italian invasion. Mexico is of course a country colonised by the Spaniards in former times. Of late years the aboriginal people of Mexico, who had an elaborate civilisation of their own before the coming of

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the Europeans, have been coming to the fore in Mexican affairs.

Mr. Carillo said Mexico considered it an honour to be accredited to the Conference. He continued:

"My Goverment, a product of the revolution begun in 1910, which has brought about fundamental changes in the economic, social and political structure of the country, has stood and stands for the independence of nations, the freedom of the individual and for social justice for the people.

"First, in the League of Nations, and afterwards in the United Nations Organisation, it has invariably honoured the following essential principles: the equality of all men, regardless of race or creed; the equality of all States; non-intervention in the internal affairs of any country; loyal fulfilment of international agreements voluntarily accepted and signed; the right of each country to choose its institutions according to its own nature; the search for peace through dignity and justice; the guarantee of the basic freedoms every man must enjoy, and co-operation among all countries, so that prosperity may become universal.

"My Government considers it a vain illusion, as history has proved, to attempt a peace based on the instruments of war. It is of opinion that, sooner or later, the means for violence, accumulated with the idea of avoiding it, become a menace to peace and inevitably destroy it. Mexico believes that peace must not be considered impossible or utopian; it is and must be possible, because it is indispensable for all. But peace should never be sterile immobility; it should be dynamic, generous and realistic, based on the principle of genuine security for all. A peace without justice, in which domination and oppression of some groups over others prevailed, would be precarious; a peace without general progress would be fruitless.

"The human race lives today under the fear of destruction. There is an urgent need—perhaps as never before in history—of voices calling for understanding and concord; of deeds and actions destined to bring about agreement and confraternity amongst nations. For this very reason this Conference of Independent African States has given rise to so much hope. The presence today in the world scene of countries—some of which have only recently achieved their political independence—and whose main and earnest task is their economic development for the improvement of the living conditions of their inhabitants, is an inspiration for men and women of all lands who struggle for peaceful and friendly international co-operation. A new era dawns upon this Continent. We must all be prepared to welcome the valuable contributions with which the creative genius of the African people will enrich the cultural heritage of mankind.

"To the noble Ethiopian nation, to our Host His Imperial Majesty—a living symbol of the defence of national independence—and to everyone, and all, the independent African States whose distinguished delegates are gathered here today, my Government reiterates its friendship and expresses the hope, they will soon successfully reach the objectives of their march toward progress, prosperity and happiness.

Telegrams of Goodwill to the Conference of Independent African States

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dear Mr. Foreign Minister,—On behalf of the United States Government I send greetings to the Second Conference of Independent African States, now meeting in Addis Ababa. The political progress of the peoples of Africa is most gratifying. This progress represents the steady implementation of the principle of self-determination—a principle that our Government has endorsed throughout its history.

In your efforts at this Conference to foster peace and prosperity in your Continent, as well as to enhance the contribution of Africa to the peaceful solution of world problems, you have the best wishes and support of the Government of the United States.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

(Secretary of State of the United States of America, to His Excellency ATO YILMA DERESSA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Imperial Ethiopian Government.)

GHANA

On the most important occasion of the Second Conference of African States I take the opportunity to send to all the distinguished delegates my warmest wishes for a successful Conference. It is my firm conviction that it is on the deliberations of this and succeeding Conferences of this nature that the future of the Continent of Africa depends. May we all therefore dedicate ourselves to the great and noble objective of the emancipation and unification of the Continent of Africa and to the task of ensuring peace and unity among the nations of the world. I wish the Conference God's blessing and guidance.

KWAME NKRUMAH
(Prime Minister.)

ZANZIBAR

On behalf of Zanzibar people our Party greets Conference confident it will deal Imperialism crushing blows. Wishing Conference success, resolving for Zanzibar Independence this year.

GENERAL SECRETARY,
Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

In name all Arab workers, we hail your Conference, wishing African peoples every success in their struggles for liberty.

ASSAD RAGEH ICATU
(Secretary.)

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LIBERIA

Upon the convocation of this most important Conference of Independent African States, where the weal of the people of the Continent of Africa will be considered, the Government and people of Liberia associate themselves with you and wish that harmony and understanding will characterise your deliberations, that unparallelled camaraderie will prevail, growing out of the objective approach of delegates to matters with which the Conference will concern itself. It is my earnest hope that the results achieved at the Conference will redound to the peace, prosperity, solidarity and freedom, not only of the Independent African States, but of all Africa and universal goodwill amongst men. W. V. S. TUBMAN.

SIERRE LEONE

Your telegram, 10th June: Deeply regret owing to insufficient time to conclude arrangements, on this occasion unable to send delegation to Conference of African States.

Secretary to the Premier.

KENYA

From T. J. Mboya (Member Kenya Legislative Council, General Secretary, Kenya Federation of Labour, Member I.C.F.T.U. Executive Board, Director, African-American Students' Foundation.)

I send you greetings and salutations on this occasion of the Second Conference of Independent States. In April, 1958, at Accra the first Conference took place and established the African Community and personality. Two years have passed since then, during which Africa has passed through tremendous change. The number of Independent States has increased and more are on their way. You meet at a moment of great history, great decisions and great progress, not only for Africa, but also for the world. Africa is listening, the world is looking on to see what will come of your deliberations. We who are unable to attend are with you in spirit and in all the things we believe. The dependent territories of Africa will wait to hear what positive decisions you take that will help them in their struggle for independence. The world will wait to hear what positive decisions you will take to bring about the realisation of the African personality. It is not for me, or any of us, to tell you what we expect of you, for we believe that insofar as you who have initiated this movement of independence in Africa, you know what it means and its full implication.

I wish you luck in your deliberations, and progress toward our goal, independence and total liberation of Africa, our dedicated cause.

Long live Africa, long live the Independent African States, long live Ethiopia.

Yours in the struggle for African total liberation and complete redemption. T. J. MBOYA.

NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Northern Rhodesian African Freedom Fighters join you in your historic deliberation. Resolutions not sufficient, action important, and action means material aid of freedom fighters diplomatic and economic sanctions against white settler imposed governments as in Northern Rhodesia. President Kaunda there with backing of three million freedom fighters here. All Africa must be free this year or never. KWACHA

(General Secretary, United Independence Party.)

FROM TUNISIA

I beg Your Excellency to convey the following message to the Conference:—

On the occasion of the opening of this Second Conference of Independent African States, pray accept the brotherly greetings of the Government and Peoples of Tunisia who send their sincere well-wishes for the success of your undertakings. The tenure of this Conference coincides with the historic events which mark the emergence of our African Continent.

The irresistible march of history has brought independence and international responsibilities to an increasing number of African peoples to whom we are happy to express a particularly warm greeting. Others are following their march to liberty and independence and your Conference will not fail to give them hope in the solidarity to be assured them by the states already free. All together we will open the doors to a continent in which justice, dignity, prosperity and goodwill among each other will reign. The Government of the Republic of Tunisia seizes this occasion to invite the Conference of Independent African States to hold the next session in Tunis in April, 1962, and it has the conviction that this invitation will be received favourably.

In conclusion, I would like to extend my most sincere wishes for the success of your work. My warm salutations also to the distinguished representatives of sister African states assembled in Addis Ababa on this memorable day of June 14, 1960. HABIB BOURGIBA

(President of the Republic of Tunisia.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The South West National Union on behalf of people of South West Africa wishes the Conference of Independent African States every success on deliberations.

JOHN G. MUUNDJUA

(Box 722, Windhoek.)

MOROCCO

Text addressed by His Majesty the King to the Second Conference of Independent African States:—

In our name and in the name of our people, we extend our most brotherly wishes to the Second Conference of Independent African States, as well as our most cordial congratulations to the new members who have joined the family of African free nations and who are participating in your work for the first time. On this occasion, we greet the peoples of Africa who are fighting for their independence and hope that the new free states who will participate in your next Conference will be even many more.

The actions taken by Independent African States in the past two years have let them affirm their universal hopes for solidarity and the realisation of the African personality.

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This solidarity will ensure a greater co-operation, friendship, the respect for sovereign rights, and African dignity among all the other nations of the world and will be the best guarantee of success to your Conference, for the good of Africa and thus for international peace.

ANGOLA PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

We greet the Conference. We demand that you pass resolutions following our recent declaration to the Government of Portugal. Consider the sole aspiration of the people of Angola to immediate self-determination. We request immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners. Desire free public gatherings and the formation of legal political parties and measures to guarantee their application. Request the withdrawal of Portuguese troops and the liquidation of military bases in the territory of Angola. Suggest a round-table conference before 1960 between Angola political parties and the Portuguese Government to solve peacefully the problems of the colony of Angola.

For the Director of the People's Movement
for the Liberation of Angola.

F.E.A.N.F.

On the occasion of this Conference, the Federation of African Students in France, extended their warmest greetings. We hope that your efforts will hasten the complete and unconditional independence of the entire Continent.

F.E.A.N.F.
(The Executive Committee.)

UNITED KINGDOM

Greetings. We pledge continued fight for African freedom.

BROCKWAY
(Chairman.)
EBER
(General Secretary, Movement for Colonial Freedom.)

YUGOSLAVIA

Allow me to address on behalf of the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia and in my own name to all the participants of the Conference my cordial greetings and to wish you much success in your work. It is with deep sympathies and understanding that the peoples of socialist Yugoslavia follows the efforts of Independent African States in the building up of their happier future and appreciates their contribution to the cause of peace and international co-operation. At the same time I wish to welcome the appearance of an ever greater number of African States in international life, in particular their participation in the struggle for the preservation of peace and equal relationships among nations and to express my firm conviction that the day is not far away when all the peoples of Africa will see the success of their struggle for freedom. Yugoslavia will assist them in the future as it did so far and it will support their endeavours to develop economically and to contribute to the strengthening of peace and the realisation of co-operation among all countries and peoples.

JOSIP BROZ TITO.

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF KOREA

On the occasion of the Second Conference of Independent African countries, I extend, on behalf of the Korean people and in my own name, warm congratulations to your Conference. The Korean people rejoice over the achievements made by the African people in the struggle for national liberation and give active support to their just struggle. Believing the African people will win greater victories in the struggle for Independence and its consolidation against Imperialism and Colonialism, I wish your Conference success in the work.

KIM IL SUNG,
Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea Pyongyang, June 14.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Vietnamese people, I wish to convey to the Conference of Independent African States my warmest greetings. Faithful to the Bandung spirit, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people always stand by the African peoples in their struggle against colonialism, for the attainment and preservation of their national independence and sovereignty and the safeguard of peace in Africa and the world. I sincerely wish the Conference every success.

PHAM VAN DONG
(Prime Minister, Democratic Republic of Vietnam.)

REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DE MONGOLIE

An nom du peuple Mongol et Gouvernment de Republique Populaire de Mongolie, j'adresse salutations cordiales Deuxieme Conference des Etats Africains Independants. Peuple Mongol salue succes de lutte resolue des peuples Africains et leur unité pour Independance paix universelle contre Colonialisme. Peuple Mongol est certain que Deuxième Conference des Etats Africains contribuera considerablement à solution de tache urgente de liberation definitive de tous peuples Africains du joug colonial. Je souhaite de grands succes travaux de Conference dans la tache acree de liberation complete des peuples d'Afrique et consolidation de paix dans monde entier.

TSEDENBAL
(President du Conseil des Ministres de Republique Populaire de Mongolie.) Oulanbator, 16 Juin, 1960.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

To Ato Yilma Deressa, President of the Second Conference of Independent States of Africa, Addis Ababa.

Excellency, please permit me, to convey the heartiest greetings to the participants of the Second Conference of Independent States of Africa on behalf of the Government and the population of the German Democratic Republic and to wish the Conference a successful progress for the benefit of peace and of the African peoples. The Second Conference of Independent States of Africa is an important event in the struggle of the African peoples against Colonialism and Imperialism. It will strengthen the sovereignty of the Independent States of Africa and help the African peoples who are fighting for independence in their struggle. The attempts to maintain the old colonial

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rule in Africa, as well as the efforts to encroach upon the independence of the Africa peoples by means of neo colonial methods will have no success. The African peoples are also threatened by the preparation of a third world war, as is shown by the atom tests in the Sahara. May the Second Conference of Independent States of Africa contribute to secure and to maintain peace and to cross the Imperialist plans for the preparation of a new war. The Government of the German Democratic Republic once again expresses on behalf of the population that she now, as before, is standing firm at the side of the African peoples fighting against colonialism and war.

OTTO GROTEWOHL

(Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic.)

U.S.S.R.

On behalf of the Soviet people the Government of the Soviet Union and on my own behalf I cordially greet the participants in the Conference of Independent African States who have assembled in Addis Ababa, the capital of the most ancient Independent African State of Ethiopia. During the period following the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra the peoples of the African countries have won a number of new big successes in their liberation struggle against the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, in the struggle for the consolidation of their Sovereign ties and for independent national development, the family of free African States is growing. The unity and solidarity of African peoples which constitute an important prerequisite for achieving further success in their common struggle for their future, for freedom and independence, for peace, are strengthening and hardening. I express the confidence that the day is irrepressibly approaching when the entire great African Continent will become free. The Soviet people sincerely rejoice in the success of the liberation movement of African States and note with great satisfaction the growing part played by African countries in solving important international problems, in ensuring peace and happiness for all the people on earth. The peoples of African countries can be sure that in their just struggle for the complete liberation of the African Continent from the yoke of imperialism, in defence of the sacred principles of national sovereignty, for the elimination of military bases and for the conversion of Africa into a zone of peace, for the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence and the consolidation of trust among nations, they have in the Soviet Union the truest and most disinterested friend and ally, who, being guided by his invariable policy of peaceful co-existence of states, intends to continue to do everything in his power for the invigoration of the international situation and for the solution of the cardinal problem of to-day—the problem of general and complete disarmament. May I express the hope that the Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa, which is assembling under such international conditions when the imperialist cycles are seeking once again to hamper the international detente will make its worthy contribution to the cause of strengthening peace in Africa and all over the world and will cope successfully with the important tasks facing it. I sincerely wish the Conference every success in its work for the benefit of the peoples of Africa, for the benefit of peace and friendship among nations.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

(Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, Kremlin, Moscow.)

FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

On the occasion of the opening of the Second Conference of Independent African States, I have the honour to express, on behalf of the Government and peoples of China and of myself, my warm congratulations. I very much hope that the Conference will make positive contributions in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for the conquest and safe-guarding of national independence, for the fostering of unity among African states, against racial discrimination and for the maintenance of world peace.

CHOU EN LAI

(Prime Minister of the Republic of China.)

June 13, 1960.

ROUMANIAN LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

The Roumanian League of Friendship with the peoples of Asia and Africa conveys to participants in the Second Conference of Independent States of Africa friendly greeting. We express our conviction that this Conference through its proposed aims will constitute a new Africa. Towards consolidation of independence of African countries and support to African peoples in their struggle for freedom and progress.

DOCTOR STANCIU STOIAN

(General Secretary.)

SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee sends ardent greetings to participants in Conference of Independent African States and through them to all African peoples who have embarked upon road of independent development and expresses confidence that very soon all peoples of African Continent will throw off colonial yoke and take honourable place in community of free nations. All attempts of imperialists to avert collapse of colonialism, halt economic and cultural progress of African peoples will inevitably be defeated by unbreakable solidarity and unity of Afro-Asian peoples. Future belongs not to imperialists but to peace-loving states whose policy is based on loyalty to Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence, on firm determination of peoples to fight against colonialism, for liquidation of aggressive blocs and bases on foreign territories, for strengthening peace and developing economic and cultural co-operation among countries. Will and determination of African peoples to achieve complete abolition of hateful colonial system meet with support and solidarity of all Soviet peoples. We wholeheartedly wish you success in reviving and developing national economic and culture in struggle for earliest liberation of Africa.

Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

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Resolutions of the Plenary Session of the Second Conference of Independent African States, held in Addis Ababa, adopted on June 24, 1960

THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE BANDUNG AND ACCRA RESOLUTIONS.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting at Addis Ababa,

"Reaffirming unswerving loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declarations of the Bandung and Accra Conferences,

"Animated by a sincere desire that Africa, in solidarity with the rest of the world, should play its rôle in strengthening world peace and security,

"Convinced that colonialism is one of the factors which provoke friction between peoples and endanger international peace and security,

"Welcoming the progress made at the negotiations conducted in Geneva among the interested States toward the discontinuation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests,

"Believing that progress in disarmament is an essential condition for reducing international tension and promoting peace,

"Viewing with alarm the renewed tension in the world due to the failure of the Summit Conference which was to be held in Paris in May 1960, among France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

" 1. **Appeals** to all States, especially to the great Powers, to exert their efforts to reduce the international tension;

" 2. **Expresses** the hope that:

(a) The efforts made at the United Nations regarding disarmament will lead to positive results;

(b) The discussions held in Geneva between the States concerned on the discontinuance of nuclear and thermonuclear tests by effective international control will be concluded successfully.

" 3. **Expresses** concern for the non-implementation of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, the Bandung Declaration and Accra resolutions pertaining to the solution of the problem of Palestine, which is a disturbing factor to world peace and security in the North-East of the African Continent."

FIRST RESOLUTION ON ALGERIA

Presented by the First Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa,

"Deeply concerned by the continuation of hostilities in Algeria which constitutes a great threat to peace and security in Africa and in the world at large,

"Confirming Resolutions adopted on Algeria at the Accra and Monrovia Conferences of Independent African States,

"Believing:

(a) That the right to self-determination and independence of the Algerian people is a basis upon which a lasting solution can be achieved.

(b) That the conditions for the implementation of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people must be negotiated by the two parties concerned, namely, France and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

"Noting that the two parties have accepted the right of self-determination as a basis for a just and democratic solution of the Algerian problem;

"Welcoming the offer made by General de Gaulle on June 14, 1960, for immediate discussions with the Representatives of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, with a view to a settlement of the Algerian problem;

"Noting the willingness of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to enter into negotiations with the Government of France on the basis of self-determination for the Algerian people.

"Expressing satisfaction at the efforts of those, in France, who have always supported a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Algeria.

"Invites France and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to negotiate and reach an agreement on conditions for a fair and sincere implementation of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people, including conditions for a cease-fire."

SECOND RESOLUTION ON ALGERIA

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa.

"Deeply concerned by the continuation of hostilities in Algeria which constitutes a great threat to Peace and Security in Africa and in the world at large,

"Confirming Resolutions adopted on Algeria at the Accra and Monrovia Conferences of Independent African States,

"Recommends to all Governments of the Independent African States:

(a) continuation of material and diplomatic support for the Algerian cause,

(b) continuation of active and united support for the Algerian cause at the United Nations,

(c) consultation and exchange of views between the Governments on the Algerian question, whenever a situation warranting such action arises,

(d) joint representation by the Independent African States to the Government of France to help in achieving a peaceful and a negotiated settlement based upon the self-determination of the Algerian people,

(e) that missions composed of representatives of the Independent African States be despatched to the

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capitals of the world, with a view to soliciting support for the Algerian cause,

(f) that a joint representation should be made by the Independent African States to the NATO Powers, with a view to urging France to desist from using in Algeria arms supplied by that Organisation for defensive purposes;

(g) the withdrawal of all African troops being used by France in Algeria."

RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Presented by the First Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States, meeting in Addis Ababa,

"(a). **Having considered** the question of the Territory of South-West Africa;

"(b) **Recalling** United Nations Resolution, 1361 (XIV) of November 17, 1959, which drew "the attention of Member States to the conclusions of the special report of the Committee on South-West Africa, covering the legal action open to Member States to refer any dispute with the Union of South Africa concerning the interpretation or the application of the Mandate for South-West Africa to the International Court of Justice for adjudication, in accordance with Article 37 of the Statute of the Court;

"1. **Concludes** that the international obligations of the Union of South Africa concerning the Territory of South-West Africa should be submitted to the International Court of Justice for adjudication

"2. **Notes** that the Governments of Ethiopia and of Liberia have signified their intention to institute such a proceeding,

"3. **Decides** that a Steering Committee of four African States, including the delegations of Ethiopia and of Liberia, should be established to determine the procedures and tactics incident to the conduct of the juridical proceedings in this matter."

RESOLUTION ON THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE INFORMAL PERMANENT MACHINERY OF THE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

Submitted by the First Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa,

"**Having Discussed** the future status of the Informal Permanent Machinery of the Independent African States;

"**Recalling** Resolution 13 of the first Conference of Independent African States, meeting in Accra in 1958, which "decided to constitute the Permanent Representatives of the participating Governments at the United Nations as the Informal Permanent Machinery;

"**Expressing** great satisfaction at the work done by the Informal Permanent Machinery for co-ordinating the policies of the Independent African States at the United Nations and for making preparatory arrangements for the Conferences;

"**Noting** with the greatest appreciation that the activities of the Informal Permanent Machinery have contributed to the progressive creation of a distinctive African personality in international affairs;

"**Decides** to request the Informal Permanent Machinery to continue as a transitional organisation pending the establishment of a Permanent Organisation with a seat in Africa to fulfil its functions in accordance with Resolution 13 of the Accra Conference."

THE BANNING OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR TESTS IN AFRICA

Presented by the First Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting at Addis Ababa;

"**Deeply Concerned** by the decision of France to continue testing her nuclear and thermonuclear devices in the Sahara;

"**Deploring** the defiance of France of the previous appeals and protests of the African States and her disregard of the recommendation of the United Nations contained in General Assembly Resolution 1379 (XIV) of November 20, 1959;

"**Regretting** that France's decision to conduct her tests had come at a time when the other nuclear Powers had agreed to stop all tests, with a view to reaching a final agreement to ban nuclear and thermonuclear devices;

"1. **Strongly Condemns** the policy of France to continue to use the Sahara as a testing ground for atomic devices;

"2. **Appeals** to the United Nations to urge France to comply with General Assembly Resolution 1379 (XIV) which 'requested France to refrain from such tests;'

"3. **Recommends** that the Independent African States continue to take appropriate measures with a view to preventing atomic tests in the Sahara or any other part of Africa."

PROMOTION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Presented by the First Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa,

"**Having Discussed** the question of the Promotion of African Unity;

"**Considering** that co-operation and unity among African States are essential for the maintenance of the independence and sovereignty of Africa;

"**Recalling** Resolution V of the Accra Conference, which expressed that 'the getting together and consulting among Independent African States is essential for the effectiveness of their contribution to world peace;

"**Noting** that Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter encourages the creation of Regional Organisations;

"1. **Requests** the President of the Conference of Independent African States to address a communication to the Heads of these States to initiate consultations through diplomatic channels with a view to promoting African unity;

"2. **Decides** to inscribe this item on the agenda of the next regular session of the Conference of Independent African States."

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RESOLUTION ON THE APPRAISAL OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE ACCRA AND MONROVIA CONFERENCES

Presented by the Second Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States Meeting in Addis Ababa,

"**Having Studied** the report of the Informal Permanent Machinery of the African Representatives to the United Nations;

"**Expresses its satisfaction** with the tangible results obtained in implementing the resolutions of the Accra and Monrovia Conferences;

"**Congratulates** the informal Permanent Machinery on the way in which it has carried out the tasks assigned to it by virtue of Resolution No. 11 of the Conference of Independent African States held in Accra."

ERADICATION OF COLONIAL RULE FROM AFRICA

Resolution presented by the Second Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference

"**The Conference of the Independent African States** meeting in Addis Ababa.

"**Recalling** the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions of Accra and Monrovia proclaiming that colonialism in all its manifestations constitutes an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"**Reaffirming** that the subjugation of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is an impediment to the promotion of World Peace and Co-operation;

"**Considering** that Africa is the only Continent where a large proportion of the inhabitants still live under colonial domination with all its privations and indignities;

"**Considering** further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the diverse nations;

"**Believing** that the restoration of natural rights and human dignity to the Africans, in those parts of Africa, at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of the hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our Continent;

"**Recalling** the courageous stand taken by the freedom fighters in Africa, and saluting the memory of those who sacrificed their lives in defending the liberty of their respective countries;

"**Conscious** of the responsibility of the Independent African States towards those peoples fighting for independence and also of the active solidarity which should be shown towards all African freedom fighters;

"**Taking into consideration** the petitions presented by the representatives of the nationalist movements in the non-independent countries of Africa (Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, the Union of South Africa and South-West Africa);

"1. **Urges** the Colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of Independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the people concerned;

"2. **Resolves** that the Independent African States continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible peaceful means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa;

"3. **Condemns** the practice of colonial powers of enlisting Africans, against their own will, in foreign armed forces to suppress the liberation movements in Africa;

"4. **Appeals** to the conscience of all Africans to resist enlistment in such foreign armed forces;"

"5. **Appeals** further to leaders, political parties and other organisations of non-independent countries, at this historical phase of their struggle, to unite in a national front to achieve speedy liberation of their countries;

"6. **Decides** to establish a special fund to aid Freedom Fighters in Africa (Africa Freedom Fund);

"7. **Decides** that such a fund be administered by an organ to be established by the Conference in accordance with rules and regulations to be adopted by the Conference;

"8. **Agrees** that the Independent African State contribute to the Africa Freedom Fund on the basis of equitable shares to be agreed upon by the Conference;

"9. **Recommends** to extend assistance and to accord facilities to genuine African political refugees;

"10. **Decides** to offer, if so desired, its good offices to assist in settling differences among leaders and political parties of non-independent countries through its permanent machinery;

"11. **Appeals** to the colonial powers to refrain from suppressing national liberation movements, to release immediately all political prisoners, detainees and persons under restrictive orders."

ERADICATION OF COLONIAL RULE FROM AFRICA: MEANS TO PREVENT NEW FORMS OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Presented by the Second Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of the Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa.

"**Welcoming** the recent attainment of independence by several countries of Africa;

"**Reaffirming** its faith in the total liberation and emancipation of Africa in the shortest possible time;

"**Considering** the difficulties with which the emerging nations of Africa may be confronted in the political, economic and social fields;

"**Noting** that new forms of colonialism could be introduced into these territories, under the guise of economic, financial and technical assistance;

"**Considering** that some of the non-independent countries may, out of necessity and under pressure, enter into agreements and pacts with foreign powers which would restrict in advance their total independence and hinder their future freedom of action;

—"1. **Calls Upon** all colonial powers to refrain from any action which might compromise the sovereignty and independence of the emerging states;

"2. **Declares** that assistance to the emerging states should be without political conditions;

"3. **Urges** the leaders of the emerging States to con-

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sider seriously this question before committing themselves to action which might prejudice the future of their countries;

"4. **Recommends** that independent African States should consider the possibility of introducing a system whereby economic and technical aid can be provided by them collectively;

"5. **Urges** the leaders of non-independent countries to resist any attempt at Balkanisation which is detrimental to the ultimate goal of African unity;

"6. **Recommends** that the Independent African States be wary of colonial penetration through economic means and that they institute effective control over the working machineries of foreign companies operating in their territories."

RESOLUTION ON NYASALAND, SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND NORTHERN RHODESIA

Presented by the Second Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa,

"**Convinced** that it is the intention of the settlers to create another South Africa in Central Africa;

"**Recognising** that it is its duty to support the people of Africa in the struggle for independence from foreign rule;

"**Convinced** that the British Government, by its undue delay in carrying out its duty to prepare the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for self-government, and by its forcible imposition of the settlers to control the Government of the Central African Federation;

"**Demands:**

"1. that the British Government take immediate steps to dissolve the Federation of Central Africa;

"2. that effect be given to all such measures as may be necessary to confer self-government on Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, so that they may be free to choose, when, and with which country to federate, according to the wishes of their own people;

"3. that the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia be democratised by introducing the principle of "one man, one vote," since the Conference does not consider a Senate with nominated Africans as a sufficient safeguard for the people;

"4. that the protective clauses in the present constitutional legislation be maintained until such time as the democratic constitution has been promulgated;

"5. that all Political detainees in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia be released and that the ban on the Copperbelt Division of the United National Independent Party of Northern Rhodesia be lifted."

POLICY OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN AFRICA

Presented by the Second Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa,

"**Having** learned with indignation of the death of many African political leaders in the prisons of the Union of South Africa, thus adding to the already long list of victims of the shameful policy of racial discrimination;

"**Recalling** resolution No. 1375 (XIV), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, condemning the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination practised by the Government of the Union of South Africa;

"**Recalling** further the Security Council's Resolution of April 1, 1960, recognising the existence of a situation in South Africa which, if continued, might endanger international peace and security;

"**Reaffirming** the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions adopted at Accra and Monrovia regarding this shameful policy;

"**Noting** that, despite world opinion and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the Government of the Union of South Africa still persists in its evil policy of apartheid and racial discrimination;

"1. **Desires** to pay homage to all victims of the shameful policy of apartheid and racial discrimination;

"2. **Decides** to assist the victims of racial discrimination and furnish them with all the means necessary to attain their political objectives of liberty and democracy:

"3. **Calls** upon Member States to sever diplomatic relations or refrain from establishing diplomatic relations, as the case may be, to close African ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, to enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports, to boycott all South African goods, to refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under the laws of the Union of South Africa and to prohibit all South African aircraft from flying over the air-space of the Independent African States;

"4. **Invites** the Arab States to approach all petroleum companies, with a view to preventing Arab oil from being sold to the Union of South Africa and recommends that the African States refuse any concession to any company which continues to sell petroleum to the Union of South Africa;

"5. **Invites** the Independent African States which are members of the British Commonwealth to take all possible steps to secure the exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the British Commonwealth;

"6. **Recommends** that appropriate measures be taken by the United Nations in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter;

"7. **Appeals** to world public opinion to persevere in the effort to put an end to the terrible situation caused by apartheid and racial discrimination;

"8. **Decides** to instruct the Informal Permanent Machinery to take all steps necessary to secure that effect shall be given to the above recommendations and to furnish full information on cases of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa, so that the outside world may be correctly informed about such practices."

RESOLUTION FOR THE CREATION OF AN ORGANISATION FOR AFRICAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

Presented by the Third Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa;

"**Having examined** the economic problems confronting Africa;

"**Considering** that the effects of the collective measures

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taken by European Powers are inimical to the interests and the prosperity of African countries;

"**Considering** economic co-operation between African Independent States is indispensable to their stability and the survival of their independence;

"**Understanding** how important it is to organise technical assistance among the African States;

"**Considering** that it is necessary to establish a collective approach by the Independent African States to the Economic Commission for Africa and to the specialist institutions of the United Nations;

"**Recognising** the important rôle of the Economic Commission for Africa in the sphere of economic and social development and conscious of the increasing need of such a contribution for the development of economic co-operation in Africa;

"**Taking into account** the lack of a competent organisation able to organise, co-ordinate, establish and maintain African economic unity;

"**Conscious** moreover that the creation of an organisation for African economic co-operation will contribute immensely to the economic stability of the Independent African States and of those which are on the point of becoming independent;

"**Recommends:**

"1. The creation of an organisation which shall be named **African Council of Economic Co-operation.**

2. An immediate meeting of experts of the Independent African States to formulate the functions, the jurisdiction and other details concerning this Council, and provided their report is approved by the member States, to propose a date for the first meeting of this Council.

"3. An invitation to the member countries to give effect to all the resolutions of an economic character adopted by the Conferences of the Independent African States."

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Submitted by the Third Committee and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Conference.

"The Conference of Independent African States:

"**Recalling** Resolution No. 9, Point 3, on cultural questions adopted by the first Conference of Independent African States at Accra;

"**Desirous** of putting into practice the decisions of the said resolution;

"**Convinced** that their implementation is indispensable to the maintenance and development of African culture and to the development of educational, cultural and scientific co-operation between the African States;

"**Recommends:**

"1. The creation of an organisation to be known as the 'Council for Educational, Cultural and Scientific Co-operation in Africa.'

"2. The immediate convocation of a meeting of specialists in matters of education, culture and science from the African States to formulate the functions, jurisdiction and other details of the organisation abovementioned, and if the report of these experts is approved by the Member States, they should propose a suitable date for the meeting of this organisation.

"**Invites** the Member States and the Council for Educational, Cultural and Scientific Co-operation in Africa to apply all the resolutions relative to educational, cultural and scientific questions adopted by the Conferences of Independent African States."

THE PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG AFRICAN STATES

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa:

"1. **Believing** that the development of economic and social conditions in Africa is conducive to the improvement of the standard of living of the African peoples and a guarantee of the stability and independence of the African States;

"2. **Considering** that closer economic relations between the African States constitutes one of the means to realise the above objective; and further

"3. **Considering** that it has now become urgent to stimulate trade relations between the African States in this respect;

"4. **Recalling** Sub-section 4 of the Resolution on Economic and Social matters of item No. 2 of the First Conference of the Independent African States held at Accra; and further,

A.

"5. **Recalling** Resolution No. 11 of the Second Session of the Economic Commission for Africa, held in Tangiers; and in order to meet the specific needs of the African Countries;

"**Recommends:**

"1. That a joint African Development Bank be established;

"2. That a joint African Commercial Bank be established;

"3. That the Council for African Economic Co-operation shall immediately upon its establishment call a committee of experts from among Member States:

(a) To submit to it draft articles of Agreement;

(b) To propose capital quotas to be allotted to each Member State;

(c) To study payment difficulties among Member States, and propose concrete measures for the removal of these difficulties;

(d) To undertake all measures necessary to expedite the creation of such Banks;

"**Authorises** the committee of experts to seek (through the Economic Commission for Africa) the assistance of the appropriate international bodies in carrying out this project.

B.

"**Considering** that an ever-increasing movement of persons, commodities and ideas is conducive to unity; and further,

"**Considering** that the structure of customs tariffs of Member States is paramount for expanding such movement among African States;

"**Recalling** Sub-section 2 (b) of the Resolution on Economic and Social matters of item No. 2 of the First Conference of Independent African States held at Accra; and further,

"**Recalling Resoluton** No. 8 of the Second Session of the Economic Commission for Africa held in Tangiers;

"**Recommends:**

"1. That the Council for African Economic Co-opera-

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SOME CLOSING SPEECHES

THE MOROCCAN DELEGATE

Mr Ben Hima, of Morocco, in his closing speech to the conference, recalled that all the delegation had expressed satisfaction that the conference had been held in the capital of Ethiopia, "the birth-place of the most brilliant civilisation of Africa."

Addis Ababa had been the apex of the combat of Africans to maintain their liberty and human dignity.

His Majesty the Emperor, at the head of the valiant Ethiopian people, had faced the invaders of Ethiopia with a courage which had secured the respect and admiration of the entire world. He had given an historic lesson to colonialism and thereby had opened the way for the peoples of Africa to fight to regain their liberty.

In consideration of this courage and this glory and in recognition of the hospitality His Majesty and the Ethiopian Government have extended to us, all the delegations have confided to me the honour of moving this resolution:

Expression of Gratitude to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I

"The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa:

"Having accepted the gracious invitation of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I to convene the second regular session of the Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa;

"1. Expresses its gratitude and warmest thanks to His Imperial Majesty and His Government for the hospitality extended to the delegations of its Member States during their most enjoyable and fruitful stay in Addis Ababa;

"2. Expresses its profound satisfaction for the honour which His Imperial Majesty bestowed on the Conference by graciously consenting to inaugurate its work, and wishes to record that the most valuable advice which His Imperial Majesty offered on that occasion has guided the Conference throughout its deliberations."

GHANA

Mr Ako Adjei, Foreign Minister of Ghana, said in his closing speech: "Two years ago the representatives of all the Independent African States met for the first time at Accra. That was the first time that leaders of Independent African States had come together to discuss common problems, to get to know themselves and to share ideas. For the first time all leaders of Africa met to speak with an African voice. In 1885 the European Powers met in Berlin to decide what they should do with Africa, namely, to scramble for Africa; on the 15th of April, 1958, the Independent African States met to undo that decision!

"Once again, a regular Conference of Independent African States has been held in this historic city of Addis Ababa. Then, as now, all of us had spoken frankly and honestly on problems facing this large continent; then, as now, the key-note had been African Unity. We have gone over a wide range of subjects covering the war in Algeria, the fight against colonialism, peace and security, and economic and cultural co-operation. Every resolution on every item that has been passed has been a unanimous decision. This is an indication of the prevailing harmony that exists among leaders in Africa.

"The Second Regular Conference, which is about to end in Addis Ababa, has re-affirmed the declaration of Bandung and Accra. We have once again pledged our unswerving support and loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations.

"We welcome the resolutions for the establishment of a Council for African Economic Co-operation, the establishment of a Joint African Development Bank and the establishment of a Council for African Educational, Cultural and Scientific co-operation."

The Ghana delegate expressed thanks for the hospitality they had received from the Emperor, Government and people of Ethiopia and gratitude also to the Secretariat, interpreters and "to all those silent workers behind the scenes who contributed to the success of the conference."

(Continued from preceding page)

tion shall immediately upon its establishment call a committee of experts from among Member States:

(a) To review the structure of customs tariffs of the Independent African States;

(b) To propose to Member States specific improvements in their customs tariffs;

(c) As a first step, to propose preferential treatments, to be applied among themselves; and

"2. That the committee of experts shall submit a report to the Council for Economic Co-operation:

"3. **Authorises** the experts' committee to seek through the Economic Commission for Africa, the assistance of the appropriate international bodies.

C.

"Considering that the improvement of the media of communication is a pre-condition to the promotion of economic, social and cultural relations among Member States:

"Recalling Sub-sections 4 and 7 of the Resolution on Economic and Social matters of item No. 2 of the First Conference of the Independent African States held at Accra;

"Recommends:

"1. That the Council for African Economic Co-operation shall immediately upon its establishment call a Conference of the Civil Aviation Authorities of Member States:

(a) To standardise licensing procedures for transport, equipment, flying personnel, overhaul, maintenance and inspection of transport vehicles and related units and equipment;

(b) To standardise charges and allied services.

"2. That a meeting of the African National Air Carrier Operators be called as often as need be:

(a) To establish a closer co-operaton between national African Air Lines;

(b) To study the feasibility of the creation of an **Air Union** of Africa and to submit to Member States a plan for the implementation thereof.

"3. That similar efforts be made in other fields of communications, including telecommunications."

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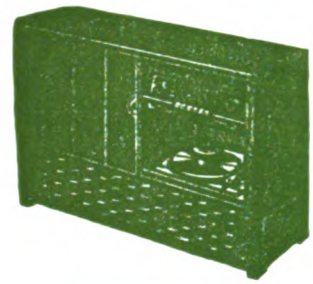

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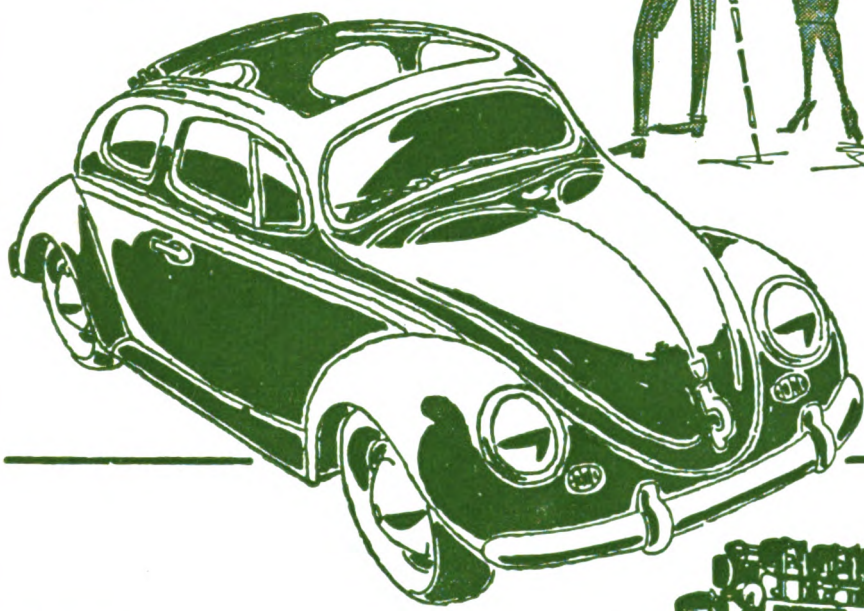

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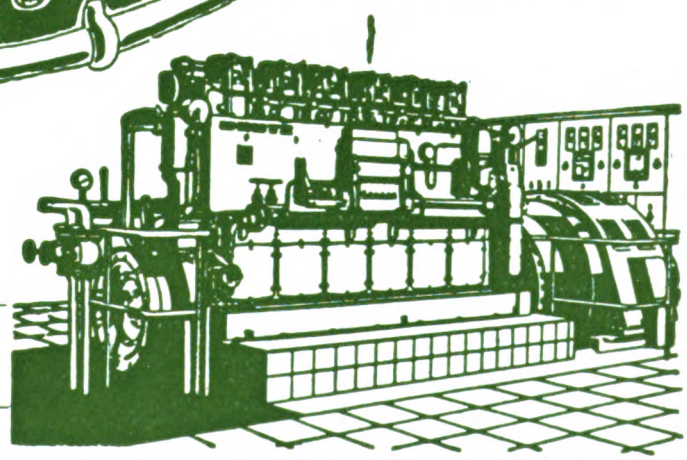

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ETHIOPIAN MANUSCRIPTS

by OTTO A. JAEGER

This Month's Cover Illustration

This month's cover illustration is of MALIK AMBAR an Ethiopian who was taken to India as a slave and rose to be commander-in-chief of the Deccan (1600-1626) from a painting by Mir Hashim (Mughul school of Jahangir *circa* 1620).

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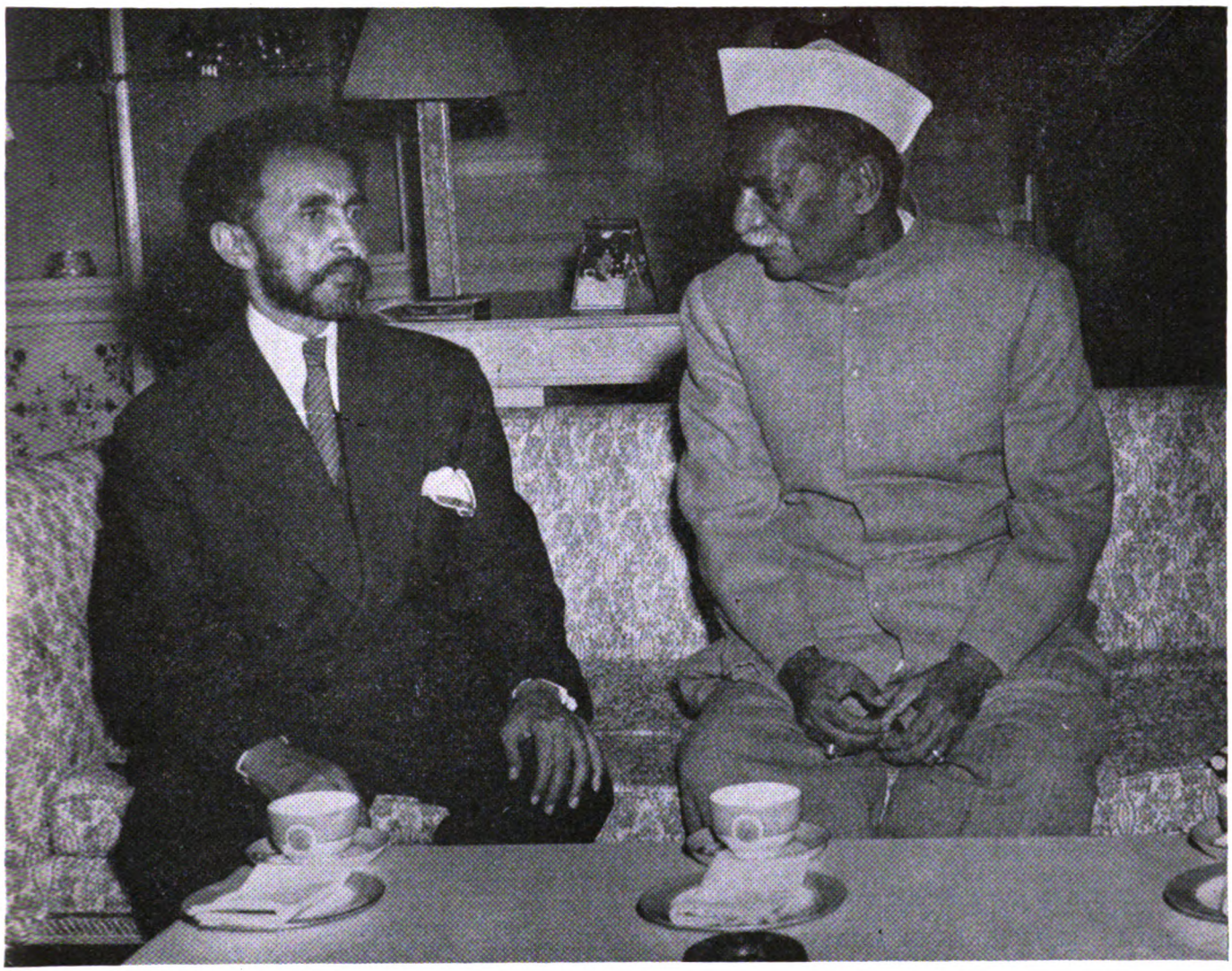

The Emperor Haile Sellassie with the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, 1956

ETHIOPIA AND INDIA IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES

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A Letter from Prime Minister Nehru

Prime Minister's Office,
New Delhi,
16th June, 1960.

Dear Miss Pankhurst,

I am glad to learn that you are bringing out a special issue of "Ethiopia Observer" on Indo-Ethiopian relations. Please accept my congratulations on your sustained efforts in the cause of freedom and development of the African peoples.

I take this opportunity to convey to the people and Government of Ethiopia the greetings and good wishes of the people and the Government of India.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst,
Editor,
Ethiopia Observer,
Addis Ababa.

Indo-Ethiopian Contacts, Ancient and Modern

by the Editor

This issue of *Ethiopia Observer* is devoted to Indo-Ethiopian relations which are of extremely ancient origin.

Commercial relations between the two peoples were doubtless established before the dawn of history, cotton, both herbacious (gossypium herbaceum) and tree cotton (gossypium arboreum) were native to India. Already in prehistoric times, Indians were spinning and weaving it and exporting it to Ethiopia as well as to many other countries of the Middle East, long before the products of Indian handicraft were known to the then still primitive European countries. The trade-winds which facilitate commerce must have been familiar to the Indian merchants from very distant prehistoric times.

Early commerce between India and Ethiopia as described by a Graeco-Roman merchant sea-captain who was accustomed to sailing between Egypt and India in the course of his trade during the first century of the christian era. He wrote his important navigational guide to that voyage, "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" about the year A.D. 60 and copies of the manuscript have fortunately come down to us. He tells us of the old Ethiopian seaport, Adulis, the ruins of which are still to be found on the Zula plain, and of the Ethiopian Emperor of his time who was "miserly in his ways and always striving for more, but otherwise upright and acquainted with Greek literature."* He mentions the old town of Coloe on the road to the famous city of Aksum. He describes the Ethiopian exports from Adulis in which he traded: ivory, tortoise-shell and rhinoceros-horn. The ivory, especially, was for many centuries in great request in India where ivory carving was developed as an extremely fine and beautiful craft as may be seen to this day. Frankincense and myrrh were also exported from the ports of Ethiopia and were highly esteemed in ancient times.

* Schoffs' translation, page 23.

FROM FORMER INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA

My five years in Ethiopia have perhaps been the most interesting of my life. It was a great privilege to know this country and its people, and above all to have known His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, a historic figure, and one of the leading lights of to-day's world. The country's progress has been remarkable, even in my five years here. Of course a lot of work remains but I am sure under their grand ruler Ethiopians will go ahead with vigour and success. I say good-bye to this ancient and beautiful land, but wherever I am it shall remain dear and near to me.

NARANJAN SINGH GILL.
Ambassador of India in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

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Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India

Jawaharlal Nehru
June 1960

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The Emperor Haile Sellassie visits Poona Penicillin Factory, 1956

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H.I.M. The Emperor Haile Sellassie at the Taj Mahal, 1956

From India, as the merchant author of "The Periplus" informs us, the imports into Ethiopia were Indian iron and steel; copal, still used as varnish; macir, a red, aromatic bark used as a cure for dysentery; and the red lac, produced by the Indian lac insect, for staining the finger and toe nails and for dyeing cloth. The resin produced by the same insect, called shellac, an excellent varnish, is used in so-called "French" polishing even today. Copper was also among the imports from India with spikenard, bdellium, aromatic gums, and cinnamon.

More important and in larger quantities was the import of cotton: the tree cotton for stuffing, and the herbacious, imported raw for spinning, also cotton cloth. "The Periplus" mentions "broad-cloth, called monache" and girdles and mallow-coloured cloth and a few muslins.

This "mallow-coloured cloth", it is believed, was a coarse cotton cloth, dyed with a variety of hibiscus, similar to the blue drills which are still in demand. For centuries, however, there was a fine blue cotton cloth, probably dyed with indigo and a Turkey-red cotton material which were popular in Ethiopia, as elsewhere. on account of their absolutely fast-colour. A. B. Wyld, writing in the nineteenth-century tells us that Ethiopian weavers of the fine Ethiopian muslin national dress were accustomed to purchase these blue and red Indian cottons and to unravel them to weave the thread into the ornamental borders of the national dress, because of the completely reliable Indian dyes, as these weavers feared to risk their own reputation by using anything else.

In later periods than that of "The Periplus", Indian muslins took a larger place among imports than is there indicated, and Indian silks became major imports, but cotton remained pre-eminent. It retained its pre-eminence until late in the present century when Japanese cotton goods began to supersede Indian, the import trade remaining however in Indian hands.

Subsequent to the time of "The Periplus" also, Indian black pepper became a major export to Ethiopia, being employed for blending with the Ethiopian red pepper as an ingredient in the favourite Ethiopian spice "berbere" which is an essential of the Ethiopian diet. Father Alvarez, the Chaplain and narrator of the first Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia (520-27) tells how the Portuguese carried with them ample supplies of Indian

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The Emperor studies India's five-year plan, 1956

pepper, to serve in lieu of money, during their travels and how greatly this pepper was in demand throughout their journey through Ethiopia and particularly by the Emperor and the Court.

In more modern times Indian craftsmen became important in Ethiopia. The Portuguese brought some of them from Goa and after the Portuguese departed Indian craftsmen were still appreciated. It is recorded that an Indian architect built the Castle of Faciladas, the first of the famous Gondar castles which have been erroneously ascribed to the Portuguese who had already been expelled before the castle was erected.

The Indian traders on the coast, "banians," as they were termed, were familiar to the British and other European travellers who journeyed to Ethiopia in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries.

Indians at Magdala

As soldiers their first entry into the country was in 1868, when Sir Robert Napier's force of 12,000 men, 4,000 British and upwards of 8,000 Indian troops, was despatched to procure the release of certain British subjects and other Europeans whom the Emperor Theodore had imprisoned in his fortress of Magdala. Sir Robert Napier, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Bombay at that time, was the Commander of the expedition which landed at Zula near the site of the ancient seaport of Adulis, famous in the great days of Aksum.

The Indian troops included:

Infantry

10th Bombay Regiment	677	men
27 Baluchistan Regiment	772	„
3rd Bombay Regiment	688	„
25th Bombay Regiment	592	„
2nd Bombay Regiment	695	men
18th Bombay Regiment	708	„
5th Bombay Regiment	694	„
21st Punjab Regiment	737	„
23rd Punjab Pioneers	789	„
21st Bombay 1st Company	66	„

Sappers

Bombay 1st, 2nd, 3rd & 4th Companies	670	„
Madras G.A.K. Companies	373	„

Artillery

A.21	99	„
B.21	82	„
Bengal Mountain Train	156	„
Bombay Mountain Train	156	„

Cavalry

3rd Bombay	460	„
3rd Sind Horse	458	„
12th Bengal	477	„
10th Bengal	455	„

Coolies and Army Works Corps

Bengal Coolie Corps	1,439	men
Bombay Army Works Corps	867	„

Moreover, there was a gang of Indian women from Bombay, engaged as grinders of corn for the Sepoys.†

In addition, there were 45 trained elephants, to say nothing of the large numbers of baggage mules and military equipment of every sort.

W. T. Blandford, the geologist of the expedition reports that on the vessel by which he travelled from Bombay were " clerks, bakers, butchers, dhooly-bearers, and so forth, from all parts of India: Parsees from Bombay, Mahrattas from the Dekkan, Teloogoos from the northern Circas, Tamuls from Madras and Hindustanis from the North-West Provinces."

† Clements Markham, p. 150.

The Emperor receives an Honorary University Degree from Benares University, 1956

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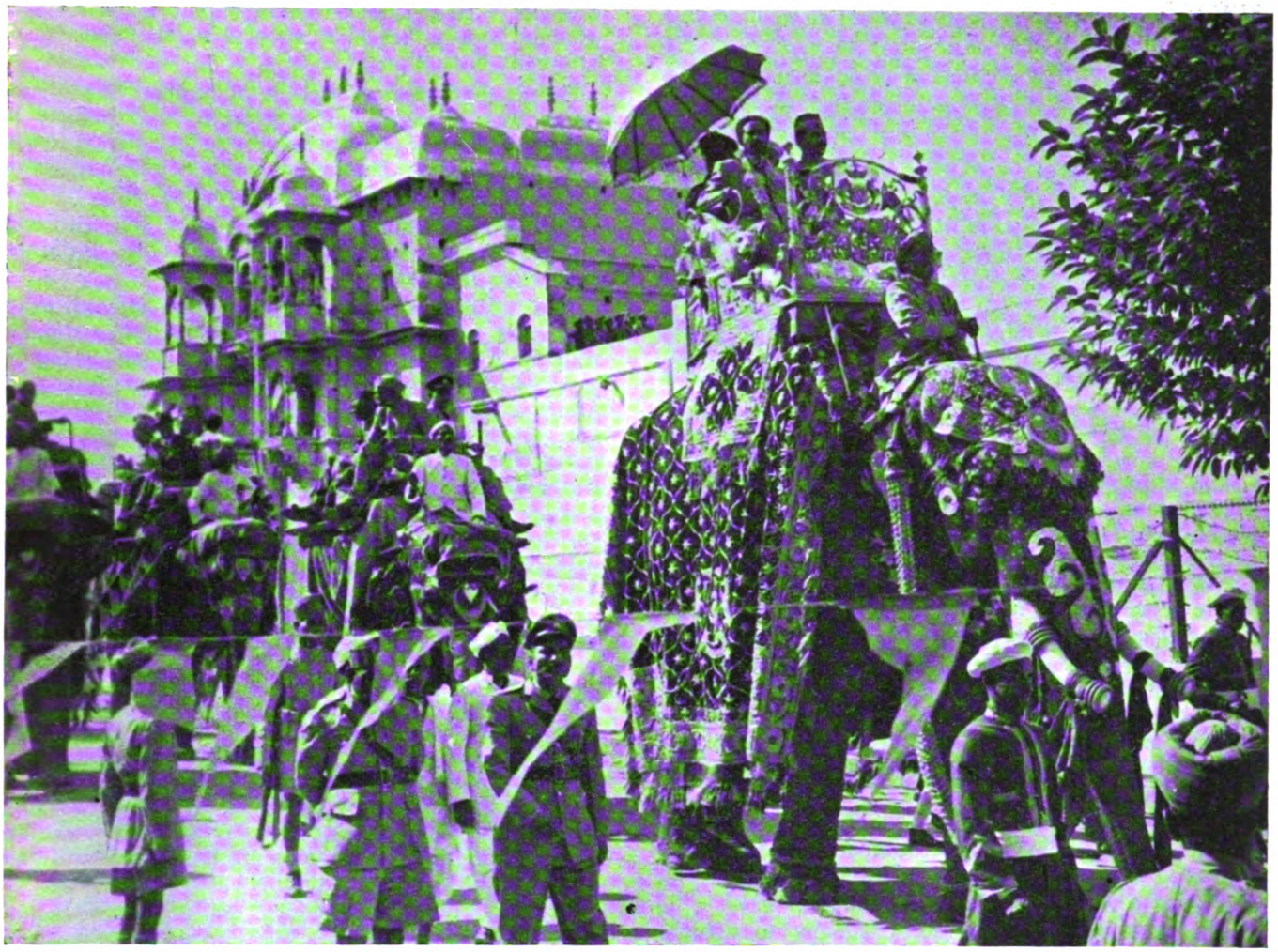

The Emperor travels by elephant during his Indian tour of 1956

Indeed it was a truly great expedition by which Theodore was confronted, but had it not been that the chiefs through whose governorates it passed were estranged from him, the British expedition to Magdala might have had a very different experience than history records. As it was the great preparations were to a large extent excessive. The battle was soon over. The British speedily withdrew.

The Emperor Theodore had shot himself rather than submit himself as a prisoner as Sir Robert Napier demanded. The Ethiopian Throne was now vacant. Among the rival claimants Dejazmatch Kassa of the Tigré was successful. The battery of mountain guns presented to him by the British Commander-in-Chief in recognition of his services in providing the troops of the expedition with food and the animals with fodder is said to have assisted Kassa in establishing his position as the Emperor Johannes IV.

The Indians, as had been seen, were traders on the Ethiopian coast for centuries; their establishment as merchants within the country in appreciable numbers appears to date from 1897, when Sir John Lane Harrington, then British Minister in Ethiopia, interceded with the Ethiopian Government on their behalf. Their activities had at first been confined to Harar, then the main commercial centre of Ethiopia, where they arrived from India via Zeila and Yeldessa. They now began to instal themselves in other parts of the country: Addis Ababa, Jimma, Wollamo, Bali, Lekemti and Debra Markos in Gojjam. In 1909 there were still only 149 Indians in Addis Ababa, according to Dr. Merab. A. Zervos puts the number of Indians in Addis Ababa at 250 in 1900. Probably the latter estimate includes the families and the former only the heads of families. By 1935 A. Zervos, however, says there were 3,000 Indians in Addis Ababa—1,500 to 1,700 Hindus and 400 Moslems. He states that a further 1,500 were scattered in the provinces, principally in Harar, Dire Dawa, Chercher and Awash and the neighbouring regions. The figures above quoted from Adrien Zervos are in "L'Empire d'Ethiopie," published in Athens in 1936, a comprehensive and well-documented volume in which the Ethiopian Government Departments and the foreign Embassies and communities co-operated closely.

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The Emperor inspects an Indian hospital, 1956

The Indian Moslems at that time, according to the same volume, had a cemetery in Dire Dawa and at Harar. The Hindus had a crematorium. The latter had been formerly forbidden in Ethiopia, but in 1927 Sir Charles Bentinck, then British Minister, intervened to secure permission on religious grounds.

For their travelling compatriots the Indians had established hotels at Jibuti, Dire Dawa and Awash in order that their dietary practices might be observed. The Indians also had a school at that time in Addis Ababa for the children of their community and two lecture halls, one in Addis Ababa, the other in Dire Dawa

The Indian commercial houses are stated by A. Zervos in the same publication to number 100 in Addis Ababa in 1935 and fifty or so in Dire Dawa, Harar and Jigjiga.

The first Indian Mercantile Company to achieve importance in Ethiopia was the firm of G. M. Mohamedally, founded in Harar in 1888, during the governorship of the famous Ras Makonnen. The founder of the firm was Raija Ratna M. Mohamedally S. Sharafally Hararwalla, M.B.E., J.P., S.O.E., resident in Bombay. The adminstrators in Ethiopia were Gulamally A. Ehrahimji Hararwalla S.O.E., Associate Director and Salebbhai M. Master, Assistant Director. The headquarters in Ethiopia was removed from Harar where the business began to Addis Ababa. There were branches in Harar, Dire Dawa, Jigjiga, Jimma, Lekemti, Mojo, Wollamo and agents in many other parts of the country. The headquarters remained in Bombay and there were branches in Jibuti and Berbera, British Somaliland. Their admirable business activity and willingness to provide everything and anything required soon caused the firm to be appointed buyers to the Ethiopian Government and to the Emperor Haile Sellassie, from whom they obtained permission to bear the Ethiopian Royal Coat of Arms.

They were given a concession to operate a government sawmill at Cadj in Shoa and to carry out other important works.

They were agents for the principal motorcar manufacturers and makers of tractors and industrial machinery, for petrol and petroleum products, for Lever Brothers' soaps, Kodak's photographic materials and whatnot. Indeed they were one of the most important of Ethiopian institutions.

During the fascist occupation the business of Mohamedally was harrassed and persecuted and obliged to withdraw from the country thereby suffering great losses. This firm, which before the Italian war had overshadowed all competitors, never returned.

Diplomatic relations between India and Ethiopia were established in 1950, three years after India regained her freedom.

The Indian Embassy could not supply us with exact figures of Indian residents in Ethiopia but estimated roughly 2,100. The number is smaller than would be expected. The Ethiopian Immigration Department informs us that in the four years 1955-1958 there was a net gain in the Indian population in Ethiopia of 700 persons on the basis of emigration and immigration not counting the rates of birth and death.

Today there is again an Indian school in Addis Ababa for the children of the Indian community. It has 180 pupils and four teachers and was founded 12 years ago.

An Indian restaurant, charging strictly moderate prices has been established behind the Premjee building in Churchill Road, Addis Ababa.

The Ethiopian Ministry of Education, in the year 1959-60, employed 237 Indian teachers—all in the secondary schools and all graduates of Indian institutions. Their scale of payment was Eth. $400 monthly, with a housing allowance of Eth.$100 a month, or unfurnished quarters. Increments of salary varied from Eth.$30 a month up to Eth.$100 a month. These salaries, we are informed from Indian sources, are higher than are paid to teachers of equal standing in India.

According to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education there were 35 Ethiopian students studying in India on March 30, 1958. Of these, 18 held Ethiopian Government scholarships, 8 held Indian scholarships, 4 I.C.A. schol-

Emperor Haile Sellassie and Premier Nehru sign the Joint Statement on World Peace, 1956

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arships and one F.A.O. scholarship; 3 were private students. The numbers studying the various subjects were as follows:

Political Science	4
Economics	3
Commerce	3
Agriculture	2
Forestry	1
Librarianship	1
Naval Science	3
Marine Engineering	3
Military Training	2
Malaria Control	4
Arts	1
General Education	1

Five students were in high school and one in elementary school.

In 1955 when the Jubilee of the Emperor Haile Sellassie and the Empress Menen was celebrated, the Indian community gave practical expression to its affection for Ethiopia and its Sovereigns by building the Gandhi Memorial Hospital, at a cost of more than 4 lakhs of rupees, and by erecting a statue of the Emperor Haile Sellassie costing 33,000 rupees.

In November, 1956, the Emperor of Ethiopia was warmly welcomed on his arrival in Delhi by the President, Vice-President and the Prime Minister of India, and other Indian Goverment officials, as well as by the people at large.

As stated elsewhere in this issue, Indian capital has latterly been introduced into Ethiopia to promote textile manufacture, in view of the efforts of the Ethiopian Government to render Ethiopia self-sufficient in the production of raw cotton, cotton yarns and piece goods, hitherto her largest imports. It should be emphasised that one-fifth of Ethiopia's import trade is in Indian hands.

INDIANS IN ETHIOPIA

By G. N. WADHAWAN

Indo-Ethiopian relations are traced by historians to many centuries before our time. Recent contacts were re-established by Indian businessmen who came to Ethiopia about a century ago. They are doing very useful work in trade and commerce, particularly in the import of textiles to Ethiopia. They number roughly 1,600, both in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

For the last decade, or a little over, Indian teachers have been coming here to help further the cause of Ethiopian education. They are nearly 300 at present and are working in big towns as well as in remote parts of the Empire. Their work has been uniformly appreciated by the Ethiopian Government.

For the last five years a number of Indian experts and advisers have been engaged by the Ethiopian authorities to work in different governmental bodies. A list of such advisers is given below:

Mr. B. L. Gulatee, Topographist, at present working as Adviser to the Municipality of Addis Ababa. (Survey Department).

(continued on page 331)

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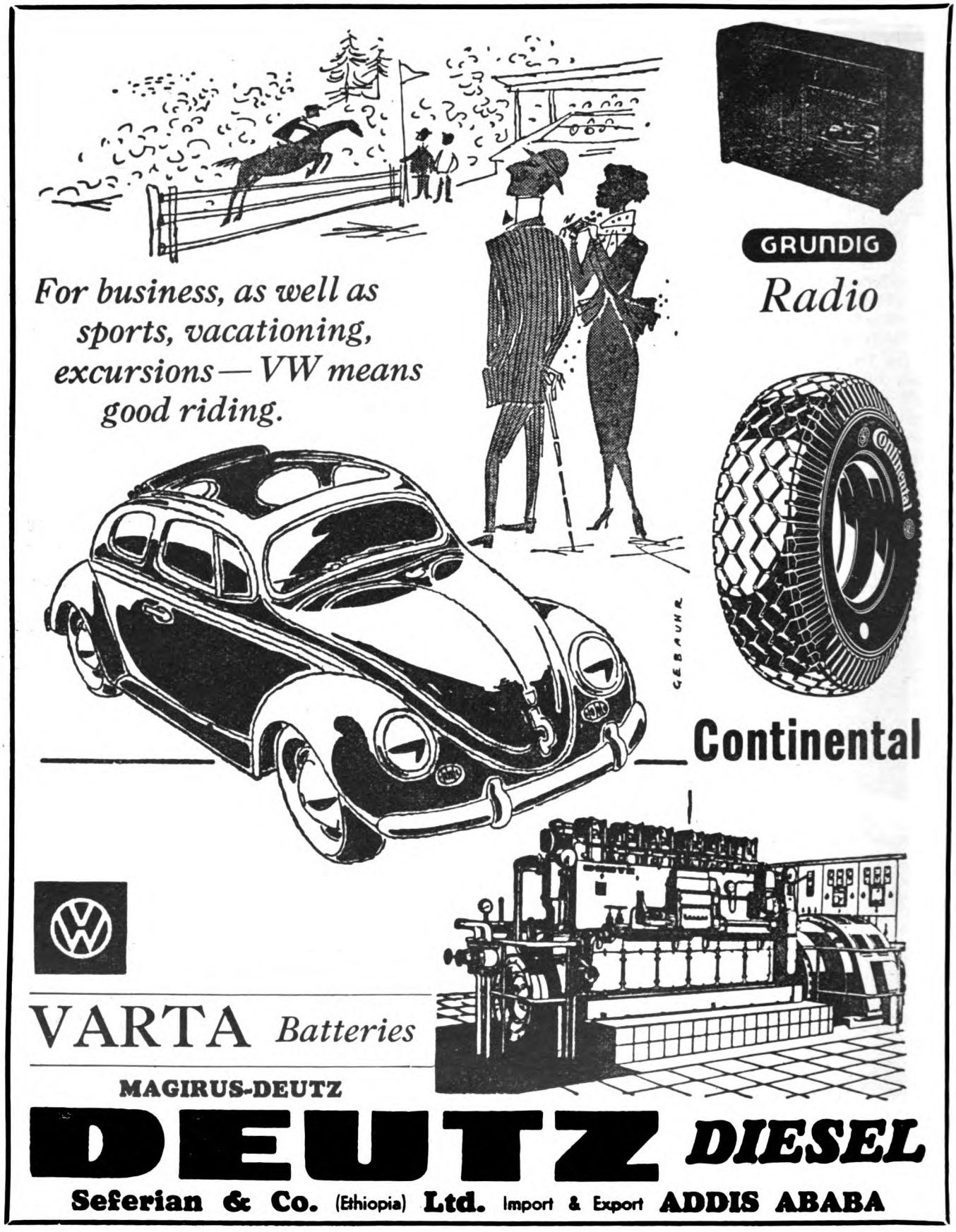

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The Haile Sellassie Military Academy

The Haile Sellassie I Military Academy has been confided to the management of Indian Army Officers.

Established in 1958 and situated in Harar it is designed to afford an efficient training to officers of the Imperial Ethiopian Army and the Imperial Body Guard. The Academy accepts students who have obtained the Secondary School Leaving Certificate.

The principal is Colonel N. C. Rawlley, M.C., of the Indian Army who had military experience with the British forces and also spent a period at the West Point Military Training Centre in the U.S.A.

The Ethiopian Military Academy provides a three-year course, having two divisions, Arts and Science, as well as the military subjects taken by all students. The Arts course includes English language, English literature, world history, ancient, mediaeval and modern, Amharic language, Ethiopian history, economics, public administration, book-keeping and accountancy, mathematics, drawing and surveying, international affairs and international law.

Students of the science course take physics and chemistry in lieu of English literature.

Colonel Rawlley was absent in Addis Ababa at the time of our visit, but his deputy, Major Sen, most courteously conducted us through the Academy.

He emphasised that in Army administration much civil administration may be involved, which necessitates broadly based studies by officers. Moreover, the work of a modern army requires extensive knowledge of technical military sciences.

The aim of the Academy, he said, has been formulated as being to ensure firstly that each gentleman cadet acquires the mental, moral and physical attributes of leadership so essential to his progressive and continued development as an officer; secondly, that he gains the basic military knowledge and educational background needed for all officers; thirdly, that on being commissioned as a second lieutenant he is capable of assuming command of an infantry platoon, and that with further experience will be become capable of exercising higher command.

The Emperor at Haile Sellassie I Military Academy at Harar

The military subjects studied at the Academy include physical training and drill, weapon training, military tactics staff duties, map-reading, field engineering, military intelligence, security, methods of instruction, signals, organisaton and administration, driving and maintenance, personnel management, military law, military administration, military accounts, first-aid, sanitation and hygiene, equitation and animal management, military history throughout the ages, including: the wars of Hannibal and Napoleon; the Egyptian wars in Ethiopia; the Italo-Ethiopian War: how Italy attacked the liberation campaign; the 1st and 2nd World Wars and their strategy; future military developments.

This is a truly formidable curriculum which involves earnest study and concentration on the part of the students.

At the end of the course the Academy awards a degree to successful students.

Amharic language and Ethiopian history are taught by an Ethiopian instructor, Nine officers are from India; the Commandant, Colonel Rawlley and eight majors, one of whom is the registration officer, one the bandmaster, and four of whom are professors. The General Staff-Officer responsible for co-ordination, who serves also as senior instructor was Major Sen at the time of our visit. The Indian officers are drawn from the divers branches of the Indian Army; Cavalry, Infantry, Ordnance, etc.

The Indian Army of today, Major Sen told us, is organised mainly on the lines of the British Army as the Indian officers knew it, but some good ideas have been incorporated also from West Point.

Indians in Ethiopia (continued from page 329)

Mr. P. C. Mookerjee, Financial Expert, at present working as Adviser to the Municipality of Addis Ababa. (Finance Department).

Mr. J. Barnabas, Social Welfare Adviser, at present working with the Ministry of National Community Development.

Mr. S. N. Ahooja, Agricultural Expert, working with the Ministry of National Community Development.

Mr. D. N. Bakshi, Legal Adviser on Company Law, at present with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Mr. S. P. Ambasata, Adviser to Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. Welfred Partap Singh, Adviser on Juvenile Delinquency.

Mr. K. Mohd, Income Tax Expert.

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The Ethiopian Army had been trained, he recalled, first by British officers, then by Swedes, subsequently also by Americans. The Emperor Haile Sellassie on his visit to India was greatly impressed by the Indian Army. Accordingly he arranged for Indian officers to organise and staff the Military College.

Major Sen considered the existing Ethiopian officers a "fine lot."

He was obviously extremely familiar with Britain and the British Army, and had an affectionate regard for the British soldier. "He is always grumbling," he said, smiling, "but when there is trouble he's there!" British soldiers, he added, "have far more to do than others," and in his opinion they are not paid well enough. The regular soldiers, he said are "extremely efficient; it is the conscripts who grumble."

The British Joint Services Staff College he considered a valuable institution; as he thought, the defence services ought not to be kept in too rigidly separate departments. In India the cadets of Navy, Air Service and Army take academic and basic military subjects together. Only after this do they separate in their special departments.

The Military Academy at Harar is extremely well housed. The main building contains 16 rooms, some of them vast halls. It occupies also eight other buildings, including living quarters for the cadets and other requirements. After a few years it was proposed to remove to Abokar, where a specially designed building would be constructed for the Academy, to enable students and all requirements to be housed in the same compound.

In the meantime the Academy occupies splendid premises which have been newly decorated throughout. A large hall provides accommodation for meetings and lectures. Lighting from the side and roof allows of the end windows being filled with beautiful stained-glass panels, designed by Afework Tekle.

Major Sen conducted us to the room for instruction in military strategy, where there is a sand-pit for the construction of model battlefields. Galleries for the student observers enable them to perceive every manoeuvre on the field.

We proceeded to the spacious room of the Commandant with balconies overlooking the gardens, to that of the Commandant's personal assistant and the two tearooms for officers.

We saw the military drawing classroom and the projector room. The large classrooms at the front of the building were furnished to accommodate 30 students, four larger classrooms on one side of the building were furnished to accommodate together 180 students.

We saw the professors' rooms, the library, the store for stationery and office utilities, the film storage and guardrooms, the students' washroom with six hand-basins and lavatories, all of the most modern type.

As we went through the premises, Major Sen introduced us to his colleagues: Mr. Easwarn (supervisor), Mr. De Silver (adjutants' supervisor), the two tremendously tall, extremely immaculate and erect Sikhs, with short black beards and very large turbans, Major Chhachhi (instructor of miscellaneous military subjects) and Major Vorhara (instructor in tactics and weapon training). We were introduced also to Major Grewal (instructor of organisation and administration), two Ethiopian officers on the Academy staff, one from the Imperial Body Guard, Lieutenants Abate and Togene, and one from the Ethiopian Infantry school. Lieutenant Worku Wolde Tensai Haile.

The instructor of physical training was Mr. Thomas, whose ancestors, he told us, had been converted by Syrian Christian disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas. His father is a journalist. And here he was a teacher in Christian Ethiopia; the East becomes wonderfully united in these days.

E.S.P.

Indian Forces in Ethiopia during The Second World War

In the Second World War, as will be well remembered, Mussolini declared war on Britain and France, in June 1940. The Italians thereafter soon captured the British Somaliland Protectorate, Kassala and Gallabat on the Sudan frontier and Moyalle on the Kenya border.

Indian troops now entered Ethiopia a second time, in order to assist in defeating the Italian forces, and thereby in liberating the Ethiopian people who had been valiantly resisting the Italians since they crossed the Ethiopian frontiers from North and South in October 1935.

In 1940 the Italians had an army of 300,000 in Ethiopia and 200 aircraft.

These fascist forces were destroyed by a gigantic pincer movement and a thrust through the centre.

The southern arm of the pincers was based on Kenya. The central thrust was by the Emperor Haile Sellassie's Army of Liberation, advancing from the Sudan border at Um Idler through Gojjam and on to Addis Ababa.

The northern arm of the pincers was based on the Sudan and here it was that the Indian forces performed their invaluable service.

The Italians had decided to make no determined stand in the South and to fight only delaying actions there. In fact they retired so rapidly in that sector that the invading East and South African troops often had difficulty in catching up with the fleeing foes and sometimes found themselves riding side by side with them along Mussolini's imperial road. According to the fascist plan effective resistance was to be made in the Gojjam mountains, where Italian forces were heavily armed and entrenched, and in Eritrea their so-called " first-born " colony and particularly at the well-nigh impregnable natural fortress of Keren. The taking of Keren proved to be the longest battle of the campaign.

The fall of Keren is universally ascribed to a major extent to the valour of the Indian troops. These comprised the 10th Indian Division and the 4th Indian Division which was hurriedly diverted from the Western Desert to assist in Eritrea.

Of the Indians: the 10th Indian Infantry Brigade, the 4th Battalion of the 10th Baluchi Regiment and the 3rd Battalion of the 18th Regiment of Baluchi Rifles fought and won at Gallabat, the 9th Indian Infantry Brigade, the 3rd Battalion of the 5th Mahratta Light Infantry Regiment were victorious at Kassala. The 29th Indian Infantry Brigade

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and the 3rd Battalion of the 2nd Punjab were victorious at Port Sudan. Meanwhile the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Mahratta Regiment were guarding the long lines of communications.

In the next advance through Eritrea the Indian Sappers and Miners and the Rajputana Rifles were active. The 3rd Battalion of the 1st Punjab Regiment with Tanks were "the decisive element" in the defeat of the Italians at Agordat, says the official British pamphlet on "The Abyssinian Campaigns." Next day the 5th Indian Division captured Barentu.

To prevent their assailants advance to Keren the Italians blew up 200 yards of cliff, thereby rendering the Keren fortress still more impregnable. The plain through which the attacking forces advanced allowed no cover from the fire of the Italian guns on the heights above. The Italians had already honey-combed the rocks with road blocks and artillery and machine-gun posts. They were superior in number to the force against them and possessed all the transport mules their assailants lacked. The British and Indian soldiers were obliged to carry their equipment on their shoulders when scrambling up the precipitous rocks. The Scotch Highland Camerons succeeded in gaining a narrow ridge, part way up the mountain. The Indian Punjabis joined them there, and then, with heroic courage, passed on and reached the peak above. Despite devastating shell fire, showers of grenades and appalling casualties, they held the peak for some hours, but were finally driven down . The Rajputana Rifles meanwhile came up to reinforce the Camerons on the ledge.

Two days later a new offensive was tried, the 5th Brigade of the 4th Indian Division, led by Rajputana Rifles, attempted to scale the mountain from a different angle. The Italians waited securely behind their rocks until the troops were close at hand, then assailed them with thousands of hand-grenades. The Rajputanas doggedly maintained their position on a lower ridge until their recall was sounded from below. Three of them indeed, remained several days longer, being too much occupied in their hopeless fight to hear the order to retire.

Four days later the Fourth Indian Division again attempted the mountain. The third battalion of the First Punjab Rifles stormed "Sanchill," one of the Italian strongholds, but few of them survived to retain it against the enemy. The rest of the division were occupied under the burning sun, in hauling up water and ammunition and in handing down the wounded. Sanchill had to be abandoned. Moreover, the Italians from their superior positions, with their superior armament, were re-taking the lower peaks and ridges earlier gained by the Indian heroes.

So the terrible battle continued. In the latter stages of the fight, bombing and shelling and aircraft had to be employed to a larger extent in order to save the appalling sacrifice of brave soldiers in climbing those sheer, bare precipices under the devastating gunfire and hand-grenades showered upon them from above.

The conflict began in the first days of February, 1941; it ended with the flying of Italian white flags of surrender on the 26th of March. In that period the two Indian Divisions had lost 5,000 men.

With their defeat at Keren the Italians lost all heart to defend Eritrea; Asmara, the capital, was surrendered without a blow.

Though its forces had been denuded of 3,000 men, the Fourth Indian Division was now hurried away to serve in a counter-attack against the Germans in Cyrenaica.

The valour and resource of the Indian soldiers may be illustrated by two instances, quoted by the official report of the "Abyssinian Campaigns," which was written, as we happen to know, by the late G. L. Steer, press correspondent with the forces under General Platt.

As stated in the official citation accompanying the posthumous award to him of the Victoria Cross, Subadar Richpal Ram, second in command of the leading company, on February 7, 1941, led an attack on an enemy position. His company commander being wounded, he assumed command. In the face of withering fire, he rushed the objective at the head of about 30 men and captured it; though completely isolated, they beat back six enemy attacks between midnight and 4-30 a.m. On February 12 he led another attack on the same position and pressed on fearlessly, despite very heavy and accurate fire. His right foot was blown off and he suffered further wounds, to which he ultimately succumbed. While lying wounded he was careless of his own suffering, but continued waving his men to advance. His last words were, "We shall capture the objective."

The Fourth Indian Division was able to maintain Flat Top Hill, so named by the soldiers, because in a moment of crisis the Adjutant of the Second Battalion of the Fifth Regiment of Mahrattas "led out the office clerks in a bayonet charge which saved a wavering situation." *

The achievement of British and Sudanese forces at Keren was courageous also, but the more numerous Indians in their sturdy and selfless valour were the mainstay of the assault and of its final victory against what appeared a the commencement a completely impregnable position and overwhelming odds.

* The Abyssinian Campaign, page 46.

The Gandhi Memorial Hospital, an Indian Gift

The Gandhi Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa was erected by the Indian community of Ethiopia as a tribute to the Emperor Haile Sellassie and the Empress Menen on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of their Coronation, which was celebrated on November 2, 1955.

The building and equipment having been presented by the Indian community, the institution has subsequently been maintained by the Haile Sellassie I Welfare Foundation.

The Gandhi Memorial Hospital was the first medical institution in Ethiopia exclusively devoted to children. Though the upper floor of the building provides accommodation for inpatients it has hitherto been maintained solely as an outpatients' clinic.

Under its able Indian Medical Officer, Dr. G. V. Rama Rao, it has gained the confidence of parents, as is evidenced by the fact that they come with their children from places so far distant as the province of Sidamo in the far south, Goma Gofa, Soddo, Agaro, Jimma, Goré Wolisso in the west, Holleta and Wollega, Debra Markos in the Gojjam, Makalle in Tigré, Dessie, Debra

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The Ghandi Memorial Hospital, Addis Ababa

Berhan, Harar in the East, Debra Zeit, Arussi and Shashamanne.

Many of the areas from which the children are carried are extremely difficult of access, the homes being reached by trails over mountains and fords over rivers, where roads and bridges are lacking.

Infants are brought to the clinic, not because their parents happen to have occasion to visit Addis Ababa; they are carried here specially for no other purpose than to obtain advice and treatment from Dr. Rao. His reputation has been carried far and wide by the grateful parents whose children he has restored to health in all parts of Ethiopia.

The clinic is open daily from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 3 to 6 p.m., from Monday to Saturday. On Sunday it is open only for the giving of injections and any other treatment which has to be given daily.

Parents pay Eth.$2 for their child's first visit and Eth.$1 for subsequent visits. The charge for injections is 50 cents for the first and 25 cents for each further injection.

Patients' ages range almost from birth to 12 years. Some 50 to 65 patients attend daily to see the doctor, whilst treatments, saline and other injections, dressings, etc. are given to an average of 140 patients daily.

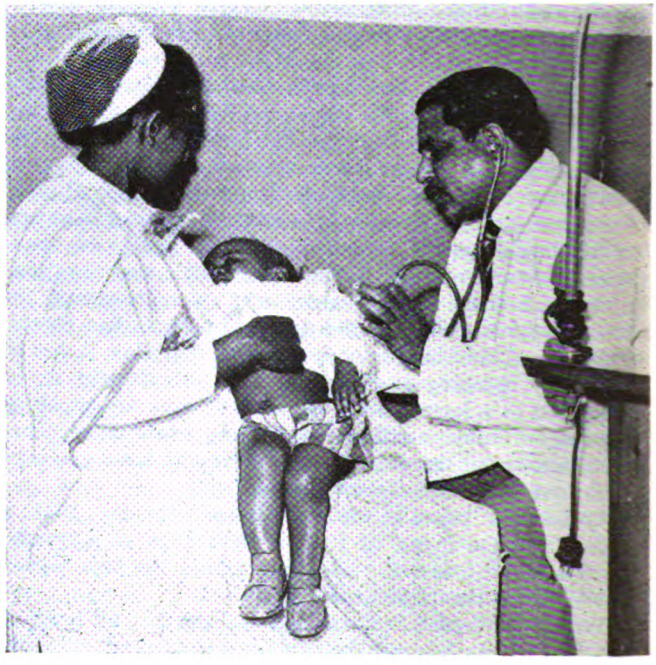
Cases requiring admission to hospital are sent to the Ethio-Swedish Paediatric Clinic, with which the Gandhi Memorial Hospital co-operates closely.

The premises of the Gandhi Hospital comprise offices for the administrator and accountant, the doctor's consulting room, the x-ray department, which is equipped but not in operation, because no x-ray technician has hitherto been provided. Other rooms are devoted to histology, pharmacy and to injections.

Of the staff, Dr. Rao is from India, all the rest are Ethiopians; the administrator, the accountant, the matron, two "dressers," three nurses, one laboratory technician, one pharmacist, one patients' cards clerk, one storekeeper, one office boy, three gardeners, one chauffeur and three cleaners. The nurses were trained by the Ethiopian Red Cross Nursing School at Haile Sellassie Hospital—one of them was subsequently sent for a midwifery course to Germany. The "dressers" were trained at a mission hospital in Nazareth. The laboratory technician was trained at the Addis Ababa branch of the Pasteur Institute. The hospital uses the facilities provided by the Pasteur Institute for any laboratory examinations with which it is unable to cope.

In the nine and a half months of its first year of operation the Gandhi Hospital treated 4,618 patients; in the second year the patients numbered 10,022 and in the third year 10,682.

Though Dr. Rao is occupied at the hospital as its sole physician for six days a week, he generously spares time to visit the children at the Kolfé Rehabilitation Centre on Sundays.



Dr. Rama Rao, Director, Gandhi Memorial Hospital, Addis Ababa

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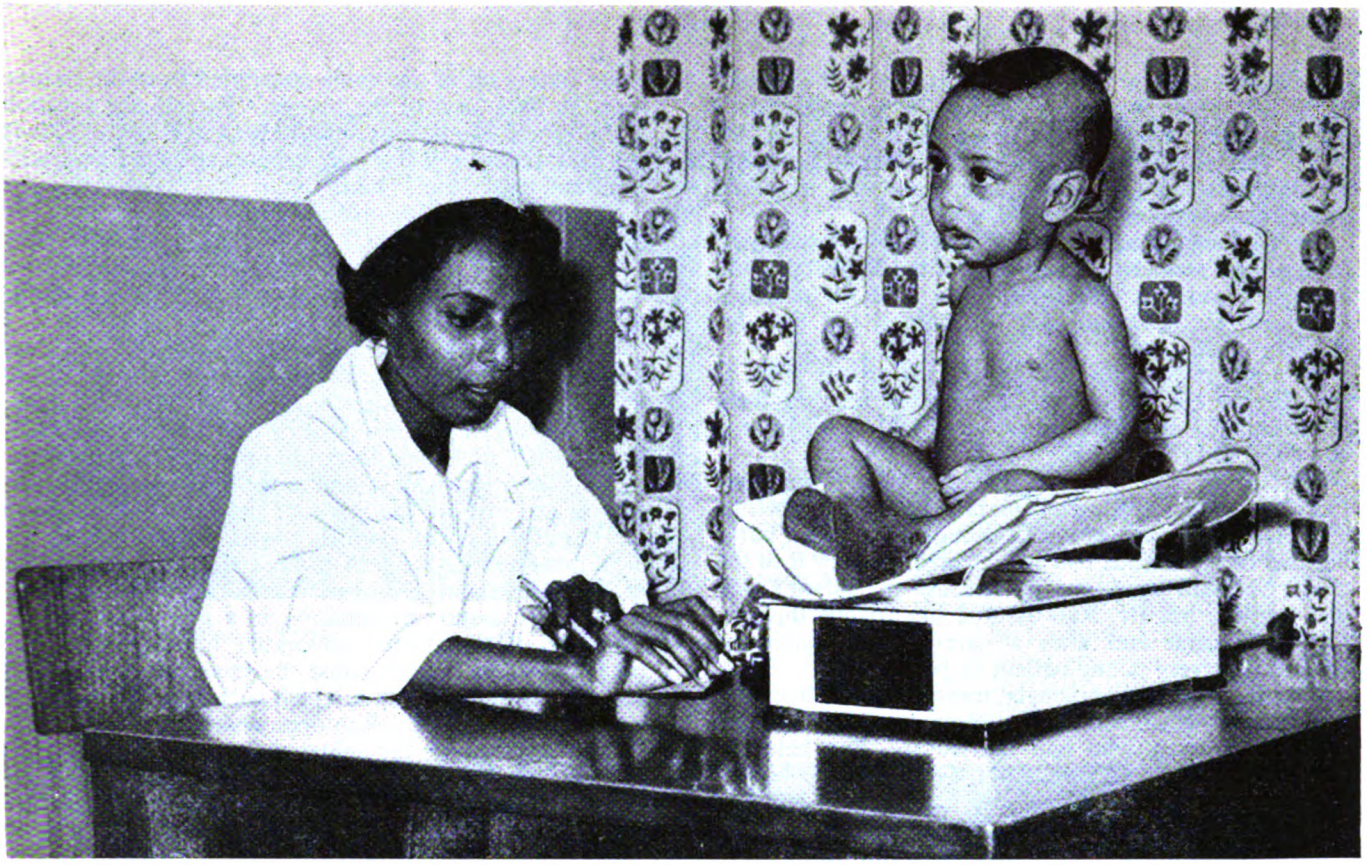

Ethiopian nurse weighs patient: Gandhi Memorial Hospital, Addis Ababa

When the hospital commenced there were two Indian nurses; these have been replaced by Ethiopians who have now been trained.

Waizerit Tayetch Bayenna, who was educated in England and is attached to the Welfare Foundation, at one time attended to give advice to the mothers under Dr. Rao's instructions; this was extremely helpful. A part of her duty was to show mothers how they could follow the doctor's advice in respect of bathing their infants and in other ways by using locally available equipment. Waizerit Tayetch no longer attends, to the doctor's great regret, but we noticed during our visit that Dr. Rao is now well able to converse with the parents of the little patients in their own language, Amharic; the services of this Ethiopian lady are therefore, no doubt, less essential than they were in the early days, particularly as the Ethiopian staff has been enlarged.

Nevertheless the doctor has undoubtedly an arduous task in coping with the medical aspect of the busy clinic single-handed.

Not that he complains—oh no, far from that! He is much too greatly interested in the welfare of the children and in assisting the parents to care for their welfare to regret one iota of the time and solicitude he lavishes daily in their service.

The diseases among the babies Dr. Rao has to treat are chiefly gastro-intestinal. He uses saline injections for infants who are severely dehydrated by the ravages of infantile diarrhoea, the most common complaint. The days are gone, he said, when a bottle of medicine provided the sole treatment for a sick baby. The bottles of saline and equipment for injecting it in the room reserved for this purpose emphasised the doctor's words. Nevertheless we had noticed in the pharmacy various medicines for amoeba and for diarrhoea and various vitamin preparations for the small patients with quite a large variety of other preparations for dealing with illness.

Rickets, said Dr. Rao, is also distressingly common. As everyone knows this grave disease affects the bony framework of the body, causing bowed legs, deformity of the skull, the chest and the spine and disturbing the function of other organs. Even if the disease is overcome as the child grows older, the deformity of the bones is often permanent.

Rickets is caused by lack of vitamin D. It was exceedingly common in the British Isles at the close of the nineteenth century. The eradication of severe rickets is said to be "one of the major triumphs of modern medical research." In 1868 severe rickets was said to have afflicted 33 per cent. of the London school children and in 1891 a similar figure was given for Manchester.

In 1890 Palm declared that "a map of the incidence of rickets is a map of the deficiency of sunlight." It is known that sunlight produces vitamin D in the skin of persons exposed to it. Sunlight in fact is equivalent to vitamin D, as a factor protecting infants from rickets, which is usually a disease of early childhood, and is most frequently seen in infants between the ages of about eight to fifteen months and may continue up to two years. As a preventive of rickets sunlight is the most important. Preparations of vitamin D and cod-liver oil are also recommended.

Dr. Rao deplored the fact that Ethiopian parents often fear sunlight for their children and tend to keep them

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in darkened rooms, instead of giving them the benefit of the health-giving sunlight so plentiful in the favoured Ethiopian climate. Seclusion from the sunshine is not due to carelessness or neglect, Dr. Rao emphasised, but to solicitude for the baby's safety and the mistaken belief that sunshine is harmful.

Dr. Rao suggested the Ministry of Health would perform a great service to the children if the Ministry would arrange broadcasts emphasising the need for sunshine and fresh air, especially for the babies, but also for children of all ages.

So much reliance is placed upon the advice given at the Gandhi clinic that babies are often brought there for examination (purely as a precaution) as early as a couple of days after birth.

During our talk with Dr. Rao two women appeared to consult him, carrying an infant born six days before. The mother was not yet strong enough to bring her baby, but two of her friends had volunteered to carry it to the clinic. She had been worried because the infant's skin was peeling, but Dr. Rao assured her friends this was entirely normal and after a careful examination he declared the very young patient in perfect health.

The baby was surprisingly tranquil throughout the examination which was mainly effected on the lap of the beautiful woman who had carried it. She held the infant so tenderly and gazed on it with so much affection and solicitude that it was difficult to realise she was not in fact its mother. In her graceful white Ethiopian national dress, worn with a black woollen pullover, to ward off the damp chill of the rainy season, she and the little brown baby presented a truly charming picture.

Her companion, apparently a few years older, was clothed all in black from head to foot, and was obviously far-advanced in pregnancy. She evinced an equal solicitude for the tiny new-born infant and addressed several questions to the doctor.

We commented to Dr. Rao that the baby was extremely serene; he replied very few of the babies brought to him are given to crying, because, as far as possible, he examines them on the mother's knee, which gives them a sense of security. He considers this preferable to removing the child from the mother's loving arms to place it on a couch.

Following the two women friends and their six-day-old charge, entered a young mother and father with their first baby, about six months old. The father was carrying the baby. The mother seated herself for the examination and took the child on her lap. The ailment proved to be a very minor one; the infant appeared healthy and well-nourished. The doctor prescribed and explained carefully the treatment required, causing the parents to repeat in turn the directions he had given.

Meanwhile the mother was carefully re-dressing the baby which had been partially stripped for the examination. When she had wrapped it up warmly, she passed the baby to her husband. To both these young parents their child was evidently very precious. It was pleasant to watch their gentle care of their little one.

Dr. Rao explained that owing to the charges made at the clinic the poorest parents do not attend; they go either to St. Paul's Free Hospital for the Poor or to a municipal clinic.

Nevertheless, there are traditional practices dangerous to infant life with which he has to contend. One of these is the cutting off of the uvula suspended from the palate over the back part of the tongue. Parents are assured by certain Ethiopian practitioners that if the uvula is not removed it will one day become diseased and will swell and choke their child.

"I have had babies brought to me dead through the cutting out of the uvula," Dr. Rao said. In this case also, he urged that Ministry of Health broadcasts against this very widespread practice would do great good.

Another harmful but common practice, the doctor explained, is the removal of the budding second canine teeth, which are forming, one each side, below the first. or "milk" teeth. This is done by cutting into the child's jaw; the still unformed teeth are brought out of the jaw at the cost of great pain and suffering to the child; the parents are told by the ignorant practitioner that these are harmful "germs" which might destroy the life of their precious offspring. On the contrary, there is risk of septic infection from this painful operation, carried out without aseptic precautions, in a primitive fashion. Here again, the doctor advocated broadcasts to the people warning them against the unnecessary risk and suffering to their children which such utterly unnatural operations involve. Dr. Rao does what he can to educate parents concerning the injury done by these harmful practices in the guileless belief that they are necessary to the children's welfare, but broadcasts would reach a much larger number of people than come to the Gandhi clinic.

Dr. Rao emphasised his appreciation of the loving care Ethiopian parents lavish upon their children and of the kindness neighbours, friends and relatives are ever ready to show to lying-in mothers and their infants.

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The Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory at Akaki. General view

Indo-Ethiopian Textile Mill

Akaki

In the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Mill at Akaki, the capital investment amounts to 4½ million Ethiopian dollars. In this investment Indian holdings are between 30 and 35%; the rest of it being Ethiopian capital. The mill has 14,000 spindles and 360 automatic looms. It is equipped to fulfil all operations, i.e., cleaning raw cotton, imported at present, up to the fine bleached cloth. A further agreement has been recently concluded between the Ethiopian Government and a private Indian party for making Ethiopia self-sufficient in cotton.

At present the mill employs 1,200 workers, of whom 700 are women. The production target of the mill is 12 million yards of cloth per year. The present production of the mill is 750,000 yards per month or 75% of its capacity. The mill produces 12,500 bundles of yarn

Spinning at the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory at Akaki

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Indian Merchants and Manufacturers in Ethiopia Today

The imports of Indian traders today value 40 million Ethiopian dollars out of a total Ethiopian import of 200 million dollars. A fifth of Ethiopia's import trade is thus in Indian hands.

India, however, imports little from Ethiopia, the produce Ethiopia has to sell being mainly produced also in India, notably coffee, Ethiopia's main crop.

These Indian merchants import into Ethiopia from India itself and also from Japan.

Among the Indian firms longest established in Ethiopia is that of Nathan Mooljee, founded in 1905. This firm imports grey cotton sheetings, grey and khaki drills, cotton yarns and cotton blankets. It exports from Ethiopia coffee, peas, lentils, wheat and oilseeds. Its Addis Ababa headquarters is in busy Churchill Road. It has shops in the great market area, Addis Ketema, and branches in Dire Dawa and in Jibuti (French Somaliland) also overseas in Aden and in Bombay and Porbanda in India.

Another old firm is Keshavlal Talakshand, founded in 1915 before the Italian war; its head office is in Bombay and its Addis Ababa office in Addis Ketema. It imports cotton and rayon piece-goods, yarns and "gunny" bags, which are in much demand for containing Ethiopian agricultural produce. The local sack factories have hitherto only partially supplied this need. The firm exports coffee, pulses, wheat, durrah and castor seeds.

One of the largest Indian importers today is Shantilal, founded in 1950, with headquarters in Churchill Road, Addis Ababa, a shop in Addis Ketema and branches in Dire Dawa, Jibuti and Aden. The firm imports a considerable variety of wares: cotton piece-goods, the main staple of the eastern trade, of course, and rayon, cotton yarns and nylon and also hosiery, underwear, stationery, glass, porcelain, enamelled goods, etc., etc. Its trade is both wholesale and retail.

Another large firm is J. Premjee and Sons, founded in 1941, which has erected a fine block of shops and offices in Churchill Road and has its own headquarters there. It imports cotton yarns and piece-goods, rayon, radios and numerous other wares. The firm also operates a saw-mill and acts as agent for The New India Assurance Company.

Messrs. Seth Ratilal Chaganlal, established in 1943, with headquarters in Churchill Road, import textiles, furniture, liquors, radios, medicines and motor spare-parts. They are agents for Herbert Whitworth Ltd., Manchester; the Mee Export Company, New York; Delhi Cloth and General Mills in India; Zenith Radios Corporation, U.S.A.; Booth's Distilleries and Brown and Pank, England.

Another big firm established before the Italian war which still continues in business is the import-export company of Kamruddin Akbarally with office at 73, Cunningham Street and shops in Addis Ketema. Its imports are cotton yarns, grey sheetings, grey and khaki drills, rayon piece-goods, woollen yarn for knitting, blankets, umbrellas and a variety of other goods. It exports wheat from Ethiopia.

Chhotalal Karsanjee and Sons of Abuna Petros

Continued from previous page

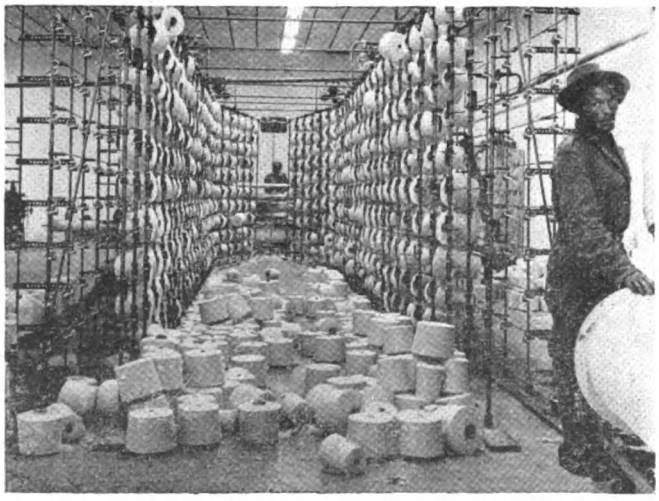
per month. Already work has started to double the present capacity of the present factory. After the second plant goes into production, this mill will produce enough cloth to curtail by over 65% the present imports of cloth into Ethiopia, thus saving valuable foreign exchange.

Major part of spinning industry for the factory has been imported from India. Other countries who have supplied the machinery for the factory are Japan, U.S.A., England, Germany, etc.

This is the first mill in Ethiopia to start dyeing and bleaching of cloth. This mill commenced production in 18 months from the date of the laying of the foundation-stone on March 29, 1958.

His Imperial Majesty has graced the mill by his presence on two different occasions. Once on October 8, 1959, at the request of Mr. S. N. Hada, Controller of Industries. Again on April 8, 1960, when His Imperial Majesty officially declared the mill open. The mill has been set up by a leading house of Indian Industrialists, M/s. Birla Brothers (Private) Ltd., who remain as Managing Agents of the Textile Mill.

G. N. W.



The Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory at Akaki. Cotton bobbins

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Square, founded in 1925, was also established before the Italian war and after that time, so unhappy for the Indian traders as well as for their Ethiopian customers, it resumed its industrious labours. Today Messrs. Chhotolal are both wholesalers and retailers, importing building materials of all kinds, paints, corrugated iron, bedsteads, disinfectants, etc., as well as textiles. They are agents for Walter Carson and Co. Ltd., Hamilton Co. (London) Ltd. and for the Defiant Cotton Company Ltd.

J. J. Kothari of Cunningham Street, Addis Ababa, another wholesale importer, was established in 1942. Its main business is in textiles, cotton and rayon goods, corrugated iron sheets and tea, which Ethiopia, with somewhat more enterprise, would be well able to grow and which is becoming increasingly popular in Addis Ababa.

Sundarjee, Kalidas and Sons, another firm engaged in textile imports, deals in cotton yarns, grey sheetings, knitting wool, rayon yarns and also in radios and photographic equipment. The head office of the firm is in Aden. Its Addis Ababa office in Haile Sellassie Star Square was established in 1952.

Lalchand Mehta and Co. import grey sheetings, khaki drills, white shirtings, " gunny " bags. The firm was established in 1952. Its office is in Addis Ketema.

Messrs. Chunilal Jasray Mehta, established in 1951, have their office in Churchill Road. They import khaki and grey drills and other cotton piece-goods. They are both wholesale and retail merchants.

An early established firm, Sharafally Mohamedally and Co., commenced business in 1913 as wholesale and retail merchants, importing textiles, cotton and artificial silk, piece-goods, yarns, blankets, knittting wool and sundry other wares. Its Addis Ababa headquarters is in Addis Ketema. It has branches in Wollamo and Soddo.

Other Indian importers at present in business are:

Andarjee Manganlal, founded in 1933, two years before the Italian war, importing cotton and rayon piece-goods, "gunny" bags, cotton yarns, corrugated iron sheets, and acting as agents for Andarjee Manckchand (Jibouti), Madhavas Manek-chand (Aden), Bridgestone Tyre Co. Ltd. (Tokyo), and Jay Engineering Works (Calcutta).

Dalpat Kapurchand Doshi, founded in 1929, also before the Italian war, importing all sorts of textiles, grey and white sheetings, drills, blankets, rayon piece-goods and "gunny" bags. The Addis Ababa office is in Churchill Road. There is a branch in Dire Dawa.

Narandash Hemchand Gandhi, founded in 1935, office in Addis Ketema, imports cotton and rayon piece-goods and yarns.

Jamnadas Haridas Gandhi imports cotton, woollen and silk goods. Babulal Dayaljee is an exporter and importer.

Chaturbai Purshottamdas Patel, founded 1939, imports cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods; exports lentils and chickpeas.

Dahabhai Patel and Brothers of Dire Dawa import fancy and grey cotton piece-goods, yarns, rayon piece-goods, jute, Ceylon and Calcutta tea.

Vazirally Noorbhai, established in 1937, imports cotton piece-goods, blankets, yarns and rayon piece-goods. The firm has a branch at Wollamo and exports lentils and chickpeas.

Maganlal Moolchand, established 1948, are importers of sheetings, drills, yarns, blankets and exporters of wheat-flour and cereals.

J. J. Kothari is another importer of textiles and corrugated iron sheets and M. Laxmichand yet another importer of textiles.

Abdel Kaber Said imports tyres. Mutahar Said imports cotton, rayon, spices, glass cups and saucers, sugar, soap and dates and has offices both in Addis Ababa and Asmara. J. G. Shah is again a textile importer.

Abdulla A. Sheriff and Company import perfumery, toilet preparations, haberdashery and sundries. They are agents for Ward and Goldstone in London, Simon May of Calais and Jablonex in Czechoslovakia.

A number of Indian importers operate in Eritrea: Kantilal Laxmichand, Harjivan Lalji Shah, Prabhulal Fullchand Vora, Narsidas Morargi, J. Kanji Khotari, Ahmed Nasser Saleh, Hirachand Ruggnath Batavia, Lalchand Auratlal Gaglani, Mulgi Jassai Gaglani, Virchand Rugnath Batavia, Kandar Dhirajilal Harilal, Moolchand Dewjee, Chotolal Samjee Virani, Ramjee Samjee Virani, Gulam Hussein, Mulla Amiji, Narsidas Kalidas, Vora Valabjee Tarachand.

As stated already, one-fifth of Ethiopia's overseas commerce is in the hands of the Indian traders. Of recent years the importation of textiles has shown a marked tendency to pass from India to Japan, but the trade is still in Indian hands.

The following table indicates how the Japanese share in Ethiopia's imports is growing. It reveals also that Ethiopia has a larger export to Japan, which has need of agricultural imports, than to India. There is little doubt that Ethiopian agricultural exports to Japan are destined to continue increasing as Ethiopian agricultural exports develop.

TABLE I

Ethiopian Trade With India and Japan for Years Ending December 10 (European Calendar) in 1,000 Eth.$

Imports

	1957	1958
India	22,826.2	16,556.6
Japan	21,037.3	20,617.5

It will be observed that Ethiopian imports from India dropped substantially in 1958, while imports from Japan fell to a lesser extent—so much so that Japan has replaced India as one of the three largest suppliers of commodities to Ethiopia.

The advances Japan is making in the Ethiopian market will be best understood by a comparison with her position in relation to Ethiopian imports, as compared with that of India, in some earlier years.

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TABLE II

Value of Ethiopian Imports by Country of Origin in Years Ending September

	Eth.$1,000	
	1952-53	1953-54
India	24,534	23,109
Japan	7,527	12,251

By reference to Table I it will be seen that Ethiopian imports from India fell from Eth.$24,534,000 in 1952-53 to Eth.$16,556,600 in 1958. Imports by Ethiopia from Japan, on the other hand, rose during the same period from Eth.$7,527,000 to Eth.$20,617,500 in 1958. The position of the two countries was thus reversed in the space of approximately six years.

Japan's position is also rising among the countries which import Ethiopian produce, although to a much smaller extent than among exporters to Ethiopia.

TABLE III

Value of Ethiopia's Exports by Country of Destination in Eth.$1,000

	1952-3	1953-4	1956-7	1957-8
India ...	829	512	57.4	3.6
Japan ...	70	73	871.6	1,122.5

Japan's principal imports from Ethiopia are listed as coffee, oilseeds, pulses and salt as shown by the following table.

TABLE IV

Japan's Imports from Ethiopia in the Year 1958-9, in tons

Source Ethiopian Customs

Coffee	Oil Seeds	Pulses	Salt*
553	6,538	1,305	42,646

* Japanese source.

In Metric Tons Japanese Imports of Coffee from Ethiopia Amounted to:

1955	1956	1957
82	94	162

India does not need to import coffee as she grows considerable quantities of Ethiopian-type coffee (coffee Arabica) which originated in Ethiopia and reached India via Yemen.

Japan imported 42,646 tons of salt from Ethiopia in 1958. It is reported by the port manager that the salt available for export from Assab is to be greatly increased; and it is anticipated that Japan will accept all the salt Ethiopia is able to supply.

Ethiopia's total export to Japan Eth.$2,768,000 in 1958-9, is of course almost negligible as compared with the total of Ethiopian exports—Eth.$169,697,000 but Japan is manifestly a rising field of export for Ethiopia whose import compares very favourably with the Eth.$3,600,000 imported by India.

Again it must be emphasised that though Ethiopia's commerce with Japan is growing at the expense of her trade with India, Ethiopian trade with Japan remains, for the present at least, in India hands. This does not apply to salt for the salt exported from Massawa is produced by an Italian company and the salt production of Assab is by a French concern.

A fall in Ethiopia's imports, both from India and Japan will be noted in 1957 as compared with 1956. This is because the greatest volume of Ethiopia's imports from these countries consisted of cotton. Ethiopia's own production of cotton yarns and piece-goods is now steadily being increased, with a view to attaining self-sufficiency in these goods which have long been her principal imports.

Taking advantage of the Ethiopian Government's desire to achieve this aim, enterprising people from other countries have come forward during the last couple of decades to start manufacturing cotton yarns and piece goods in Ethiopia.

Sabean Cotton Factory, Dire Dawa

The first to enter this field was the Sabean Utility Corporation financed by British, Egyptian and Ethiopian capital on British initiative soon after the Italians were defeated and expelled from Ethiopia. The cotton factory established by the Sabean Corporation at Dire Dawa has been several times enlarged. It now has 23,900 spindles and 617 looms. It will instal a further 230 looms this year. The spindles have also been increased to 28,000. It has remained, despite all vicissitudes, the largest cotton factory in Ethiopia. It produces cotton yarns and piece goods and also cotton blankets. The original machinery was from Italy; subsequent purchases were from Great Britain.

Diabaco Spinning Mill

In 1957 the Greek Diabacco Spinning Company opened a factory at Little Akaki, near Addis Ababa airport, with 7,000 spindles. The number has since been increased to 9,000. The factory is able to produce 1,440,000 lbs of yarn annually. It aims at supplying the Ethiopian hand-loom weavers, not to produce cotton cloth at the factory; the machinery is from England.

Barattolo Factory, Asmara

Then followed an Italian firm the Barattolo Company of Asmara. Eritrea, established by the assistance of the Ethiopian Development Bank in Addis Ababa. The Barattolo factory commenced with 7,000 spindles, as a spinning mill only, but with ground for expansion. The number of spindles has now been increased to 12,000 and weaving is to be started with 165 looms which have not yet all arrived from the makers in Italy. All the machinery is Italian.

S.A.I.D.E.

Linked with the Barattolo company is a cotton growing enterprise the S.A.I.D.E. (Sviluppo Agricolo Industriale dell'Eritrea). This firm grows cotton on 500 hectares of land and purchases cotton from peasants who cultivate a further 2,300 hectares. The Barattolo company purchases cotton also from India, Pakistan and Sudan in addition to that supplied by S.A.I.D.E. The factory employs from 650 to 700 workers, mostly women. The wages are low, 70 cents a day; at best Eth.$1.20 a day can be earned. Unless there is some

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protection from foreign competition, combined with trade union pressure, it is doubtful whether these rates will be increased.

Indo-Ethiopian Textile Company

A much larger textile enterprise is the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Company with a factory situated some 12 kilometres from Addis Ababa. This company has a total capital of Eth.$4,500,000, comprising 45,000 shares of Eth.$100 each. Fifty-one per cent. of the shares have been reserved for the Ethiopian Government and members of the Ethiopian public, the remaining 49 per cent. are held by the Calcutta firm, Birla Brothers, who manage the concern. The best recommendation of the factory is that it stands in magnificent hilly country in healthy rural surroundings as do most of the recently established Ethiopian factories; wages are low, 80 cents a day. It is said more will be earned as workers become skilled.

A Board of Directors to determine the policy of the company was elected by the shareholders:

President, Ato Abdulahi Moumie;

Vice-Presidents, Mr. B. Kumar Birla and Ato Zenebe Haile;

Members:

Ato Wond Wossen Mengesha,

Ato Nerayon Essaye,

Mr. Shantilal P. Mehta,

Mr. Beni Gopel Goyal, the Managing-Director, ex officio.

As more than half the capital is Ethiopian it should produce greater benefit to the country than any of the other cotton factories if well managed.

The Emperor Haile Sellassie, who had taken a keen interest in the venture from the commencement of the negotiations, laid the foundation stone of the factory on March 29, 1958.

The factory commenced operations toward the end of 1959 with 13,000 spindles and 300 looms, having an annual capacity of 10,000,000 square metres of cloth. With the exception of the Indian staff, all the operatives are Ethiopians recruited locally. None of them had ever previously so much as entered a factory of any sort. The work was all entirely new to them.

Nevertheless Ethiopian women are accustomed to spinning cotton by hand, with two bobbins, in the oldest way in the world. They have thus considerable dexterity in their slender fingers. By July, 1960, the factory was employing 1,200 people, the majority women, and producing at the rate of 8,000,000 yards of cloth a year, roughly a quarter of Ethiopian consumption, which is about 33,000,000 yards a year.

The Board of Management have decided to erect a second factory adjacent to the first and to instal there a further 300 looms and 13,000 spindles, in order to double capacity and thus supply half Ethiopia's need of cotton cloth. The orders for this machinery have been placed.

Ethiopian technicians have been working side-by-side with Indian technicians and have given satisfactory results. Two of them have been granted scholarships by Mr. B. K. Birla, to gain practical knowledge in Indian textile factories; the Board of Management intends to send other Ethiopians to India for experience.

The Board has also decided to purchase land for cotton growing to supply the requirements of the factory and to abolish the need for importing raw cotton from abroad. A cotton expert from India, in conjunction with an expert from the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture, will investigate the areas most suitable for cotton growing. No doubt an appropriate site will be found in the fertile soil of the Awash Valley, irrigated from Koka Dam, or from one of the subsidiary dams anticipated. Thus the effort completed at Koka will begin to bear abundant fruit. The Awash Valley is conveniently situated for the Indo-Ethiopian textile factory. A good road runs from the factory to Koka. The Addis Ababa-Jibuti railway is of easy access from the factory. The cotton product of the factory finds a ready market throughout Ethiopia.

When the factory can avail itself of Ethiopian grown cotton instead of having to import raw cotton from abroad it will be placed in a very advantageous position as compared with other Ethiopian cotton manufacturers.

Scale of Ethiopian Textile Production 1958—1962

The Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Planning has published the following statistics concerning Ethiopian Textile Factories:

	Spindles	Looms
Capacity in 1958	34,700	400
Erected in 1959	19,200	374
Capacity in 1960	53,900	774
Under Erection	5,000	385
Plans for 1961/62	26,600	360
Capacity in 1962	84,900	1,519

Thus at the end of 1962 spinning capacity will exceed the capacity of 1958 by 250 per cent and weaving capacity will have advanced by 350 per cent.

In 1959, 23 per cent of the cotton yarn consumed in Ethiopia was imported, 75 per cent. of the cotton blankets, which are largely used in the country, were also imported and 83 per cent. of the cotton piece-goods used for the people's clothing came from abroad.

The Minstry calculates that in 1962 home production will supply 12,500 tons of cotton textiles (yarns, blankets and piece-goods) which would approximately supply the present consumption throughout the country.

If, however, consumption rises, as has happened in the case of sugar, importation will still be needed.

The increase in sugar consumption is probably due in part to a change in habit; the more easily prepared and rapidly soluble manufactured sugar being substituted, perhaps to a large extent, for the locally-grown sugar-cane and honey formerly employed in Ethiopian households. Moreover, a liking may have been acquired for sweeter foods owing to the advent of manufactured sugar at a reasonable price.

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Land Distribution and Agricultural Financing

His Imperial Majesty's land distribution and agricultural financing scheme, which is calculated to extend greater prosperity to the rural areas, will doubtless mean more and better clothing for the peasants who are the main consumers of cotton goods of all sorts.

In addition to cotton yarns, blankets and piece-goods, cotton knitted goods are also imported, as well as woollen knitted goods. Cardigans, and especially pullovers, are widely used, as the climate, except in full sunshine, tends to be chilly in the highlands. The import of cotton manufactured goods, mostly knitted, amounted in the years 1957, 1958 and 1959 to the value of 350,064, 10,003,653 and 8,717,360 Ethiopian dollars respectively. The value of woollen goods, mostly knitted, in the same years amounted to 1,750, 1,890 and 1,734, whereas the total value of all imported woollen goods was Eth. $3,299, Eth. $3,602 and Eth. $3,431—all very modest sums as compared with those spent on cotton knitted goods.

At present there are two small knitting factories in Addis Ababa, but during the current years a large knitting factory will be opened there with an anticipated capacity of 1,500 tons. This, it is believed, will cover present consumption of knitted goods.

A woollen factory in Asmara has been operating for four years, and is gradually increasing its production, but is faced by serious competition from abroad.

The Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Planning expresses the hope that in three years time the country may be self-sufficient in cotton yarn, blankets and piece-goods, and in cotton and woollen knitted goods. In addition to the textile factories already mentioned in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Asmara areas, a cotton spinning and weaving factory is planned for the projected town of Bahr Dar at the source of the Blue Nile.

"Gunny" Bags

Self-sufficiency in the "gunny" bags used for the transport of agricultural produce—coffee, cereals, oilseeds and pulses, hitherto largely imported—is also anticipated as a new factory is being opened to reinforce the production of the sack factory operated by the Sabean Company. Moreover jute, largely employed in the manufacture of such bags, is to be grown in the south of Ethiopia.

Indians Look Forward

Looking forward, in view of the anticipated shrinkage of Ethiopian imports from India and Japan, enterprising Indians are advancing capital to obtain a share in the production and manufacture of the textiles which they have hitherto imported into Ethiopia from India and Japan. They realise that it is the policy of the Ethiopian Government to manufacture at home all such goods as the fertile soil and favourable climate of Ethiopia is able to produce.

As already described the Indian firm of Birla Brothers has entered into partnership with the Ethiopian Government and people in establishing one of the two largest textile factories yet attempted in Ethiopia, which will shortly be able to manufacture half the present consumption of cotton textiles in Ethiopia and will also grow cotton to supply its spindles.

The advent of Birla Brothers to establish a large stake in Ethiopian industry appears to introduce a new epoch in Indo-Ethiopian relations.

Maharaja Harindar's Concession

Another Indian aspirant for a share in Ethiopian production is a Maharaja who still bears the amazing titles bestowed upon him by the British Government, together with a formidable number of Indian names—Colonel His Highness Farzand-Isaadat-I-Nish-An-I-Hazrat-I-Kaiser-I-Hind Rajar Sir Harindar Singh Brak Bans Bahadur Kesi of Faridkot. In polite conversation he may be referred to as His Highness Sir Harindar.

The Maharaja has obtained from the Ethiopian Government a concession of 800 gashas of land, an ancient Ethiopian measurement which is regarded as the equivalent of 62,500 acres, near Wollisso, fed by the Ghibi, Vervita, Dargé, Nanho and Gullit rivers which should provide more than sufficient water to irrigate the land, and ample opportunities to generate hydro-electric power which the Maharaja intends to use for all industrial plants and household appliances.

By February 27, 1961, he has to select precisely which site from the much larger area in the neighbourhood he desires to occupy, after which the Ethiopian Government will check the boundaries within three months.

He had hoped to grow cotton but this will only be suitable in the valleys; on the rest of the land he will grow peas and oilseeds; he is closely advised by officials of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation and the Economic Commission for Africa as to what crops could be most profitably grown on the site. He anticipates employing 18,000 people at peak periods and 3,000 to 4,000 people at other times of the year, if there is cotton picking and sorting to be done the number of employees may not fall so low.

The concession was not yet finalised at the time of our interview. When the Maharaja endeavoured to view his proposed land, one of the rivers was in high flood and the Landrover was unable to cross over it. Moreover though during the first five years of a new venture the Ethiopian Government imposes no tax, the Maharaja has yet to be satisfied concerning his tax position after that. He had come to Ethiopia in the hope that taxation would be low. Subsequently the concession was finalised.

He would have preferred land in the Awash Valley, but was informed there is no land available there. No doubt there have been prior claimants in that desirable area.

The Maharaja is importing all cheap, Indian labour: technicians, spinners, weavers—all labour and also Indian troops, as he subsequently informed us, on the ground that Ethiopian labour is too costly and may employ up to 36,000 persons.

A correspondent of the *Ethiopian Herald*, on learning that Indian, not Ethiopian labour is to be employed, addressed a strong protest to that weekly under the initials N.E. He stated that African countries, Ghana, Guinea and others, rigidly limit the foreign labour foreign investors may employ. He wrote, "If the Maharaja is quoted correctly, what he said is perhaps the most contemptuous and unkind joke ever uttered by any would-be investor in Ethiopia."

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Ancient Indo-Ethiopian Relations

By Hari Sharan Chhabra*

Of the Indian Council for Africa

India and Ethiopia are next-shore neighbours and largely because of this geographical juxtaposition, the people of India and those of Ethiopia; have maintained intimate relations with each other for the past many centuries. Long before the Europeans colonised Africa and even before Vasco da Gama reported concerning the route to India *via* Africa, Indians and Ethiopians and all East Africans had known the route and a free and flourishing trade used to flow between the two peoples.

The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea have been a great highway of commerce and intercourse for the past few thousand years. The Indians, the Arabs and the Phoenicians—in fact all the seafaring nations of the East—have considered this to be the chief area of trade and navigation.

There is a peculiar devide of nature that has facilitated human intercourse in the Indian Ocean, ever since men first went down to the sea in ships. Every December the trade winds or monsoon begins to blow from north-north-east and continues blowing, with remarkable steadiness, till the end of February. Every April till September the process is reversed; a strong wind blows from south-south-west. According to Coupland this useful phenomenon of trade winds must have been known to the Indian and other Eastern seafarers at a very early date—certainly long before it became known to the Europeans in A.D. 45 and was given the name Hippalus, after its reputed discoverer.

India's links with Ethiopia are said to stretch as far back as the days of the Great War—the Mahabharata—when quite a sizeable number of Hindus migrated from the west coast of India and came to settle in the Nile Valley and then to Ethiopia. Har Bilas Sarda, in his well known book "Hindu Superiority", writes that Ethiopia was colonised by Hindus. Sir William Jones, in his "Asiatic Researches" records that Ethiopia and Hindusthan were possessed and colonised by the same extraordinary race and declares the most venerable emigrants from India were the Yadavas: they were the "blameless and pious" Ethiopians.

It is important to note that the ancient geographers called by the name of Ethiopia all that part of Africa, which now constitutes Nubia, Abyssinia, Senaar, Darfur and Dongola.

Mahabharata marked the turning point in the history of India, as it certainly resulted in the downfall of the prosperity and splendour of India. There were two immediate results of the Great War, destruction and emigration. A number of great and learned men of India either died or emigrated, and this caused a vacuum in the vitality of India. Har Bilas Sarda is of the view that the emigration of learned men was a loss to India, but a gain to the world. "Though with emigration India's greatness began to decline; the entire western world from Persia to Britain received in the colonists the seeds of their future greatness".

The view is held that emigration from India had been going on much before the Mahabharata (somewhere about 3,000 B.C.), even though the principal emigration took place after the Great War. Professor Heeren believes that in spite of the fertility of the soil in India, it had become essential to provide colonies to disperse the superabundant population. The earliest emigration appears to date sometime after Manu. Har Bilas Sarda holds the view that almost seven or eight thousand years ago, a body of colonists from India settled in Egypt where they established one of the mightiest empires of the old world. The Egyptians came, according to their own records, from a mysterious land (now shown to be on the shore of the Indian Ocean), the sacred Punt; the original home of their Gods. By the pictorial hieroglyphic inscriptions, found and interpreted on the walls of the temple of the Queen Hasiltop† at Deir-el-Bahri, we see that this Punt can be no other than India.

Giving a further record of Hindu settlements in Egypt and Ethiopia, Pococke, the author of "India in Greece", says that at the mouth of the Indus dwelt the seafaring people, active, ingenious and enterprising. They were commercial people and they coasted along the shores of Mekran, traversed to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, sailed up the Red Sea and then came to the Nile Valley and then founded the Kingdoms of Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia.

The fact is that the name Nile was given to the great river of Ethiopia and Egypt by the Indian settlers in that region from Nilah, their place of origin. Nilah is

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*Pleased to be favoured by this interesting contribution from Mr. Hari Sharan Chhabra, the editor of *Ethiopia Observer* nevertheless cannot follow him in his claim that colonists from India "founded the Kingdoms of Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia" (Ethiopia); in other words that Indians built the pyramids and the temples of Egypt and the monuments and palaces of Aksum. Nevertheless it must be conceded that Indians, Africans and Europeans will view ancient history from different angles. Mr. Hari Sharan Chhabra has moreover been able to quote some European writers in support of his view.

† Hatshepsut, Ed.

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the name of a town on the banks of the river Indus about 12 miles below Attock (East Pakistan). Sometimes the name Nile or Blue River is also given to the great Indian River Indus. Professor Heeren is on record as saying that the ancient Abyssinians were originally migrators to Africa from the banks of Abusin—a classical name for the Indus.

Pococke, for whom a study of India's ancient relations with the West, especially with Africa, was a life long mission, summarises his researches: "I would now rapidly recapitulate the leading evidence of the colonisation of Africa from North Western India and the Himalayan Provinces. First, from the provinces or rivers deriving their names from the great rivers of India: namely the Nile, Abyssinia and Nubia, so called from the Nil and Abusin (the two names of the Indus) and the Nubra. Secondly, from the towns and provinces of India or its northern frontiers; namely the Oracle of Ammon and the Oracle of Leto, in Buto; the sacerdotal Meroe, the city and isle of Philai, the city of Luxor, the land of E-eria, the land of Tuphoo, the land of Kame, the land of Misra-in, the land of Ai-guptos, the land of Cush, the children of Cush, the cataracts of Aswan the city of Karna-K, and the city of Gurna—all names borrowed from the lands of the Indus, where they stood as Hammon Leh-tan, in Budha's land, the Sacredotal Mount Meroo, Bhila, Lukshor, Hi-Heria, Kama, Mahesra, Hai-gopta, Cush, the land of Aswan, the land of Karna and the city of Gurner. Thirdly, from the ruling chiefs styled Ramas (Rameses) etc. Fourthly, architectural skill and its grand and gigantic character. Fifthly, the power of translating words imagined to be Egyptian, through the medium of a modified Sanskrit.

The evidence of the ancient Indo-African relations is also based on the testimony of some documents. The famous Mittani documents found at Boghazoki and excavations at El-Amarna in Egypt show certain clear references to such vedic names as Indra, Varuna and Mittra. These Mittani documents are at least 3,300 years old. Furthermore, there are ethnological grounds to support the fact that the ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians were an Indian people. Professor Heeren is astonished by the physical similarity in colour and in the shape of the head of the ancient Egyptians and the Hindus.

It is also on record that the Greeks from Homer to Ptolemy considered Africa as part of India. However, in the Greek records, Ethiopia refers to any place south and east of Egypt, even as far as India. In the days of Marco Polo, Africa was actually called Greater India and Ethiopia was known as Middle India. Greeks were definite in assuming that Ethiopians were an Indian race. Sir W. Jones writes: "Philostratus introduces the Brahman archus by stating that the Ethiopians were originally an Indian race, compelled to leave India for the impurity contracted by slaying a certain monarch to whom they owed allegiance. In Philostratus, an Egptian is made to remark that he had heard from his father that the Indians were the wisest of men, and that the Ethiopians, a colony of the Indians, preserved the wisdom and usages of their forefathers and acknowledged their ancient origin. We find the same assertion made at a later period in the third century by Julius Africanus from whom it has been preserved by Eusebius that the Ethiopians emigrating from the River Indus, settled in the vicinity of Egypt.

Having gone this far in our study of ancient Ethiopian relations, it is easy to conclude that the ancient Indian's knew Ethiopia's topography and also the places in the neighbourhood. Certainly the ancient Hindus were remarkable in their knowledge of Africa. The great Hindu texts, the Vedas and Puranas, include several references to places on the east coast of Africa.

The most interesting reference is in the Puranas regarding the River Nile and its origin, which was a great mystery to the European explorers till the latter half of the 19th century. Colonel John Speke, an officer of the Indian Army, who travelled in search of the source of the River Nile from 1859 to 1861 and who was financed by the Royal Geographical Society, has categorically affirmed that he drew a lot of help from the Puranas in his exploration of the source of the Nile—the river that is born at Jinja from Lake Victoria. Colonel Speke was given a map, prepared by Lieutenant Wilford, with the help of information in the Puranas and on the basis of this map he was able to make the historic discovery of the source of the Nile. Speke was certain the Hindus must have had some kind of connection with the various parts of Africa. He ridicules the Egyptian geographers in his book "The Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile" and adds: "All our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions originated from the ancient Hindus . . . and all those busy Egyptian geographers, who disseminated 'knowledge' with a view to becoming famous for their long-sightedness in solving the mysteries which shrouded the source of Nile (the holy river), were so many hypothetical humbugs."

The Puranic texts and maps also testify that the Indians were well informed about the lakes and snow-capped mountains of Africa, long before the scholars and explorers of Europe had begun ridiculing the idea that such things could possibly exist in Equatorial Africa. The ancient Indian text had a name for what centuries later the Europeans christened as Lake Victoria. Their name for this sweet water lake was Amar Sarovar, a name which first got to the land of the Moon Chandraloka. The description of this region, as it appears in the great Hindu texts, is remarkably true to life and it is surely not wholly without significance that Mount Ruwenzori, situated in this area, was also known since the second century A.D. as the Mountain of the Moon, a name which has an obvious connection with the Chandraloka of the Puranas.

There is also an interesting mention of the existence of a mountain named Hara, which is exactly in the region of Ethiopia, where the town of Harar now stands.

The traffic between India and Ethiopia and other parts of Africa had two aims; first colonisation and second trade. It is proved by records that Hindus had been trading with Ethiopia and other parts of East Africa much before the birth of Christ. As already mentioned, the Indian seafarers had knowledge of the trade winds and the Indians having learnt to trust in the persistence of the winds, could make the voyage across the ocean very safely.

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A number of Greek travellers have written about this trade. The voyage from India to Egypt consumed two years and the centres of trade were Broach and Calicut on the western coast of India.

Toward the latter half of the first century A.D., a Greek sailor in Egypt, undertook a voyage to India along the Red Sea coast, passed around the Horn of Africa and went southward along the Indian Ocean. He recorded a minute account of his experiences in a book called, "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea." This book has served as a navigational manual for many centuries. The "Periplus" mentions the arrival of Indian ships on the eastern coast of Africa. There were important harbours on the Indian coast such as Barbarika, Barygaza, Ariaca, Calicut, Korkai, Broach and Pohar.

We learn from Schoff and McCrindle, the two scholars who have translated the " Periplus," that ships built and fitted up by Indians sailed from the ports with their merchandise, which consisted, among other things of pearls, precious stones, spices, wheat, rice, sugar, and fine cotton cloth called muslin, all of which were in great demand in the world. The "Periplus" records that though cotton cloth was imported from Syria, Indian cloth was most highly esteemed in Ethiopia. The lac insect also came from India.

Some five hundred years later Cosmos, while describing Ethiopia's prosperity, also spoke of the emerald trade between India and Ethiopia, of which he said he came to know partly from personal observation and partly from accurate enquiries. He mentions that emeralds were in great demand in India. Ethiopian merchants obtained them from the Blemyes and sold them in India at a heavily increased price and these merchants invested the proceeds in wares of great value, like silk, sandalwood and cloves. He further mentions that Ethiopia abounded in elephants with large tusks which were exported by sea to India. Ethiopian ivory was much prized as the Indian elephants, he says, were not provided with large tusks.

In the "Periplus" there is a brief mention of the slave trade by Indians with the east coast of Africa. This trade became much more important and economically eventful after the 7th or 8th century, when the Arabs also came into the picture. The prosperous slave trade continued for centuries unhampered. Coupland writes that in India the slaves were being imported, cargo by cargo. India received these slaves from all over East Africa, but quite a sizeable number came from Ethiopia.

These slaves are reported to have been brave and magnificent fighters. Some of their names went down gloriously in the pages of Indian History and legendary tales are told about their bravery, ability and adventurous character. The career of the only Indian woman ruler during the Muslim period, Razia Sultana (15th century) was largely influenced by her love affair with an Abyssinian youth. Ibn Battuta mentions an Abyssinian, called Badr, who lived in a small town south-east of Gwalior, and whose bravery passed into a proverb. Battuta writes: "He was tall and corpulent and used to eat a whole sheep at a meal. I was told that after eating he could drink about a pound and a half of ghee, following the custom of Abyssinians in their own country."

A good deal has been written about these slaves in the pages of history, but it would suffice to mention here two instances of the valour of the Abyssinian slaves. Many of these slaves joined the armies of various rulers. Their army career is colourful and remarkable. Many a time these soldiers revolted against the rulers and usurped power. This happened in the case of the ruler of Gaur in Bengal; in 1486 he was ousted from power by an Abyssinian soldier. The people of Africa have cause to be proud of such names but the rule of the Abyssinians was often marked by tyranny and disorder. Of the Abyssinian slaves a historian comments: "Had they been suffered to stay in Bengal it is conceivable that they might have mastered the kingdom as the Mamelukes, three centuries later, mastered Egypt."

The other event of interest in the history of these slaves is the appointment of an Abyssinian in 1670 as the Admiral of Aurangzeb's Empire. These Abyssinians were recognised as fine seamen and were very well up in naval warfare.

It has already been mentioned that the slave trade continued as long as it could—till it was officially banned. The Ethiopian slaves, known by the general name of siddis, were not able to maintain their racial purity and there has been an intermixing of blood. In the Deccan, with the Nizam of Hyderabad the sidis were in service till the Police Action of 1948, not as slaves, but as paid members of his private army. After the Police Action, Nizam's army was disbanded and this resulted in their economic ruin. Most of them now move about in the streets of Hyderabad as petty vendors, rikshaw pullers and also as toughs of the town. However, there is a village on the west coast of India, in Gujarat Province, which is completely inhabited by sidis from Abyssinia, who have nearly maintained their racial purity. These honest and sturdy Africans are working as labourers in the famous Gir forests—the forests known for Asian lions.

The above is a brief story of ancient Indo-Ethiopian relations. It may be felt that the records of Indo-Ethiopian relations are in many respects scanty and sometimes evidence is based on mythological sources, but it has to be noted that these records are remarkable for the accuracy and consistency of the accounts concerning both Indian colonisation and trade with the eastern parts of Africa. And when all these records are added up, there appears an overwhelming evidence of the intimate relationship.

It may also be felt that in some cases the relationship has been rather unfriendly, especially the slave trade by the Indians. But that is a thing of the past and India certainly is not proud of that part of Indian history. What is more important is that today it is the desire of the people and the Government of India to increase relationship with the people of Africa, on the basis of friendship and absolute equality.

Errata

" ETHOPIA OBSERVER," No. 7, Vol. IV

Page 231, column 1, paragraph 5, lines 1, 3 and 18, and paragraph 7, lines 3 and 7: for Agan read Agau.

Page 231, column 2, paragraph 7: for Cherabim Ancestor, read Cherubim Ancestor.

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The Habshis of India

By Dr. Richard Pankhurst

One of the results of the slave trade from East Africa was the transportation of considerable numbers of Ethiopians to India where some of the rulers employed them extensively as soldiers and palace guards. These men, like other slave troops in ancient times, often emerged as powerful military cliques, who could play a decisive rôle in local politics. Moslemized Africans, referred to in India as "Habshis," or people of Habash, i.e., Abyssinia, were frequently to be found as generals, administrators and king-makers.[1] Like the Mamalukes of Egypt, these slave troops revealed themselves to be efficient, though often ruthless administrators, capable of holding their own amid the ceaseless intrigues and conspiracies of the sub-continent in medieval times.

Notwithstanding the importance of these slaves, Indian records give us little information on their number or exact place of origin; one has the impression that the term Habshi was not always restricted to Abyssinians or Ethiopians, but was used as a generic term for slaves from any part of the Horn of Africa, probably indeed from the whole of East Africa; the use of the term Habshi suggests, however, that a substantial proportion, perhaps a majority, came from within the confines of present-day Ethiopia. The slaves, it should be noted, were mostly separated from other members of their tribe and thus speedily lost contact with the land of their birth to which, moreover, they had no chance of returning. The Indian chroniclers who described Habshi activities in India appear to have paid scant attention to their African origin or antecedents . Nor is it possible to identify the race or nationality of the Habshis by their names, as, on being converted to Islam, they universally adopted or were given Muslim-Arab ones. Regardless of their tribal origins the remarkable rôle of this group of Africans in the political history of India, which is given in outline in this article, stands as a reminder of the importance of the slave trade described by Alvares and so many other travellers to Ethiopia.

Delhi

It is early in the thirteenth century that Indian history affords us a first glimpse of one of the Ethiopian slaves rising to some prominence in state affairs. At this period the kingdom of Delhi was ruled by Queen Raziya (1236-1240) the daughter of Iltutmish, a Turkish slave who had made himself the master of most of Northern India. The Queen, who was threatened on her accession by the disruption of her father's empire, was said to have shown undue favour to one of the Habshi slaves, Jalal-ud-din-Yaqut, whom she elevated to the post of master of the royal stables, thus offending her father's Turkish nobles who were organised in a close corporation. The Moroccan traveller, Ibn Batuta, who visited various parts of Africa and Asia in the following century, describes her "fondness" for the slave as "criminal," though her contemporary, the Moslem historian, Minhaj-ud-din, merely states that Jalal-ud-din "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan." The Persian historian, Firishta (c. 1570—c. 1623), observed that "a very great degree of familiarity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the Queen; so much so, that when she rode he always lifted her on her horse by raising her up under the arms."[2] Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings,* comments: "It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged in a submissive Prince Consort or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her Court, an Abyssinian moreover, whom the Turkish nobles resented with one accord."[3]

The result of her favours to Yalal-ud-din was a growing discontent among the Turks which soon flared into open rebellion; the Queen was repeatedly forced to take the field and although at first successful she was eventually overpowered, whereupon Yalal-ud-din was killed by the envious Turks and Raziya herself was deposed in favour of her half-brother, Muizz-ud-din Bahram.[4]

A century later, in 1376-77, we find Shams Damaghari, governor of Gujerat, on one occasion, paying a tribute of 400 slaves who are described as "children of Hindu chiefs and Abyssinians."[5]

Gwalior, Calicut and Ceylon

Ibn Batuta makes several references to the presence of Ethiopians in India, at the time of his travels in India of 1333-1342. He states that the governor of Alabur (Alapur, a few miles S.E. of Gwalior in Northern India) was an Abyssinian named Badr, a slave of the Rajah of Dholpur. The courage of Badr, he writes, had become proverbial: "He was continually making raids on the infidels alone and single handed, killing and taking them captive, so that his fame spread far and wide and the infidels went in fear of him. He was tall and corpulent, and used to eat a whole sheep at a meal, and I was told that after eating he would drink about . pound and a half of ghee (clarified butter), following the custom of the Abyssinians in their own country."[6] Sailing down the south-west coast of India, Ibn Battuta relates that the ship on which he travelled, the *Jagir* "had a complement of 50 rowers and 50 Abyssinian men-at-arms." These latter, he added, were "the guarantors of safety on the Indian Ocean: let there be but one of them on a ship, and it will be avoided by the Indian pirates and idolaters."[7] Later, having embarked on a Chinese junk at Calicut in South India, he records that the owner's agent also employed Ethiopian guards; he was, Battuta declares, "like a great emir. When he goes on shore, he is preceded by archers and Abyssinians with javelins, swords, drums, trumpets and bugles. On reaching the house where he stays they stand their lances on both sides of the door, and continue thus during his stay."[8] Ethiopian slaves were also to be found in Ceylon: Jalasti, "the wazir and ruler of the sea," when he was at Colombo, had a force of "about 500 Abyssinians."[9]

Bengal

There is no doubt that in the following century Ethiopian slaves were reaching India in growing numbers, particularly on the East coast in the Bengal area, where they were destined to play no mean role in the political sphere. In the second half of the 15th century it is recorded that

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Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah, King of Bengal (1460-1481) began to maintain large numbers of them for military purposes, raising some to high positions.[9] He is said to have owned as many as 8,000 African slaves some of whom rapidly gained authority in the realm.[10] When his grandson, Sikander II, was deposed in 1481, after a rule of only a few months, his successor, Jalal-ud-din Fath Shah, endeavoured to curb their power which had apparently become dangerous to the monarchy. But the angry Habshis, fearing his continued enmity, conspired against him under the leadership of a eunuch who, in 1486, had him murdered and usurped the throne of Bengal under the style of Barbak Shah, Sultan Shahzada.[11]

The Habshis, however, were by no means united in their purpose. When the commander-in-chief, Indil Khan, an Ethiopian of proved ability, who was absent from Gaur, the capital, on a distant campaign, heard of his master's murder, he determined to avenge him. He was considering on what pretext he could lead his troops back to the capital when he received a summons from Barbak to return there. He discovered that the eunuch's rule was already unpopular and soon found an opportunity to murder him. Pressed by the widow of Jalal-ud-din and the courtiers of Gaur, Indil Khan, after displaying some decent reluctance, himself ascended the throne of Bengal under the title of Saif-ud-din-Firuz. If the author of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin* is to be relied on, the confidence he had won as administrator and commander was justified by his measures, though he was indiscriminately charitable.[12] Despite repeated warnings and protests by his courtiers and advisers he wasted the public revenues by lavishing them on beggars.

When Indil Khan died, the nobles placed on the throne a surviving son of Jalal-ud-din[13] with the title of Nasir-ud-din Mahmoud Shah II. As the king was but a child the administration fell into the hands of his counsellors, the most important of whom was another Habshi, Habesh Khan,[14] whose virtual monopoly of power excited the discontent of other courtiers of various nationalities. One of these, another ambitious Habshi, known as Sidi Badr "the madman," caused the young king to be put to death and seized the throne under the title of Shams-ud-din Abu Nasar Muzaffar Shah. His reign of just over three years is said to have been marked by tyranny and disorder. He made the fatal mistake of reducing the emolument of the army. Opposition reached such lengths that the chief minister, Ala-ud-din Husain, an Arab by descent, led a revolt against him. The king, whose forces amounted to 5,000 well-mounted Abyssinians and 25,000 Afghan and Bengal troops, was besieged in Gur for three months, at the end of which he died. The nobles of Bengal then elected the rebel leader to the throne in 1493, on receiving guarantees that he would govern in the manner which, in the 19th century, was imposed on European constitutional monarchs.[15]

The accession of Ala-ud-din Shah marked the end of the disturbances. He immediately disbanded or expelled the Hindu infantry, who had come to play a part similar to that of the Praetorian Guards in Rome, and the Habshis who, having tasted the sweets of power, were considered a danger to the throne. During the 17 years preceeding Ala-ud-din's accssion, writes Sir Wolseley Haig, in the Cambridge History of India "three kings of this (Habshi) race had occupied the throne, and there was every reason to fear that they might become a ruling caste. The exiles in vain sought an asylum in Delhi and Jaunpur, where they were too well-known to be welcome, and most of them ultimately drifted to the Deccan and Gujarat, where men of their race had for many years been largely employed.[16]

The Deccan

While Ethiopian, Turkish and Arab commanders were conspiring against each other in Bengal, a longer and even more complicated struggle for power was going on in the Bahmani Kingdom, in the south-west of the sub-continent whose bloody history abounds in the exploits and conspiracies of Ethiopian and other foreign soldiers and men of State. In the Deccan the practice of employing foreigners in State service was initiated at a relatively early date by Mujahid Shah (1373-1377). About half a century later, in 1422, we find the Habshi bodyguard assuming considerable importance for it is said that when Firuz Shah died in that year its allegiance was an important factor in determining the succession which went to the King's brother, Ahmad Shah.[16]

The new king became an open adherent of the Shiah branch of Islam, alienating himself from the Deccanis who were of the Sunni branch. This accentuated a struggle which was developing between the native Deccani population and the Habshis, on the one hand, and the increasing numbers of other foreign mercenaries on the other. In the second half of the fifteenth century the records of the kingdom are largely concerned with the contest between the two factions. The Habshis found themselves in opposition to the other foreigners, for, like the native population, they were Sunnis and for reasons of race and colour were not fully accepted by the other foreigners, most of whom were light-skinned. The Shiah Turks, Arabs, Mughuls and Persians were therefore ranged on one side, and the Sunni Deccanis and Habshis on the other. The latter also enjoyed the support of the *Muwallads*, a name applied to the offspring of African fathers and Indian mothers.[17]

During the reign of Ala-ud-din-Ahmad of the Deccan (1436-1458) the Ethiopians and Deccanis lost favour at court. The foreigners stood at the right of the throne, the Deccanis and Habshis being relegated to the left. Ala-ud-din Ahmad was succeeded by his son Humayun who in his own day was called Zalim ("the tyrant") and is described in the *Cambridge History of India* as a "homicidal maniac." It is recorded that his rule, hated alike in his harem and in the country, was brought to an end in September, 1461, when, helplessly drunk, he was stabbed to death by an Ethiopian maid-servant.[19]

In the second half of the fifteenth century during the reigns of King Nizam (1461-1463) and Mohamed III (1463-1482) honours and offices of State were evenly distributed among the different parties. During the latter reign Khudavand Khan and the eunuch Dastur Dinar, both Ethiopians, ruled the provinces of Mahur and Gulbarga respectively; Habshis thus ruled two of the four provinces. Despite this arrangement the various factions soon conspired against each other. In 1481 a Habshi leader called Miftah joined with the Deccanis to persuade Mahmoud, the Ethiopian Keeper of Seals, to affix his private seal on a blank paper which they then filled with false information and presented to the King. By this stratagem they succeeded in discrediting one of their principal opponents, Mahmoud Gavan, a foreigner, whom

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the king ordered to be put to death. Mahmoud was promptly executed by another of the king's Habshi servants, a certain Jauhar.[20]

Mohamed III died in the following year while the country was still unsettled as a result of Mahmoud Gavan's execution. His young son Mahmud (1482-1518) succeeded to the throne with the aid of a Turkish faction, but none-the-less appointed an Ethiopian, Dilavar Khan, as Assistant Minister of Finance. In 1486 Malik Hassan, a Moslemised Hindu who had become the principal man of State, ordered the Deccanis to massacre all the foreign troops whom he considered a danger to his position, thus provoking a new round of troubles. It seemed at first that the massacre would be successful, but reinforcements for the foreigners' cause entered Bidar, the capital, from the countryside, and street fighting continued for twenty days. Finally Malik Hassan consolidated his position and was able to control the country as a dictator for the next four years. The Habshi, Dilavar Khan, bitter at being excluded from power, found an ally in the young king who appealed to him, hoping for liberation from his all-powerful minister. The Ethiopian attempted the assassination of Malik Hassan but failed and was obliged to flee the country while King Mahmoud became virtually Malik's prisoner.[21]

After several rebellions against the dictator, Mahmoud appealed to Dastur Dinar, and to other courtiers of various races to free him by killing Malik Hassan. An attempt was made on Malik's life but he escaped; he broke into the treasury and began to raise troops; but before long one of his followers strangled him, sending his head to the king in the hope of obtaining preferment.

Meanwhile the quarrel between the Deccani-Habshi faction and the other foreigners continued unabated. In November, 1487, the Deccanis broke into the palace in an attempt to murder King Mahmoud who succeeded, however, in escaping with the help of the foreigners. The Deccani population outside hearing the tumult in the palace, tried to plunder the houses of the foreigners, but failed as the foreign troops speedily regained control of the city. The king, who owed his life and throne to the foreigners, now turned against the Deccani-Habshi faction and ordered a general massacre which continued for three days.[22]

The above-mentioned events marked the beginning of the decline of the Deccan Kingdom. In 1490 Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Berar declared their independence of Bidar, the Deccani capital, where power had been usurped by a Turkish minister, Qasim Barid-ul-Mamalik. The Ethiopian, Dilavar Khan, once again came to the aid of King Mahmoud. Together they drove this second usurper from the capital and defeated him in battle. Immediately afterwards, however, Dilavar's army was thrown into confusion by an unruly elephant; victory was turned into defeat and Dilavar was slain. Qasim Barid-ul-Mamalik then returned to the capital and reduced the King to impotence. In the next few years he consolidated his position, reducing the powers of the provincial governors. In 1495 he transferred Dastur Dinar who had been appointed governor of western Telingana to his old fief, Gulbarga, in order that Yusuf Adil Shah, a Turkish supporter of the regime, might take his place. Resenting this demotion, Dastur Dinar rebelled and occupied much of his former province. In a clash with government forces he was defeated and sentenced to death, but was subsequently pardoned and reinstated in Gulbarga. This unexpected clemency was followed by a bitter quarrel between Dastur Dinar and Yusuf Adil Shah whose daughter had married the king's son in 1494 and who resented Dastur Dinar's reinstatement. Considering that the Turk was growing too powerful, Qasim unexpectedly gave his support to the Ethiopian and renewed fighting broke out. Despite this support Dastur Dinar and his friends were driven from the city, while Yusuf seized possession of the king; for a moment he was master of the situation, but Qasim soon resumed his former ministerial position.[23]

For the next decade the situation remained comparatively stable with Qasim in firm control, supporting Dastur Dinar, as a counterpoise to Yusuf. In 1504, however, Qasim died. He was automatically succeeded as minister by his son, Amir Ali Barid. Yusuf seized this opportunity to march on Gulbarga where he defeated and killed Dastur Dinar who had resumed the governorship and annexed the province to his own dominions. He then took rigorous action to establish the Shiah faith to which he was devoutly attached. This inevitably led to a Sunni reaction on the part of the Deccanis and Habshis, Amir Ali ordered King Mahmoud, his virtual prisoner, to call his armies forth to destroy the over ambitious governor of Western Telingane. Among the nobles instructed to proceed against him was another Habshi Khudavand Khan, who, with several other Sunni chiefs, refrained from taking part in the action as they were well disposed to Yusuf and antagonistic to Amir Ali. Nevertheless, Yusuf was obliged to flee the country for a time; later he took advantage of dissentions among his enemies to resume his former position.[24]

Several years later, in 1514, Amir Ali conferred on Jahangir Khan, the adopted son of Dastur Dinar, the title of Dastur-ul-Mamalik, and established him in his father's province of Gulbarga. In 1517 we find Amir Ali launching a campaign against Shaza Khan, another of the younger generation of Habshi nobles, the son and successor of Khudavand Khan. Shaza Khan and one of his brothers were killed in battle, but Amir Ali was obliged to abandon his attack, and left Ghalib Khan, still another son of Khudavand Khan, in Mahur as his vassal.

Meanwhile in Bijapur the conflict between the different factions had resulted in a decree of 1510 forbidding Deccanis and Ethiopians and even their children, from holding offices of State. This edict, however, was soon a dead letter. Ibrahim Adil Shah (1534-1558) decided to establish the Sunni tenets as the State belief. In March, 1537, he dismissed the majority of the foreign officers of State, who were of the Shiah faction, and raised the Deccanis and Habshis to power. After a reign of almost a quarter of a century Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Ali (1558-1580) who reversed his father's policy, restoring the Shiah sect and dismissing the Sunni adherents.

A decade or so later in Bijapur the Shiah Ali Adil Shah, was assassinated by a favourite eunuch to whom he had given offence, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627), a nine-year-old boy whose education was in the hands of the Queen Dowager, Chand Bibi. Quarrels between Shiahs and Sunnis once again resulted in conflict. Kishvas Khan, a Deccani noble, eventually seized Chand Biibi and imprisoned her in the fortress of Satara after assassinating Sayid Mustafa, one of her

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foremost military commanders. Three Habshi nobles, Ikhlas Khan, Hamid Khan, and Dilaver Khan (the second Ethiopian of this name to reach prominence) now organised such powerful opposition to the Deccani dictator that he was obliged to abandon the capital with the young king. He fled to Golconda where he was killed by one of the local people in revenge for his murder of Sayid Mustafa. Ikhlas Khan at once assumed the regency, but when Queen Chand Bibii returned from Satara, she dismissed him and appointed another military noble, Afzal Khan Shirazi, in his place. Dissatisfied by this ingratitude to their leader the Habshis slew this minister and expelled the leading foreigners from the city. Ikhlas Khan who resumed his dictatorship summoned Ain-ul-Mulk, one of the provincial governors, whom he suspected, with the object of imprisoning or removing him, but the latter had the foresight to bring his whole contingent with him to the capital. He seized the Ethiopian nobles when they came out to meet him, and led them as prisoners through the streets. Upon hearing a rumour that the royal guards were about to rise in support of the Habshis, however, he became panic-stricken and fled with his troops, leaving behind his prisoners who returned to power.

In the neighbouring Kingdom of Ahmadnagar the Habshis had remained influential. In 1567 they had joined other foreigners in opposition to the Queen Mother, Daulat Shah. [25] Taking advantage of the dissensions at Bijapur, Ahmadnagar forces attacked the city, while the Bijapur foreigners who had been expelled, unwilling to make common cause with the Ethiopians, either joined the invader or remained outside the city walls. When it became evident that the Habshis could not defend the city alone, they furnished, Sir Wolseley Haig declares, "the only example of self-denying patriotism to be found in the history of this strife of factions" by tendering their resignation to Chand Bibi. The foreigners, who had thus gained their way, then came to the rescue of the city and obliged the army of Ahmadnagar to withdraw.

As might be expected, the retreat of the enemy enabled the internal conflict in Bijapur to revive. The Habshi Ikhlas Khan attacked Dilaver Khan, the leader of the moderate party of Ethiopians, in the citadel, but was deserted by his supporters and was captured and blinded by Dilaver, who now became supreme ruler. During the period of his rule (1582-1590) he re-established the Sunnii faith in Bijapur, but endeavoured to secure peace with the kingdoms of Shiah persuasion by matrimonial alliances between Ibrahim II and the rulers of neighbouring States.[26]

Dilaver Khan was eventually defeated in a campaign against Ahmadnagar in May, 1591, whereupon his control in Bijapur collapsed. He fled from the city and found service with Burhan II who had meanwhile seized the throne of Ahmadnagar. Ibrahim II protested in vain at Burhan's employment of the former Ethiopiain military dictator of Bijapur. Burhan replied by declaring war but was unsuccessful in battle and had to make peace. His Deccani troops then turned against him for the murder of his heir, Ismail, who had supported them. They found a ready leader in Ikhlas Khan whose ambitions had been thwarted by Dilaver Khan, his compatriot and rival, in the days of his control of Bijapur. However, in 1595, Ikhlas Khan and the Deccanis failed in their attempt to march on Ahmadnagar city and dethrone Burhan. The latter drove them back, but was a sick man and died soon afterwards, on April 28, 1595.[27]

He was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Nizam Shah (1595-1596), whose mother had been an Ethiopian. His minister Miyan Manjhu, a Deccani, granted an amnesty to Ikhlas Khan and his faction, allowing them to return to the city of Ahmadnagar. Ikhlas and his followers at once persuaded the young king to declare war in Bijapur against the advice of the minister. The king was killed in the fighting, and the question of the succession, created new difficulties. Chand Bibi, the old Queen, who had returned to Ahmadnagar, the home of her youth, supported Ibrahim's infant son, Bahadur, while Ikhlas Khan proposed Khudabanda, alleged to be the sixth son of Burhan Nizam Shah I, whom he proclaimed King under the title of Ahmed Nizam Shah II. It soon transpired, that Khudabanda was an imposter, but this did not prevent him from obtaining the support of Miyan Manjhu; civil war broke out.

The Ethiopians and Deccanis, who had hitherto been united in support of the impostor, soon quarrelled. The Ethiopians proclaimed a child of unknown origin as King Moti Shah, while Miyan Manjhu, who was temporarily getting the worst of the struggle, appealed for help to Sultan Murad, the second son of the Mughul Emperor Akbar, who was the governor of the neighbouring province of Gujarat. Miyan Manjhu lived to regret this request for he succeeded in overcoming the Habshis only to find that the Mughul armies had invaded the country.

In the confused situation of the time there were two Ethiopian factions, besides a Deccani party led by Miyan Manjhu, and a legitimist group organised between followers of Ikhlas Khan, who acknowledged Moti Shah, and followers of Ahang (or Abhang) Khan and Habashi Khan, who gave their support to Prince Ali, the third son of Burhan Nizam. Being divided into hostile groups neither the Ethiopians nor any of the other factions had any chance of success in face of the Mughul forces which now advanced. Ibrahim II of Bijapur, perturbed by the danger menacing the whole of the Deccan, appealed in vain for unity at Ahmadnagar. Ikhlas Khan and Ahang Khan, the two most important Ahmadnagar commanders, both Habshis, were defeated by the Mughul army though they led cavalry forces of 10,000 and 7,000 men respectively. Queen Chand Bibi had therefore little choice but to make peace, and was obliged to surrender the northern province of Berar. She then appointed a new minister, Mohamed Khan, who proved so oppressive that she appealed to Ibrahim II of Bijapur for aid. Her request was granted and after four months' resistance the minister surrendered whereupon Chand Bibi appointed the Ethiopian Ahang Khan to his place.

War soon broke out anew between the Mughul Empire and Ahmadnagar. Ahang Khan obtained help from Bijapur, but the Bijapur army was severely defeated by the Mughuls in February, 1597. Ahang Khan now quarrelled with Chand Bibi, whom he imprisoned in the fort of Ahmadnagar. After further internal disputes it became evident that the Mughuls could no longer be resisted, and in 1599 Chand Bibi finally surrendered to them. As soon as this news was known she was torn to pieces by the crowd who regarded her action as treachery.[28]

Malik Ambar

Early in the seventeenth century we find another prominent Habshi, Malik Ambar (1549-1626) holding the post of chief minister in the shrunken kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Originally a slave who had been purchased in

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Baghdad, he had proved a capable leader of men. In 1601 he won considerable prominence by defeating the Mughul forces in south western Berar[29] and succeeded in establishing Murtaza Nizam Shah II (1603-1630) as the nominal ruler in the south of Ahmadnagar though Mughul troops were still in the capital.[30] Malik Ambar, who, to render his position secure, kept the king a virtual prisoner, served Ahmadnagar with courage, ability and devotion. "His reorganisation of the revenue system of the kingdom on sound lines," writes Professor Kalinkar Datta, "contributed to its financial stability, and his training of the soldiers, mostly Marathas, in the guerrilla method of warfare enabled them to cope successfully with the imperialists."[31] Mutamid Khan, the Mughul court chronicler, describes him thus: "This Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closesd his career with honour." "He was the first," declares J. C. Powell-Price, "to realise the value of the Maratha horse—light cavalry who were skilled in guerilla tactics. Their rapid movements, untramelled by the unwieldy baggage trains which were now making the Mughul armies moving camps and not fighting bodies, made full use of the broken Deccan country for sudden stabs on flank and rear, and their lightning forays cut off supplies and made an advance in force a dangerous business.[32]

Malik Ambar was so successful in arms that there were many panegyrics containing the words, "Ambar was victorious." However, he was not impressed by such flattery. "Where is the point," he commented, "even a child knows that Ambar was victorious." His greatness was nevertheless immortalised by many poets, one of who recalled the Prophet Mohamed's first *muezzin* Bilal, who was also of Ethiopian descent, declared:

"There was Bilal, the servant of the Apostle of God.
"After 1,000 years there came Malik Ambar."

A reproduction of a contemporary painting of him appears on the cover of this issue.

The great warrior, Malik Ambar, died in 1626 at the age of eighty. His son, Fath Khan, submitted to the Mughuls almost immediately afterwards at Jalna, but later joined his King, Murtaza Nizam Shah, in attacking them. The monarch, however, appointed another Habshi, Hamid Khan to the post of Minister and fell completely under his influence and that of his wife. This remarkable woman, who obtained access to the king's harem, became the recognised means of communication between him and his subjects and even on occasion assumed control of the army. In 1626 she defeated the army of Bijapur which was attacking Ahmadnagar, and captured all its elephants. In the following year, Hamid Khan attempted to follow up this victory by invading Bijapur, but was decisively defeated.[33]

Another prominent Habshi, Yaqut Khudavand Khan, had meanwhile led a number of other Hapshis over to the Mughul Emperor Jahangir (1605-1607) as a protest against the influence and alleged corruption of the wife of their compatriot Hamid Khan. However, they soon deserted the Emperor and were hunted down as traitors, Yaqut being killed in battle by Mughul forces. It is said that the Abyssinians fought bravely to protect their leader and "gathered together like ants and locusts" in a vain effort to carry away his dead body. His grandsons, the children of his son, Fakhr-ul-Mulk, nevertheless made their submission to the Emperor, and were granted fiefs in the Deccan.

Hamid's defeat meanwhile had undermined his position and opened the way for Fath Khan's rise to power. In 1630 the Mughuls launched a new attack on Ahmadnagar. Fath Khan, being doubtful of his influence over the changeable king, put him in prison, as his father had done before him. He later killed him and proclaimed his young son Hussain Nizam Shah III (1630-1633), King of Ahmadnagar. Randola Khan, a prominent Habshi general in Bijpur, now persuaded Fath Kath to rejoin the struggle against the Mughuls who consequently launched a new attack, driving Fath Khan and Hussain Nizam Shah, into Daulatabad but, as often before, the invading armies were soon compelled to retreat through a scarcity of supplies. In the following year Fath Khan obtained a respite by sending his son Abdur-Rasul to the imperial Mughul court with gifts. One year later, however, the Mughul general, Mahabat Khan, began to invest the fortifications of Ambar Kot, which Malik Ambar had built at Daulatabad. Despite the opposition of a Bijapur army, led by Randola Khan, and Shahji, a Maratha, the invaders were successful. After a six-week siege a long stretch of the outer wall and part of a bastion were blown up. Fath Khan, knowing that the defences were destroyed and that an epidemic had broken out in the fortress, arranged a truce after much negotiation, his son being handed over as hostage to Mahabat Khan. Fath Khan Husain Nizam Shah, the boy king, were then sent to the imperial court. Their lives were spared; Fath was allowed to live in Lahore wih an ample pension, while the luckless Husain was committed to the State prison in Gwalior fort.[34]

Though the flow of Ethiopian slaves into India continued for several centuries Fath Khan was the last Habshi mameluke to achieve prominence in that troubled land. However, contact between both sides of the Indian Ocean was maintained.

The flow of Ethiopian slaves into India continued for another two centuries, with the result that they played an important role in affairs of state throughout the Mughul period, in fact until the eve of British rule. Mention should be made of Atish Hapshi (d. 1651), sometime governor of Bihar and later of the Deccan,[35] Habsh Khan Sidi Miftah Hapshi, who received much honour from the Mughul Emperor Aurangzib (1658-1707), his son, Ahmad Khan, who also attained high rank[36], Dilavar Khan Hapshi (d. 1702-3)[37]. also a sometime governor of the Deccan, who established yet another Hapshi as his succcessor.[38] Contact between both sides of the Indian Ocean was in fact fairly close and in 1661-62 an Ethiopian diplomatic mission was received by the Mughul Emperor Aurangzib.[35]

Amba Geshen and Asirgath

There is reason to suppose that the great influx of Ethiopians into India, beside producing a blending of race, may have had some effect on Indian social life. Dr. C. F. Beckingham has recently asserted that the Ethiopian slaves in India probably introduced into Moslem Kingdom of Khandesh (north of Ahmadnagar) what he describes as "one of the most characteristic features of the contemporary Ethiopian policy," namely, "the imprisonment on a closely guarded mountain of all, or nearly all, male mem-

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bers of the reigning dynasty."[39] Reviewing the works of the contemporary Persian and Arab writers, Abu Fazl, Shirhindi, Abd Allah Mohamed bin Umar al-Makki al-Asafi Ulughani and the Portuguese Fernao Guerreiro, he points out "though they differ on many details they leave no doubt that in Khandesh great power was exercised by Habshis and in particular by one whom al-Makki names Malik Yakut Sultani." This lends considerable interest to the fact that members of the ruling house in Khandesh were imprisoned in the mountain fortress of Asirgath, in much the same way as the Ethiopian royalty were detained on the mountain Amba Geshen. "It is obvious," Beckingham concludes "that there was a close resemblance between the custom in Ethiopia and in Khandesh. Though we do not know precisely when it was adopted by the Farukis (the local Khandesh dynasty), we can say with confidence that it was practised in Ethiopia by the early 14th century, so that it was in operation there before Khandesh came into existence as an independent State. Since those Habshis, who really were Ethiopians by origin, must have been familiar with it in their homeland, it may well be that they introduced it into a State which they came to dominate."[40]

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[9]Majumdar and others, p. 345.
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[11]Majumbdar and others, p. 346.
[12]Ibid, p. 346; Stewart, pp. 102-3, 106-7.
[13]It is also asserted that this was the son of Indil Khan Vide Stewart, pp. 107-8.
[14]Not to be confused with the Ethiopian Nasir, also known as Babash Khan, who entered the service of Gujarat in 1537 Vide **Cambridge Histoy**, Vol. III, p. 337.
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Historic Statement of Emperor Haile Sellassie and Premier Nehru

Issued on November 8, 1956

"At the invitation of the Government of India, His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, visited India, from October 25, 1956, to November 17, 1956. His Imperial Majesty has visited various agricultural, industrial and river-valley projects, as well as training establishments, community schemes, and centres of developmental activities in India.

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"His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister of India have taken the opportunity of this visit for a friendly and informal exchange of view on matters of mutual interest. They view with great concern the grave and alarming developments in the international situation involving violation of human dignity and freedom and the subjection of people by the force of modern arms.

'They hope that those concerned will, even at this late stage, respect the principles of the U.N. Charter, and whole-heartedly co-operate with and assist in the U.N. efforts to lift the fog of war, put an end to aggression, and re-establish peace in the troubled areas. They deplore the use of force for the solution of international differences and believe that it is by peaceful means alone that just and lasting settlement of international issues can be secured.'

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"His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister reaffirmed the principles enunciated by the Asian-African conference at Bandung, on the subject of colonialism and racialism and for greater economic and cultural co-operation and exchange of technical assistance among the participating countries.

"His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister of India have noted with pleasure the friendly relations which exist between their two countries. They are resolved to strengthen this friendship by further co-operation, to their mutual advantage in the cultural, economic and social spheres. In pursuance of this, the opportunity is being taken to negotiate an agreement providing for expansion of trade and development of closer economic relations between their two countries."

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This Month's Cover Illustration

An adaptation by LISE LOTTE DEININGER-ENGLHART of the 18th century Ethiopian MS. of St. John the Divine writing his Revelations: from the Church of Debre Michael, in Semien. This manuscript is referred to in this issue as No. XXX.

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Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings

By Otto A. Jäger

On the occasion of the 25th Jubilee of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, in 1948, Ethiopian calendar (1955 European calendar), the Governor General of the Beghemedir and Semien Province in the north of Ethiopia, His Excellency Asrate Kassa, collected several hundred antiquities—crowns, crosses, paintings and manuscripts—from churches and monasteries of the province and exhibited them in the Gondar castle.

In 1635 Gondar was founded as the capital of Ethiopia by the Emperor Fasil and flourished up to the beginning of the 19th century. During these 200 years a compound of about 7,000 square metres was built with castles and palaces. Today most of the famous castles are in ruins, though still impressive and grandiose. Only the main castle, the one of the Emperor Fasil, a four-storey building with its large, high rooms, is in such a good condition that it could give the opportunity to form a glorious frame for the subjects of that exhibition.

Living at that time in Gondar, I daily had the advantage to study, in my spare time, all subjects of the exhibition for about one year. After that time the treasures were returned to the churches owning them, and will therefore disappear for an indefinite period from anyone who wants to study them, because these churches and monasteries are mostly far away from the main roads, difficult of access in daylong rides on muleback, with litttle or no assurance as to whether or not one will be allowed to see the subjects intensively and to photograph them. I was fortunate enough to be allowed to take colour photos of about 1,600 illuminations in 35 manuscripts, and from all other paintings. From the main pictures my secretary made in addition 30 copies in water colours, some of them on parchment, mixing the colours with white-of-egg as the old Ethiopian painters did. Once interested in the matter, I made some trips to remote places to discover maybe more paintings in churches. The most important of these trips was one I made together with a young Englishman to a plateau north-east of Lake Tana, surrounding the historical mountain Wehne. On that plateau, never reached before by any European, some important churches were found, decorated with excellent wall paintings.

Little is known about Ethiopian paintings to the rest of the world. Some 1,500 manuscripts may be in European and American libraries and museums, partly illuminated, and the 17th century wallpaintings from the Abba Antonius church near Gondar is shown in the Musée de l'homme in Paris. That's all which can be seen of originals in the Western World. Reproductions of paintings from churches and manuscripts can be found in books and magazines published by d'Abbadie, Budge, Buxton, Doresse, Pankhurst, Playne and others, but compared with the quantity and the interesting and outstanding quality of Ethiopian paintings these publications are surprisingly few in number. I am sure that, once enlightened, the world will appreciate the value of this fine art and find it at least as impressive as the miniatures of European mediaeval manuscripts.

Among the most antique illuminated Ethiopian manuscripts published till now are the 14th century Four Gospels from the Debre Mariam church in Tigre, discovered and published by Buxton. Among the 15th century illustrated manuscripts is the one describing the Lives of the Saints in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, from which some plates have been reproduced by J. Doresse L'Ethiopie pp. 59, 76, 77, 86, 90, 91, 146, 148, and colour plate p. 80; by Sylvia Pankhurst in "Ethiopia, A Cultural History" plates LV and LVII, and by Beatrice Playne. Illuminations in manuscripts of the 17th and 18th century have mainly been reproduced by Budge in his several works.

It is unknown how many manuscripts remain in Ethiopia, as most of them belong to remote churches and monasteries waiting to be discovered. The Gondar exhibition showed fine samples regarding quantity as well especially as quality. I think that the Gondar manuscript No. 1 with its four portraits of the Evangelists is one of, or may be the most ancient manuscript with paintings discovered yet in Ethiopia. The question arises whether or not these surviving documents are the earliest products of painting in Ethiopia, or whether they have forerunners. It is not known yet whether Ethiopian painting existed at the time of the Aksum Dynasty or not. Apart from rock-engravings till now nothing has been discovered. From a later period, a true fresco depicting the visit of the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth, exists in the Biete Mariam Church in Lalibela and was copied and published by Beatrice Playne, "St George for Ethiopia" p. 45. Although this church was built during the reign of King Lalibela (1181-1221 A.D.) and the picture is painted "al fresco" on the fresh wall-plaster, I am not sure, that it originates from the time of

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ETHIOPIA OBSERVER is pleased to present in this issue an essay on Ethiopian manuscript painting by Dr. Otto Jäger who has made a study of this subject during the past several years.

Dr. Jäger, in his descriptions of the mss., has used sometimes the accepted rendering in English of the Biblical names of persons and places; sometimes he has used the Ethiopian version of these names.

In this and other respects we have reproduced the text as Dr. Jäger wrote it. To Ethiopian readrs the Ethiopian rendering of Biblical names will, of course, be most familiar. English speaking and other European readers, on the other hand, may have some difficulty in identifying them. Such names as Alexander, rendered as Eskinder, or even as Skinder in some cases, may be found difficult. While recognising this problem, we have decided to reproduce the text as we received it from its author.

The Editor of *Ethiopia Observer* is not fully in agreement with the learned author in all his contentions concerning Ethiopian art.

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St. Mark, from a manuscript of the reign of Amda Seyon I (1314-1344) from Debre Mariam Church in Lake Tana. Illustration 2 of Manuscript No. 1 in text. Dr. Jaeger believes this to be the earliest known Ethiopian manuscript painting

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Lalibela. If so, then most probably the painter was a foreigner somewhat adapted to the Ethiopian style, but not truly representing this style. The painting is less spiritual and abstract than many of the later manuscript paintings of the 14th and 15th centuries, which proves these later ones to be more "Ethiopian" than the more realistic Lalibela painting.

The paintings found in the church of King Imrahana Kristos, who reigned 1110-1150 A.D. also seems to me to be later added to the wall of the church. Apart from these two examples—the Bieta Mariam fresco and the Imrahana Kristos paintings—there are no indications that paintings existed in Ethiopia before 1300 A.D. From the style of the 14th century illuminations and from the further development of Ethiopian fine arts it seems to be more likely that first in about 1300 A.D. painting originated in Ethiopia, or at least that a competely new period of painting without precedent started at that time.

The manuscript painters in the beginning of that 14th century probably were not trained as such in any tradition, but were calligraphic writers. How they got the idea to illuminate their manuscripts, will remain, as in the case of all paintings, one of the secrets of human beings. Religion throughout all centuries up to the renaissance in Italy, and even longer, is an excellent cultural ground for the development of the fine arts. Sense and talent for painting was certainly present in the Ethiopian race. This tradition may characterize the Kushitic part coming from Egypt more than the Semitic one coming from Arabia. The Semites assimilated, after their invasion of the lands of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in about 3,000 B.C., the old Sumerian tradition of sculpture and of painting religious and heroic scenes and they behaved similarly whenever they adopted foreign civilisations. But there was some objection in the Semitic character against producing documents in fine arts. This objection appears in many discussions and eventually penetrated in the form of real prohibition in the Jewish and Mohammedan religions and even some Christian tendencies.

The non-Semitic races in Sumer, Iran and Egypt seem never to have had such a trend of disagreement with fine arts. On the contrary, it is said that from the Christian Church in Egypt the religious painting of Biblical scenes on the walls of churches was encouraged. As Kushites have contributed a great part to the Ethiopian race since about 1000 B.C., it seems not surprising, that they brought this inheritance of being artists from Egypt to Ethiopia. Anywhere in the north of Ethiopia a traveller can see up to now the bright and light Kushitic faces resembling the old Egyptian Pharaoh portraits. All paintings in Ethiopia showing human faces, portray these very light and often non-Semitic racial forms. The Semitic inheritance most probably is, besides the language, the monotheism, the dominance of religion in all aspects of life and the theocratic monarchy. Ethiopian painting may therefore be the product of these two roots: the artistic sense and skill of the Kushites and the religious monotheistic dominance of the Semites. Therefore maybe all Ethiopian paintings up to the end of the 19th century are concerned with religious themes only. They belong to churches, and they have been ordered often by the royal family. No aristocratic or bourgeois fine art existed in Ethiopa, and certainly no l'art pour l'art could develop.

All the illustrations in the Ethiopian manuscripts of the 14th century, those from Gondar as well as those from Debre Mariam published by Buxton, do not give the impression to me of being the result of a long tradition or of being copies from earlier designs, but of starting from that period. There are some resemblances to early mediaeval art of the eastern Christian world and even more to Irish illuminations, such as the Guthbert Evangeliar in the National Library in Vienna, dated about 770 A.D. But resemblances do not necessarily indicate direct influence or dependency. The Ethiopian painter of the 14th and 15th century clearly shows from his work, that he was driven by strong creative forces, and had a natural talent to transform his conceptions into designs and colours. There is no necessity to suppose more than normal interrelation with the products of fine arts abroad. There are periods in the history of every nation where her creative forces increase and produce top-manifestations and unlimited numbers of works contemporarily with other nations but in a native and independent style. Why should Ethiopia, so independent in the development of her language and her writing characters, in her architecture and her history, not have been able to develop her distinctive fine art? In fact this fine art can be distinguished since that early period more than many products of other nations, and one can recognise it easily, once his eye is adapted to it. At the time when Ethiopian fine arts started to flourish, they may have been enriched by foreign influences, but the surviving paintings show right from the earliest examples a very original character.

The western world is touched more by the creative forces in a product of fine art, and therefore prefers the original, while the eastern world is more impressed by the skilled technique. In the east therefore a copy may be esteemed higher, than the original. Taking the western view, the earliest and most original Ethiopian paintings are more valuable than the later ones.

What are these characteristics of Ethiopian paintings?

First it is obvious to everybody seeing a number of Ethiopian paintings that this period's art is always *illustrative*. Though the style of the pictures is abstract, their *contents* are so predominant that the abstraction seems to be less impressive to the reader than the story which is illustrated. This predominance of the content seems to be as important to the intuition of the artist as to the understanding of the reader. An Ethiopian illumination seems to be a kind of script—a transcription—in the form of painting, with the purpose to intensify the words of the text or to explain it to illiterates. As this text consists only of stories and legends concerned with Christ, or St. Mary, or saints, or kings, all Ethiopian paintings show always holy or human beings. In addition, sometimes animals and plants or buildings are added to complete the picture. These additional subjects are not shown on their own and independent from their relation to the human beings. They build a kind of frame or background.

A second significant sign of Ethiopian paintings is, as mentioned before, their religious theme. Religion

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was and is till now predominant, not only in the daily life of the nation, but also in all literary and artistic production. Fine arts did not dissect from this nourishing umbilical cord, as they did in other countries. In this traditional adherence to religion, Ethiopia and her Semitic relatives differ essentially from, for example, the Greek and Roman nations and also to a great extent from Iran and other oriental non-Semitic countries.

A third impressive difference between Ethiopian and many other fine arts is its sense for planeness instead of plasticity. Egyptian art is said to show a distinct will for building forms. And certainly the development of European art had a trend to show perspective and plastic forms with their lights and shades. Ethiopia kept her art in a style of non-naturalistic illusion. Here any form is projected on a plane. This non-naturalistic attitude produces an abstract view, corresponding to, or even strengthening the religious character of this art, not only with regard to its style but also to its content.

The lines in Ethiopian paintings, not producing a plastic illusion are arranged in a way to induce a kind of tension in the picture. This tension was in the beginning of the 14th century a spiritual one; later, in the time of Emperor Fasil, it seems to be an expression of powerful life. Afterwards, in the 18th and 19th century the designing lines became more and more decorative only and ornamental.

Not only the perspective depth of the room but also the extension towards its size plays no role in Ethiopian paintings. In Europe one may be able to write a history of the cultural background of fine arts with regard to the sizes of the tableaus. It cannot be imagined that the gigantic heroic scenes of early baroque are filled with the contents of 17th century Flemish rustical life-scenes such as have been depicted by Teniers or Brouwer or Ostade and many others, and vice versa. The intimate Persian miniatures introduced in manuscripts like little secrets or dreams of paradisic life, can not be enlarged to wall paintings without detoriating their character. In contrast to these size-depending paintings in Europe or Iran, it is characteristic for Ethiopian pictures that they are independent from any size. In Ethiopia the same design may appear in a manuscript miniature as well as on the large wall of a church. This independency of size seems to me to make Ethiopian painting independent also of the change of its cultural background, and to show once more the tendency of being not related to worldly events.

A characteristic feature in Ethiopian paintings is also the gestures of the hands. In all oriental countries till to-day gesticulating is a common habit. It seems that in Ethiopia this habit has been put in order into a kind of system. This system was maybe not less significant than writing. In Ethiopian pictures one may discover the same gestures of the hands in scenes of the same meaning. The gesture of conversation, of blessing, of threat, of praying are repeated permanently during centuries. There are no, or only a few, scenes in which the hands of the depicted persons are not performing a " speech." Probably the old Ethiopian reader was able to " read " these gestures as well or even being an illiterate, as one can read written texts. This ability of " gesture reading " was especially important in a country with numerous dialects.

Finally the relation to the viewer is a universal sign in Ethiopian painting. Sometimes this relation is demonstrated in the form of a hypnotic staring at the viewer. In other pictures the scenes are put in an order like a theatre scenery, directed to the looker-on. Also this character shows the illustration tendency of Ethiopian fine arts.

Summarising, the predominance of the content, the exclusiveness of religion in all themes, the tensional abstract design filled with coloured illuminations, the plainness without perspective, the independence from size, the representation of gestures and the dominant relation to the viewer are the characteristics of Ethiopian painting. These characteristics, of course, cannot indicate the level of Ethiopian fine arts, but may demonstrate anyhow its independence and creative power.

It is interesting to examine where Ethiopian painting started. The cultural centre of the time, in which the 14th century painting started in Ethiopia, was most probably the triangle between Lalibela, Lake Tana and Aksum. Lake Tana, 65 km. from Gondar, was an important cultural centre since, or even before the great period of Aksum. This lake of about 60 kilometres diameter, has been formed by a barrier of lava blocking the bed of the Blue Nile, which overflows this barrier southwards in the form of gigantic falls. The fortune of water and fertile clay is carried to Egypt, raising that country since thousands of years to one of the most fertile districts of the world. Maybe this nimbus of grace, maybe the glorious climate has made Lake Tana a centre of culture from times immemorial. Of the 35 islands in Lake Tana, 12 have churches and monasteries. Some of these islands are said to be very ancient holy places. According to tradition, the Ark from the Temple of Jerusalem was brought, in the time of King Solomon in about 950 B.C., to the island Tana Cherkos, remaining there till its transfer to Aksum 600 years later. Till now Jewish relics are shown by the priests of Tana Cherkos to visitors. The Cross of Frumentius, who christianised the country in A.D. 326, was placed by him himself there before he died, as a symbol that Christianity had triumphed over the Jewish belief. When the Solomonian line of the Ethiopian Emperors was re-established in A.D. 1268, their residence was moved from Lalibela nearer to Lake Tana district. A renaissance of the old culture started with this change. The emperors later reigned in castles directly on the shores of Lake Tana, such as Dankaz, Gorgora, Infras, Guzera. The great Ethiopian Emperors Jekuno Amlak (1268-1283), David I. (1382-1411), Zara Yacob Constantin (1434-1468), Za Dengel (1603-1604) and Fasil (1632-1667) are buried on the island of Daga Stephanos in Lake Tana. One may have the right to call the flourishing Ethiopian civilisation between 1300 and the time of the Emperor Theodoros in about 1860, the *Lake Tana Culture*.

The products of fine arts of the first 200 years of this culture probably were innumerable. During the invasion of Ahmed Gran in the 16th century almost every document was destroyed similar to the devastations of the thirty-years war in Central Europe. So we

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have to suppose that the surviving manuscripts are only a very small percentage of the treasures before this seizure. Ahmed Gran was killed in battle near Lake Tana in 1543. After his death a renaissance of fine arts started in Ethiopia, in the period of the Emperor Fasil with his "Gondar Style." Keeping in mind the destructions through all external and internal wars, the present remaining and known number of illuminated manuscripts is still impressive, compared with the number of only about 200 mediaeval manuscripts in the whole of Europe.

Related to the historical development of the country three main periods may be distinguished in the fine arts, although the traditional attitude of the Ethiopian people and the screening against the rest of the world prohibited a rapid change such as in Europe.

The first period lasts from the beginning of the 14th century to the death of Ahmed Gran, i.e., to the end of the insecure period where communications were restricted, but individual ascetic and retired, and obviously very intensive religious life was dominant. From this period's paintings only illuminations in manuscripts survived, but no wall paintings or tableaus. The illuminations are few in number in the manuscripts, showing mostly the writing Evangelists, or Saints or some important scenes of the Bible. The size of the paintings is small, compared with those of later periods. The colours are dematerialised, translucent, symbolic more than realistic or decorative. A spiritual tension seems to be expressed in the lines of the designs. In these illuminations the bodies of the painted Evangelists and Saints are abstract in their outlines, immaterial in their colours, sacred in their pose. The art of this first period seems to be nothing more than a revelation of the Lord.

The second period culminates in the reign of the Emperor Fasil (1632-1667). Some European influences had been incorporated into the paintings, but were at the same time rejected, searching for a distinct expressive style. Life was secure, self-confident, with wide communications and increasing administrative power from the new capital, Gondar, which was full of commerce, handicraft and wealth.

The paintings of this period are innumerable and full of dramatic life. In some manuscripts nearly every page is decorated. The size of the books has enlarged. The themes derive from the New Testament, from the lives of Saints and Kings, and legends were added in many variations. The painters created a new realism based on the manpower forming the civilisation. The style is still abstract but not any more translucent or spiritual, but majestic, dominating, moral. The tension in the design does not show any more the tension of the spirit, but the tension of an ambitious and self-confident life. Art seems to be a means to increase the self-esteem of the people.

The third period following the one of the Emperor Fasil is that of some deviation from the old Ethiopian style. The political difficulties and the weakness of the central authority were not a favourable background for cultural life. The fine arts developed in different ways. One was the sweetish secularisation of religious themes. Another one was the stereotype repetition of standard pictures. A third one—the best one—one may call a flight into mysterious chapters such as the revelation of St. John. As an overall, the paintings became more illustrative than expressive, likely understood and appreciated by the people, but far from the spiritual rank of the former periods.

Cultural life expresses itself like waves with heights and depths, eventually dependent in its total quality on the creative power of a nation and on favourable conditions, changing according to internal and external factors. Ethiopia as a whole kept her standard through more than 2,000 years in different ways of expressions and different heights of it, but equally independent and distinct. The paintings though never too realistic, developed between A.D. 1300 and 1800 from a very high spirituality through a colourful magnificent humanism to a more decorative naturalism. Nevertheless the religious sense behind all works of fine art in Ethiopia was never lost, and one may say that all Ethiopian painting till to-day lives in a spiritual room of belief and not on earth. This neighbourhood to eternity may save the art of Ethiopia from any possible degeneration into a superficial realism.

"A final question may be asked: what kind of contribution can Ethiopian painting offer to the orchestra of the world's fine arts? Certainly one contribution it did not offer till now: the rapid development of renewing ideas which is so characteristic for the western world. One may imagine that painters are attracting the look, and that the viewers are progressing in the direction of their eyes. During the last decades the expressions of the European painters have shown an apocalyptic prophecy in that way.

Ethiopia did not participate in such a development. As fine arts are a kind of mirror in which one may discover the character of a nation, Ethiopian paintings may complete the impression which the world received of this country as an independent, self-confident and creative nation. Such a completion, doubtless, will be of advantage in an epoch where many efforts have been started to render the world more harmonious by improving the contact and understanding amongst nations." The Gondar exhibition showed fine examples of Ethiopian paintings from all these periods.

The time-classification of the manuscripts in Gondar was mainly indicated by notes in the text pages, where the emperor's reign was mentioned. The translation of the Ge'ez text was kindly done by a very well-educated priest with great knowledge, and by the interpretation of Police Inspector Tekle Mikael Armide and by some kind assistance occasionally given by experienced officials such as Blatta Tsahai, the Town Mayor of Gondar, and others. On becoming more and more adapted to the style of the Ethiopian paintings and having some boundary-stones in statements of times of origin, one may be able to classify the illuminations according to their colours and technique with increasing accuracy.

The "Ethiopia Observer" is the first publisher of a detailed catalogue of the Gondar collection. This synopsis adds worthwhile material to the lists of Dill-

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mann (1847) and Wright (1877) from the British Museum, Zotenberg (1877), Antoine d'Abbadie, Chaine, Conti Rossini, Grébaut, Strelcyn from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Rhodokanakis (1900) from the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

The Gondar catalogue has the advantage to report all provenances correctly and to include herewith most probably the places from whence the manuscripts originated. From this knowledge the importance of the Lake Tana district as an early and highly cultural centre becomes evident, and, therefore, once more the right to speak of " Lake Tana Culture."

Ethiopian paintings are impressive for anyone who regards it from the European *l'art pour l'art* point of view, but as all Ethiopian painting is closely related to the contents of the scripture, this fine art will be understood better, when the depicted stories are known. For this reason the following catalogue gives a short description of the content of each picture, enabling the reader to regard the pictures in the same manner, as the ancient Ethiopians did, when creating this art.

All old Ethiopian manuscripts are written on parchment, prepared from goat, horse, mule or sheep-skin. The quality of the parchment is affected by its different source. To prepare the parchment, the skins are dried, stretched taut within a wooden frame. Then each is rubbed with pumice until it is as thin as possible and of a splendid white colour. The leaves are then arranged in quires and thonged by leather or cotton. The books are bound in wooden slats, covered in the later periods with brown or red-tinted, richly embossed leather.

All manuscripts are written in the Ge'ez language. The handwriting changes from century to century, starting similar to the paintings with a more angular cubical type and changing gradually into a more rounded pleasant cursive type.

The paintings are executed in water-colour. The colour itself was, and is, found in large quantities and in many nuances, in the volcanic earths resembling the " terra verde di Verona," " terra di Puzzuoli," " terra di Napoli " and others. Black was prepared from charred grains. The colour-powder was mixed with water and some juices of trees, in later times with white-of-egg and most probably the caseous part of the milk. The paintings afterwards are mostly more or less water-fast.

The illuminated manuscripts of the Gondar exhibition I have numbered with Latin characters I to XXXV, approximately but not strictly according to their age. The individual pictures are numbered within the manuscript with Arabic characters 1 to 100 or more. The Miracles of Mary from the " Tamre Mariams," that repeat each other chronically within the manuscripts are numbered in Latin characters from I to XXXII. In manuscripts that deal with the Gospels, the pictures are marked with the respective chapters and verses of the Bible, if possible. The measurements are given in centimetres, height by breadth and, if manuscripts, thickness.

By the same author *vide* Dr. Otto Jager, Ethiopische Miniaturen, with 28 colour-plates by Gebrüder Mann Verlag, Berlin.

Illustration from the Four Gospels from Jehjeh Giorgis church in Wagara, produced during the reign of Zara Yacob (1434-1468) (MS. II, 18)

Gondar Manuscript I, 36 x 25.5 x 12.5 cm., belongs to the Debre Mariam Church in Lake Tana, which was built by Abuna Taddeus. The manuscript is said to have been written during the reign of Emperor Amda Seyon I (1314-1344). This era obviously corresponds with the actual age of the manuscript and therefore it seems to be one of the oldest illustrated manuscripts found and reported till now—or may be the oldest one. It is bound between plain wooden panels; the front one is heavily worn by age. The manuscript contains the four Gospels, with 199 folios and 4 portraits of the Evangelists, each at the beginning of the respective gospel. The first illustration, 25 x 18 cm., pictures the evangelist Matthew, sitting in a temple-like edifice and writing, " The Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The size of the second painting is 28 x 14.5 cm. and shows St. Mark. Number three is 27 x 19 cm. large, picturing St. Luke. The last, 26 x 19 cm., shows St. John. All four paintings are uniform in pose and setting, but the painting of St. Mark is by far the best in the abstract expression of its spirit and the beauty of its melody in colours. It is an outstanding work of fine art.

Manuscript Gondar II, 37.5 x 28.5 x 11.5 cm. in size, belongs to the Jehjeh Giorgis Church in the Wagara

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Aaron, Moses and the Archangel Michael from the Kristos Simra church, Gondar: MS. III, illustration 1, of the beginning of the 15th century

district near Gondar. In its text it mentions the reign of Emperor Zara Yacob (1434-1468) and its style leads us to presume that it originates from that time. The book is entitled " Arat Wongel," or four Gospels, and is bound in wooden slats. There are 191 folios to the book with 10 richly decorated pages of scripture, three pages, the epistle of Eusebias, framed in temple-like ornaments, and seven pages canon-plates framed in the same way. The second part of the book contains the four Gospels with 12 illustrations of Biblical scenes and the evangelists. This part starts with a " tempietto " (30.5 x 22.5 cm.)—a small round temple with two gazelles at the foot and two peacocks on the roof. The centre of the picture shows the temple-curtain of two colours in a knot. There follow 5 scenes from the life of Christ, and two blank pages with frames outlined, which obviously could not be finished by the painter. The first is the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan River (28.5 x 20 cm.). It is followed by the Crucifixion (28.5 x 20 cm.), the Annunciation (27 x 19.5 cm.), one page reserved for the Birth of Christ, but not executed (27 x 21 cm.), the entombment of Christ (28 x 20 cm.), and one page reserved for the Resurrection (?) (27.5 x 21 cm.) and " Christ, King of Heaven," or the Judgement (33 x 23 cm.). Last of all the four evangelists are portrayed at the beginning of each of the respective Gospels.

The painted frames of the pictures are divided into three groups: The preface is framed within little temples, ending with the knotted temple curtain, that may symbolize the entrance to the Holy of Holies, the life of Christ. Scenes with Christ in them (except the crucifixion, that takes a special place in the manuscript) are surmounted by a clover-leaf-bow and framed in a rectangular border-band with a continuous pattern (Baptism, entombment, St. Marcos—Ch. 12, 29).

The clover-leaf-bow may symbolize the Trinity, whilst the continuous pattern in the border edge may symbolise Eternity as such.

Scenes with St. Mary as the leading figure are topped by a single bow that continues downwards in the form of a little temple. (Annunciation, birth of the Holy Infant). The same bow is repeated but executed differently in the choice of colours and embellishment in the scenes with neutral content as: the letter of Eusebius, canon-plates, Matthew, and Luke.

Also the different colours seem to have their own meaning. A glassy blue, repeatedly used in the border-edging, is felt to symbolize the universe. A bright yellow with a chainlike pattern in fine red lines might be the light of divine law, the red pattern, the spilled blood of the Saviour.

The Kristos Simra Church near Gondar possesses Gondar manuscript III, 47 x 34.5 x 13 cm. large. The reign of Emperor Balharek Yasu David (1382-1411) is mentioned in the book, and one might ascribe its origin to the beginning of the 15th century. The title of the book is " Orit " and it contains the Old Testament. It is bound in wooden slats and contains 222 leaves. At

Hanna delivers the three-year-old Mary to the High Priest. MS. IV. 2, from Bethelem church near Debre Tabor, produced during the reign of Dawit II (1508-1540)

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St. Fasiladas riding a horse. MS. V, 1, produced in the reign of Sayfa Arad (1344-1374), from Medle Fasiladas Church near Debre Tabor

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the very beginning a painting (36 x 25 cm.), portrays Aaron, Moses, and the Archangel Michael standing side by side. The painting is termite-eaten, but still recognizable. The three persons appear in the form of cube-like statues, holding their symbols for recognition: Aaron, the prayerstick and a censer; Moses clutches the tablets of the 12 commandments; Michael, covered by his wings folded in front, holds the Sword with which he protected the Jews. Besides this one painting, every introductory chapter of the book is richly ornamented. All the other pages are also decorated by a loving hand.

A beautifully executed manuscript is Gondar IV, 30 x 12.5 x 9 cm., in the possession of the Bethlehem Church near Debre Tabor, in the vicinity of Lake Tana. It is mentioned in the book, that it was ordered by King David II (1508-1540) for his deceased daughter Lahe Mariam. The manuscript is bound in wooden slats, covered with leather. It contains 251 folios and 12 full-page illustrations. It is a version of the 4 Gospels. The illustrations seem to be executed in a similar style to the paintings of manuscript Gondar II, developing the more simplified art of that into an extraordinarily well-done one with great accuracy, skill and good taste in ornamentation. The paintings are much finer than the bold-spirited ones of Manuscript II, but they do not lack any of the abstract spiritualism and strength of perception.

1. (22.5 x 17 cm.) shows the parents of St. Mary with the infant. The pose of Joachim suggests that he is explaining the family group to the reader.

2. (22.5 x 17.5 cm.) Hanna delivers the three-year-old Mary to the High Priest.

3. (28 x 16.5 cm.) Annunciation. The angel holds a prayer-stick surmounted by the cross, the sign of Christ, that comes into being at that sacred moment.

4. (22 x 17 cm.) The Holy Family, fleeing to Egypt. Joseph carries the infant on his shoulders and stands mutely turned to the reader. St. Mary and Salome, her faithful servant, recite their plight to the onlooker.

5. (22.5 x 17.5 cm.) In Egypt the refugees rest on Mount Kusquam. Mary, sitting in a tabernacle-like alcove, shields the infant in her lap with her hands. A deceased Saint lies at the family's feet. Death is pictured by black blotches in the place of eyes.

6. (22 x 17.5 cm.) Crucifixion. Christ hangs with outspread arms, dead on the Cross. St. Mary and St. John stand grief-stricken near the cross, their lamenting only pictured by their upraised hands.

7. (22.5 x 17 cm.) In a vision Christ visits the Evangelist John and orders him to write the Gospel.

8. (28.5 x 18 cm.) Christ and his 12 apostles surround a corpse. It may be presumed, that the corpse is of Lahe Mariam, the deceased daughter of David II, the king entrusting her body to the mercy of Christ.

9. (22 x 16.5 cm.) Bishop Cyriacos, standing alone and erect with a prayer-cross in his hand and crowned by the bishop's hood, and a halo.

10. (28 x 16.5 cm.) Bishop Basilios is pictured in the same way, holding a prayerstick.

11. (22 x 16.5 cm.) St. Mary and the infant are adored by a pious woman.

12. (22 x 16.5 cm.) St John travelling on earth.

The Gondar Manuscript V, 35 x 26 x 5 cm, describes the story and martyrdom of St. Fasilidas. It is kept in the Medle Fasilidas Church near Debre Tabor, in the vicinity of Lake Tana, and was written, as mentioned in the manuscript itself, in the reign of Emperor Sayfa Arad (1344-1374). From its appearance it may belong either to the 14th or to the 15th century. The title of the book is "Gedle Fasilidas." It is bound in wooden plates, that are covered with richly embossed red-tinted leather. It contains 51 leaves and 7 paintings, 3 at the beginning of the book and 4 at the end of the manuscript, the last picture dealing with St. Stephanos and added at a later period. The illustrations are executed in a crude and ungracious manner, in strong colours. The figures are depicted in a natural manner in their movements and details, but rather clumsy in proportion. The first picture (31 x 28 cm), showing St. Fasilidas riding his horse, is remarkable for the extraordinary arrangement of his clothes. The "shamma" (Toga) billows out behind the saint, and his clothes are drawn away from the figure, just as if he is striving against a strong counter-wind. What makes this way of arrangement impressive are the bundles of rays radiating and traversing each other at different angles, giving the whole painting a sense of strong currents, centralising, scattering, struggling and disengaging again, maybe reflecting the war-torn country of that time.

Also the following pictures suggest such a reflection, regarding the cruelty of the martyrdom of the saint

2. (30 x 23 cm) shows how the martyr is being sawn in half and big chunks of his body are being hacked out with axes.

3. (30 x 28.5 cm) shows the saint being tortured with a sword. Angels are shown preserving his spilled blood in clean linen.

4. (28 x 21 cm) Fasilidas is chastised.

5. (27 x 19 cm) Then nails are driven into his body and he is tortured upon a heated iron grill.

6. (27 x 19) The executioners drive nails into the saint's eyes, and one of them beats his teeth in with a stone.

The seventh picture (30 x 26 cm) was added at a later period and has no connection with the contents of the book, apart from the fact, that it also depicts the martyrdom of a saint. St. Sebastian in the role of an officer rides on a white horse. He is then shown on a black horse, and finally his execution where he is shot to death with arrows.

The Manuscripts, Gondar VI and VII might be regarded as originating from the same source and hand, one large (73 x 16 cm), and the other a smaller copy (45 x 7 cm). They are both in the possession of the Lephaphe Syrk Church, and according to history are said to originate from earliest Christianity. They are extraordinary in their arrangement. They fold like fans and are fastened together in such a way that they might be opened in one sheet. One half of the wood cover is endowed with a handle, the other fitting into it. By the style of the paintings it can be concluded that these folding-books do not belong to a period earlier than the 16th or 15 century

Every "page" (2 to every fold) is filled with the portrait of a saint, archangel, apostle or Biblical character. The pictures are uniform in size 44 x 15.5 (measured below the top-ornament). The persons portrayed

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are Nathaniel, Abba Inel-Ouk, St. Stephen, Taddeus, Matthias, Jacob, Mattheus, Thomas, Phillip, Bartholomew, John, Jacob, Peter, Paul, Andrea, Michael, Mary, Gabriel, seraphim, cherubim, Samuel, Fanuel, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (Isaac's son) and Abba Makark.

A very wide and richly ornamented band runs horizontally on the top and bottom of the portraits; every portrait above the top-ornament is crowned by a second ornament, stretching upwards to form the Sign of the Cross. The most remarkable feature of these paintings is their choice of colour. All the colours are rich earthy colours, soft and yet full of content. Very nicely executed is the plaiting of the ornaments interspersed with crosses. The portraints are like pillars. A name is inscribed next to every image. Outstanding are the pictures of Moses, who is half kneeling with far upstretched arms and receiving from a hand out of Heaven the tablets of the Divine law. This picture is the only one in the collection that suggests any kind of movement. Beautiful and outstanding also is the picture of the Virgin, who stands upright in an attitude of prayer with lifted hands, palms facing outwards in front of her. She is the only one of the group who does not stand with the base of her gown directly on the ornament, but has a special footstool, that raises her level with the other figures. On one side of her is Archangel Gabriel, on the other Archangel Michael. Both are carrying swords. It might be presumed that this group in itself means to visualise the annunciation in a very abstract manner.

Book VII, as mentioned above, seems to be a replica on a smaller scale, but with more portraits, 43 altogether. The single picture is 25 x 6.5 cm. The same style is used as in Book VI, but as the scale is much smaller, the effect of the portraits is more compact and therefore gives the impression of being coarser. The persons portrayed in this second folding-book are: Abba Antonius, Abba Wakas, Abba Kiros, Abba Sinoda, Abba Stephanos, Abba Gabre Christos, Abba Kirkos, Abba Samuel, Raphael, Cherubim, Michael, Mary, Gabriel, Afuin, Suriel, Rafael, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Malake Sedik, Anania, Asaria, Claudius, Matthew, Taddeus, Thomas, Bartholomew, Phillip, Jacob, John, Nathaniel, Mathias, Peter, Paul, Andreas, Michael, Misael, Isaiah, Esra.

A new zenith of Ethiopian painting was reached under Emperor Fasil (1632-67). Manuscript Gondar VIII, 45 x 40 x 11 cm, mentions in its pages that it was written for the Emperor himself. This colourful huge volume contains 251 folios and 134 illustrations . It is bound in wooden slats, covered with richly embossed leather. Its subject are the four Gospels. It has no preface, but starts immediately with the Bible text. It is possible to reproduce the contents of the pictures with the help of quoting the bible text and the respective chapters and verses, as all pictures are clearcut and without any manipulations.

The style of the illuminations resembles those of the manuscript Orient 510 in the British Museum, but the Gondar Manuscript seems to be more original and some decades or years earlier. A few of the pictures are not completed and it is easy to follow the artists' technique, especially the development of each picture. Christ is the radiating figure in every picture with very few exceptions (as in parables, where the theme has priority). The

Mary and Gabriel, MS. VI, 17-18, from Lephaphe Syrk church: probably 15th or 16th century

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next point of concentration was then the person healed, or any other theme, the two "poles" sometimes crossing each other. Then the artist gave his attention to the pious and just, and as last items he filled in the crowd. The following scenes are pictured:

1.	16.5 x 20		St. Matthew.
2.	17 x 22	1/25	The birth of Jesus.
3.	19 x 30	3/15	The Baptism of Jesus.
4	29 x 37	4/1	The temptation of Jesus in the wilderness.
5.	18.5 x 23	5/1	The sermon on the mount.
6.	20.5 x 30	8/2	Jesus cleanses a leper.
7.	20.5 x 35	8/5	He heals the centurion's servant.
8.	19 x 23	8/23	He still the tempest.
9.	18 x 30.5	8/28	He cures two demoniacs.
10.	21 x 32	9/20	The afflicted woman cured.
11.	16 x 31	9/27	Two blind men healed.
12.	25 x 31.5	9/32	The dumb demoniac.
13.	28 x 31.5	12/1	Jesus reproves those who accused his disciples of breaking the Sabbath.
14.	20.5 x 21.5	12/10	and cures a man with a withered hand.
15.	22.5 x 30	12/22	The blind and dumb man cured.
16.	22.5 x 30	13/2	Jesus teaches in parables.
17.	25.5 x 33	14/3	The death of John the Baptist.
18.	29 x 31	14/15	Jesus feeds more than five thousand.
19.	21 x 28.5	14/22	He goes apart to pray.
20.	22 x 34	15/27	The Canaanitish woman: her daughter cured.
21.	26 x 33.5	15/32	He feeds more than four thousand.
22.	23 x 29	16/16	Peter's confession.
23.	27 x 30.5	17/14	The epileptic boy cured.
24.	22.5 x 31.5	18/2	Jesus teaches his disciples humility.
25.	20 x 32	19/13	Jesus blesses little children.
26.	25 x 32	20/20	The request of the mother of James and John: Jesus teaches humbleness of service.
27.	23 x 32	20/30	He cures two blind men.
28.	27.5 x 31.5	21/1	Jesus rides into Jerusalem.
29.	21.5 x 30.5	21/12	He drives them that sold and bought out of the temple.
30.	22 x 31	21/19	The barren fig tree.
31.	22.5 x 32.5	24/1	Jesus foretells the destruction of the temple.
32.	40 x 33	25/31	The last Judgment.
33.	40 x 26	26/7	Jesus anointed by a woman at Bethany.
34.	25 x 31.5	26/26	Jesus institutes the "Lord's Supper."
35.	28 x 30	26/39	His agony in Gethsemane.
36.	32 x 32	26/47	The arrest.
37.	19.5 x 30.5	26/67	Jesus is mocked.
38.	27.5 x 33	27/26	Jesus sentenced.
39.	36 x 30.5	27/28	Jesus mocked
40.	20 x 30.5	27/33	He is taken to Golgotha and crucified.
41.	21 x 33	27/59	He is laid in a new tomb.
42.	20 x 28.5	28/1	The women find the tomb empty; the resurrection announced.
43.	22 x 35	28/18	Jesus appears to the apostles: his commission to them.
44.	17 x 34		St. Mark.
45.	18.5 x 33.5	1/1	John the Baptist and his preaching.
	20.5 x 30.5	1/9	Jesus is baptized.
46.	22.5 x 22	1/23	He heals a demoniac.
47.	23.5 x 25	1/40	He heals a leper.
48.	19 x 21	2/4	Jesus heals a palsied man.
49.	24 x 26.5	2/23	The disciples are charged with sabbath breaking; His question and assertion.
50.	22.5 x 20.5	3/1	Jesus heals a paralytic on the sabbath.
51.	22.5 x 20.5	3/11	Jesus heals many others.
52.	15 x 10	3/11	
53.	24.5 x 32	4/1	Jesus teaches by parables.
54.	33 x 30.5	4/37	Jesus stills the tempest.
55.	34 x 32	5/6	Jesus cures the Gadarene demoniac.
56.	26.5 x 31	5/25	The afflicted woman cured.
57.	27 x 30.5	5/41	Jairus' daughter raised.
58.	28 x 30	6/1	Jesus teaches at Nazareth, but is rejected.
59.	27 x 32	6/27	John the Baptist's death.
60.	29 x 32	6/41	Jesus feeds five thousand.
61.	30 x 31	6/50	He walks on the sea.
62.	30 x 29.5	7/28	The Syro-Phoenician's daughter cured.
63.	30 x 29.5	8/7	Jesus feeds four thousand.
64.	31 x 33	9/2	The transfiguration.
65.	24 x 32	9/36	The lesson in humility.
66.	25 x 32	10/13	He welcomes and blesses little children.
67.	19 x 32	10/46	Blind Bartimaeus cured.
68.	28.5 x 32.5	11/8	Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.
69.	22 x 31	11/13	The fruitless fig tree cursed.
70.	28 x 32.5	13/1	Jesus foretells the destruction of the temple.
71.		14/3	The woman with the ointment.
72.	19 x 31	14/18	The Supper.
73.	19 x 30.5	14/35	The agony in Gethsemane.
74.	26 x 32	14/43	Judas' kiss: the arrest.
75.	22 x 32	14/65	Jesus before the high priest.
76.	22 x 30.5	15/17	The mockery.
77.	26 x 31	15/24	Jesus is crucified.
78.	24 x 28	15/46	The burial of Jesus.
79.	17.5 x 28	16/6	The women find the tomb empty: an angel announces the resurrection.
80.	21 x 32	16/12	The risen Jesus appears to two.
81.	24 x 34.5	16/17	To the eleven; the commission.
82.	18.5 x 20.5		St. Luke.
83.	17.5 x 30	1/8	John the Baptist's birth foretold.
84.	24.5 x 31	1/28	The birth of Jesus foretold.
85.	15 x 25	1/42	Mary visits Elizabeth.
86.	21 x 31	2/7	The birth of Jesus.
87.	20 x 30	2/9	The angel announces it to the shepherds.
88.	20.5 x 32	2/22	Jesus is circumcised and named.
89.	32 x 30	3/21	The baptism of Jesus.
90.	21 x 31	5/3	Jesus teaches from Simon's boat.
91.	25 x 34	5/12	A leper cleansed.
92.	17 x 32	5/19	A palsied man cured.
93.	20 x 30.5	6/1	The disciples accused of sabbath breaking: Jesus' answer.
94.	21 x 33.5	6/10	On the sabbath he cures a paralytic.
95.	19 x 31	6/13	The twelve chosen.
96.	19 x 34	7/6	Jesus heals the centurion's servant.
97.	24 x 37.5	7/14	He raises the widow's son.
98.	22 x 32	7/38	Jesus anointed by a woman in Simon the Pharisee's house.
99.	20 x 32	8/24	He stills the tempest.
100.	21 x 31	8/27	He cures the Gadarene demoniac.
101.	24 x 32	8/44	The afflicted woman cured.
102.	17 x 31	8/54	Jairus' daughter raised.
103.	20.5 x 37	9/1	Jesus sends out the twelve.
104.	33 x 33	9/16	Jesus feeds four thousand.
105.	19 x 32	9/29	The Transfiguration.
106.	21 x 31	9/42	He cures the epileptic boy.
107.	25 x 32.5	18/40	A blind man cured.
108.	22 x 32.5	19/5	Jesus and Zacchaeus.
109.	24.5 x 35	19/36	The entry into Jerusalem.
110.	22.5 x 31	19/45	He cleanses the temple.
111.	31 x 31	21/5	Jesus predicts the destruction of the temple.
112.	27 x 31	22/14	The gathering for the last supper.
113.	29 x 32	22/44	The agony in Gethsemane.
114.	27.5 x 33	22/47	The arrest.
115.	25 x 31	22/64	The mockery.
116.	27.5 x 30	23/33	Jesus is sentenced.
117.	32 x 33.5	23/53	Joseph buries Jesus.
118.	28.5 x 31	24/15	Jesus appears to two on the way to Emmaus.
119.	28.5 x 31	24/42	Jesus appears to the apostles: he shows his wounds and eats in their presence.
120.	14.5 x 31		St. John.
121.	24 x 30	1/29	The testimony of John the Baptist.
122.	19.5 x 31	2/7	Jesus at the marriage at Cana.
123.	27 x 33.5	2/15	Jesus cleanses the temple.
124.	28 x 31	4/7	The Samaritan woman.
125.	21 x 33.5	4/47	Jesus heals the nobleman's son.
126.	21 x 31	6/11	Jesus feeds five thousand.

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The agony in Gethsemane, MS. VIII, 113, written for the Emperor Fasil (1632-1667)

127.	28	x 32	8/6	Jesus and the woman taken in adultery.
128.	26.5	x 29.5	9/5	Jesus cures the man born blind.
129.	34	x 29	11/41	Jesus raises Lazarus from the dead.
130.	29.5	x 30	12/13	Jesus anointed by Mary at Bethany.
131.	19	x 30.5	13/5	Jesus washes the disciples' feet.
132.	19	x 30	18/3	Jesus betrayed by Judas.
133.	17	x 29.5	19/2	Jesus is scourged and mocked.
134.	18	x 30	19/18	Jesus taken to Golgatha and crucified.

Manuscript IX, 28 x 24 x 7 cm., presumably originating from 1700, is kept by the Gana Yohannes Church in Skender Masahaf, near Gondar. It deals with the legend of "Eskynder"—Alexander the Great. Reliable information on the life of Alexander was found in the book "Ethiopia, a Cultural History" by S. Pankhurst. The Gondar manuscript embraces 150 sheets of parchment and is divided into two sections. Three illustrations are at the beginning of the second Chapter. 1. (21.5 x 21 cm.) shows King Alexander in his court. 2. (25 x 24 cm.) and 3. (23 x 23 cm.) correspond with the text given in Pankhurst p. 225 (Oriental 827) "having heard of the Country of the Living, Alexander prayed that he might go there and immerse himself in the water of life. To reach that desired land he traversed the Country of Darkness with his soldiers, in boats drawn by great birds, much larger than eagles, which drew them on their journey through the darkness into the light." And page 227 "But as Alexander journeyed on, we are told, his horse was 'seized by the Spirit'; he was brought into the Spiritual tabernacle, where Enoch and Elijah dwelt."

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The story as related by the priest, who assisted with the Gondar Manuscript, is as follows: Eskynder desires to visit his forefathers, Abraham and Isaac in Paradise. He comes upon the solution to tame big birds for the purpose. But they tire and are unable to reach Paradise. Eskynder then mates the bird with a horse, on which he rides to heaven. In paradise he converses with the two Saints, while his horse uproots the tree on which it was tied and flies back to earth, abandoning Alexander who is compelled to remain in Paradise. The tree is later used in the temple of King Solomon, and later becomes the cross of Christ.

Manuscript Gondar X, is preserved in the Woi Bela Mariam Church in Dahodj, and is 29 x 26 x 8.5 cm. large. It is bound in wooden tablets, covered with red-tinted richly embossed leather. It gives at the beginning the portrait of Emperor Bakaffa (1721-1730) and also mentions the Emperor in the script. It contains 186 folios and 51 illustrations. The title of the book is Tamre Mariam. The illustrations in the manuscript have the following sizes and contents:

1.	24 x 23 cm.		Emperor Bakaffa.
2.	24 x 22 cm.		St. Mary with the Holy Infant, Michael and Gabriel.
3.	27 x 25 cm.		St. Mary in heaven with Jesus.
			Here the actual "Miracles" of Our Lady start:
4.	28 x 22 cm.	I.	Bishop Deksius.
5.	28 x 23 cm.		
6.	27 x 22 cm.	II.	Salutations to Mary.
7.	28 x 22 cm.	III.	Marys lifts the man that stumbled.
8.	20 x 25.5 cm.	IV.	Demanus, the pious scribe.
9.	25 x 25 cm	V.	The defiled hand
10.	20 x 22' cm.	VI.	The unconscious Monk.
11.	18 x 17 cm.	VII.	The pious Child.
12.	28.5 x 24 cm.	VIII.	The Painter and the Devil.
13.	29 x 25 cm.	IX.	The dying Monk sees Jerusalem.
14.	26 x 25 cm.	X.	Flowers for the Virgin.
15.	29 x 25 cm.		
16.	22 x 25 cm.	XI.	Barbara and Juliana.
17.	22 x 22 cm	XII.	Three shipwrecked Mohammedans.
18.	24.5 x 20.5 cm.		
19.	25 x 20 cm.	XIII.	The transferred Church.
20.	28 x 24 cm.		
21.	22 x 24 cm.	XIV	Healing of the blind Priest.
22.	24 x 23 cm.	XV.	Healing of the arrow-wound.
23.	29 x 21 cm.	XVI.	Healing of the blind Child.
24.	27 x 23 cm.	XVII.	Mary provides suitors and takes Mariam.
25.	13 x 25 cm.	XVIII.	The pious and the lazy Writer.
26.	14 x 24 cm.		
27	21 x 23 cm.	XIX.	George visited by Mary as a bird.
28.	28 x 24 cm.	XX.	The Beggar and the Verger.
29.	24 x 21 cm.	XXI.	The Dyers, Tag and Nasib.
30.	25.5 x 19 cm.		
31.	29 x 23 cm.	XXII.	The "Stonefoot."
32.	21.5 x 24 cm.		
33.	29 x 25 cm.	XXIII.	The leper Bishop.
34.	39 x 25 cm.	XXIV.	The broken leg.
35.	23.5 x 23 cm.	XXV.	Sophia.
36.	24 x 24 cm.		
37.	29.5 x 25 cm.	XXVI.	The Sacraments.
38.	29.5 x 25 cm.	XXVII.	"Rejoice."
39.	29.5 x 23 cm.	XXVIII.	Salussie, the Simpleton.
40.	26 x 23 cm.	XXIX.	Simeon, the Cannibal.
41.	26 x 25 cm.		
42.	21 x 21 cm	XXX.	The "Never-do-well."
43.	22 x 21 cm	XXXI.	Birth in the Lake.
44.	13 x 21 cm.		
45.	23 x 20.5 cm	XXXII.	The Virgin and the Dog.

THE MIRACLES OF ST. MARY

I. Bishop Deksius wrote the life-story of St. Mary. She appears to him twice and presents him with a bishop's attire and a throne. When the bishop dies, his successor aprpopriates them. Mary sends an angel who dethrones the usurper.

II A pious man offers daily his salutations to the Holy Virgin. Once he entreats her to reply to his salutations. St. Mary appears to him and promises him eternal life.

III A pious old priest stumbles in front of St. Mary's picture and breaks his back, in the presence of two deacons. The picture of St. Mary reaches out, heals him and lifts him up.

IV. Demanus writes St. Mary's lifestory. He always uses red (gold) paint to write her sacred name. When he comes to die St. Mary appears to him and promises him Paradise, because he never ceased to do honour to her.

V. While the Bishop distributes Holy Communion, he falls in love with a beautiful woman while she kisses his hand. To destroy the mere remembrance of his sinful desires, he cuts off his hand but the picture of St .Mary restores it to him.

VI. Isaac, a pious monk prays to the Lord, to grant him to see his holy mother. The Virgin appears to him in a bright light and promises him heaven. The monk is so blinded by her beauty, that he falls unconscious. But Mary gently lifts him up and disappears.

VII. A little girl wishes to come to church, but her brothers refuse to take her. The Holy Virgin appears herself and brings the child to church.

VIII. A painter has painted St. Mary's portrait, the saints and glory of heaven, but to remind the visitors of the ever-present danger, he also paints Lucifer in hell. The devil becomes so jealous of the beauty of the Holy Virgin, that he upsets the scaffold on which the painter is working. St Mary reaches out and holds the tumbling painter

IX. A dying man, sad that he had not seen the places where Christ lived and died, cries to St. Mary who appears and leads him to all the sacred places and immerses him in the Jordan River. He then peacefully dies.

X. Zacharias goes into the wilderness to search for flowers for St. Mary's picture which he adorns every day. He is sad that he cannot find any blossoms and prays to St. Mary, who appears to him. Accompanied by her angels, she picks Zacharias' prayers from his lips like roses. Robbers have followed Zacharias, they witness the miracle, and convert themselves to just lives.

XI. Barbara and Juliana travel to a church. They are robbed of their food on the way. But the food turns to stones in the mouths of the thieves. They repent and become monks

XII. Three Moslems travelling by sea are shipwrecked. Two cry to St. Mary to help. The third blasphemes the Holy Virgin. A crocodile appears and swallows him, while the other two are saved. They bring as a thanksgiving to the church camel-loads of wool and dates.

XIII. A church consecrated to the Holy Virgin is standing afar from a beautiful river. St. Mary appears to the Bishop asking him to build a church in her name near the banks of the river. When she has appeared to him thrice, she causes a deep sleep to fall over the monks. Then she removes the church with the land to the river-shore. When the monks awake they find themselves near the water. They rejoice in the miracle.

XIV. Priest John is very old and blind. He prays in front of Mary's picture. She uncovers her breast and touches John's eyes with a drop of her mother's milk. His sight is restored.

XV. A Greek is wounded during the war by arrows. One of them pierces his eye, and cannot be removed. He sacrifices a wax model of his self. St. Mary's picture plucks the arrow out of the eye of the model, and also the man is healed.

XVI. Another seeks cure for her child that had become blind after being afflicted with smallpox. In the church the mother and the daughter fell asleep, and Mary appeared to the child, healing it with some of the milk of her breast.

XVII. An impoverished widow has three grown-up daughters. The mother is grieved as there is no one who wishes to marry them for their great poverty. She prays to St. May for help. The Virgin sends two suitors for the younger daughters, but the third, Mariam, she takes with her to heaven.

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King Alexander in his court (left), and "traversing the Country of Darkness" (right): MS. IX 1, 2, circa 1700, from Skender Masahaf in the Gana Yohannes Church, near Gondar

Simeon, the cannibal, MS. X, 40, 41, from Wol Bela Mariam Church in Dahodj, produced during the reign of Bakaffa (1721-1730)

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XVIII. Two brothers are skillful writers. One is working on a book Our Lady's Miracles. His brother has been sinning. The devils come to fetch his soul, but as the brothers are so much alike they took the pious writer. St. Mary appears and frees him, and returns his soul to his body. He relates the events to his brother who repents and becomes pious too.

XIX. George, a martyr for his Christian belief, is imprisoned and suffering great pain from the hands of his jailer. St. Mary appears as a dove to him, and heals the wounds afflicted to his head. He wakes and holds the doves wings, and thanks for the help St. Mary has given him.

XX. A crippled priest lives in the church of St. Mary, but the verger of the church drives him away. St. Mary sends an angel to heal his infirmity and to punish the verger by afflicting him with the old priest's sickness.

XXI. Tag and Nasib are two Christian dyers, living in a Moslem country. Nasib, upon an evil testimony, is imprisoned. Tag prays to Our Lady. St. George appears to the Kadi in his dream and threatens his life if he does not release Nasib. Nasib is released and is handed a letter of immunity from harm in the country.

XXII. A man afflicted with a "stone foot"—elephantiasis—is healed by the picture of St. Mary.

XXIII. A bishop falls sick with leprosy. He is expelled from the church service, but is healed by St. Mary's picture. He then returns to his duties.

XXIV. In Harlom a woman breaks her leg. She is carried to the church and left there during the night. In the morning the priests find her healed and standing in prayer before the Virgin's picture.

XXV. The nun, Sophia, is seduced and expects a child. When she is accused by her fellow-sisters, she prays to St. Mary, who sends her angels that takes the infant out of the womb of the unconscious nun and brings it to a pious rich man, who rears the child, and later brings him to the bishop, and becomes bishop himself.

XXVI. There was one man, who was an enemy to everyone. He never did any good, only St. Mary the Holy Virgin he adored with great love. A group of people lie in wait for him with the intention to kill him. They inflicted many severe wounds on him, but he tells them, that St. Mary is his protector. The people flee. The man drags himself to the church and there is absolved from his sins. Then he peacefully dies.

XXVII. Anastasius of Antioch is near death. During his lifetime he used to pray to the Holy Virgin and praise her. He hold her to rejoice because she had given birth to Christ. St. Mary appears to him in his hour of death and tells him to rejoice because his name is not forsaken in heaven.

XXVIII. Salussie, a pious but simple monk, does not keep the right times of fasting. The other monks mock him and beat him to change his ways of living. When they hurt him too badly, he prays to St. Mary. He then throws his cap against the wall, that opens and he escapes. The other monks, seeing the miracle repent of their rudeness.

XXIX. Simeon is a cannibal (Belai). Once he goes out to find a new victim to devour. On the way he meets a leprous beggar, who asks him for some water. Belai, who never has done anything good in his life, gives him some water in the name of St. Mary. When he dies, the devil comes to seize his soul. Michael weighs his victims against the water. They outweigh the water. St. Mary causes her shadow to fall on the water and Simeon's soul is rescued.

XXX. A robber is caught and hanged. His mother prays to St. Mary for mercy. The Virgin sends her angel and frees and revives the evil-doer, who is converted and becomes pious thereafter.

XXXI. A woman, heavy with child is caught in a tempest and is drowning. St. Mary appears and wraps her in her coat, where she bears a little boy. Mary carries her ashore.

XXXII. While St. Mary still lives in the temple, she accompanies her friends who draw water from the well. A thirsty dog comes to drink, but St. Mary's friends chase him away. The Virgin takes off her slipper and with it gives water to the thirsty creature.

46. 29 x 25 cm. and 47. 28 x 25 cm. King Eksias, father of King Menassie, is threatened with war by Sanakrem, the King of Phars. Sanakrem sent his servante José to the king with the declaration of war. Eksias prays in the temple, and an angel of God appears and shows his sword to the enemy. When the army of Phars see the angel's weapon, they drop dead. 48. 29 x 22 cm. Isaias is executed by order of King Menassie. He is sawed in half. The King of Phars makes war against Menassie, and the evil king is imprisoned. To torture him, the King of Phars gives orders to encase his royal captive in an iron drum. There he is left in the hottest sun, and during the night in freezing cold. He suffers greatly, and converts his soul to the ways of God and craves forgiveness for his sins and cruelties, as he realises that he must suffer now the just reward for them. Seeing the repentance of the King, God sends his angel to free Menassie, who returns to his country and becomes pious and just. 49., 29 x 25 cm., Jonah, swallowed by the Whale, vomited on land and approaching Nineveh. 50. 26 x 24 c.m., Daniel in the lion's den. 51. 19 x 24 cm. The three youths, Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego cast into the fiery furnace.

Manuscript Gondar XI originates from the time of Emperor Adiam Seged Iyasu (1682-1706), as mentioned in the manuscript. It is a large book, 46 x 39 x 8 cm., containing 140 folios and 58 illustrations, dealing with the "Miracles of Mary"—Tamre Mariam. The manuscript is preserved in the Tekle Haimanoth Church in Woblamba near Chilga. Its style allows us to presume that it originates from around 1700.

The book starts with a portrait of St. George (38 x 36 cm.) killing the dragon. Picture 2 (28.5 x 35 cm.) shows the Holy Family on the flight to Egypt, St. Mary riding a donkey and nursing the infant Jesus. Picture 3 (30 x 29 cm.) shows the annunciation. 4 (28 x 32.5 cm.)—After the Lord was crucified, buried and resurrected and ascended to heaven, St. Mary visited the tomb to pray there. She was accused by the priests, and soldiers were sent to stop her from praying near the grave. 5 (37 x 36 cm.)—While the Holy Virgin prays, Jesus comes to her and promises to fulfil all her prayers and the prayers of those that come to him in her name. 6 (34 x 31 cm.)—The Ascension of the Virgin. 7 (42 x 39 cm.)—St. Mary in Paradise, angels worshipping her. King David plays his harp to glorify the Virgin. 9 (35.5 x 34 cm.)—Mary is saddened when she sees the lost souls in hell. She prays for them. 10 (39 x 37 cm.)—Christ again promises to grant her prayers. Hereafter comes the "Miracles of Mary," as listed in Manuscript Gondar X: 11 (26 x 30 cm.) and 12 (35 x 36 cm.)—I. 13 (25 x 28.5 cm.)—II. 14 (23.5 x 30 cm.) and 15 (30 x 30 cm.)—III. 16 (29 x 29.5 cm.)—IV. 17 (30 x 30 cm.) and 18 (31 x 30 cm.)—V. 19 (34 x 30 cm.)—VI. 20 (27 x 28.5 cm.)—VII. 21 (30.5 x 28 cm.)—VIII. 22 (20 x 26 cm.) and 23 (30 x 28 cm.)—IX. 24 (25 x 28.5 cm.) and 25 (32 x 29 cm.)—X. 26 (20 x 29 cm.)—XI. 27 (20.5 x 16 cm.) and 28 (28.5 x 28 cm.)—XII. 29 (22.5 x 28 cm.) and 30 (31.5 x 27.5 cm.)—XIII. 31 (29 x 28 cm.)—XIV. 32 (26.5 x 28 cm.) and 33 (30 x 30 cm.)—XV. 34 (31 x 26 cm.) and 35 (31 x 28.5 cm.)—XVI. 36 (25 x 29 cm.) and 37 (30 x 29 cm.)—XVII. 38 (18 x 30 cm.) and 39 (29.5 x 28.5 cm.)—XVIII. 40 (32 x 28 cm.)—XIX. 41 (29 x 30 cm.)—XX. 42 (9 x 15 cm.) and 43 (33 x 29 cm.)—XXI. 44 (16 x 27.5 cm.) and 45 (32 x 26 cm.)—XXII. 46 (30 x 29 cm.)—XXIII. 47 (39 x 27 cm.) and 48 (33 x 29 cm.)—XXIV. 49 (31 x 33 cm.)—XXV. 50 (38 x 33 cm.)—XXVI 51 (22 x 27.5 cm.)—XXVII. 52 (15.5 x 16 cm.) and 53 (31 x 28 cm.)—XXVIII. 54 (30 x 39 cm.) and 55 (33 x 31 cm.)—XXIX. 56 (41 x 32 cm.)—XXX. 57 (31.5 x 29.5 cm.)—XXXI. 58, 34 x 30.5 cm.)—XXXII.

Very clear and well-finished is Manuscript Gondar XII, preserved by the Mahedere Mariam Church near Debre Tabor. The manuscript mentions that it was presented by Woizero Wolata Gelandios. The style of the book allows us to presume that it was written at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. It contains the Tamre Mariam on 124 folios with 86 illustrations, which picture the following events:

1—30 x 27.5 cm., Joachim and Hanna. 2—34.5 x 27.5 cm., the aged couple pray for children. 3—29 x 27 cm., after 80

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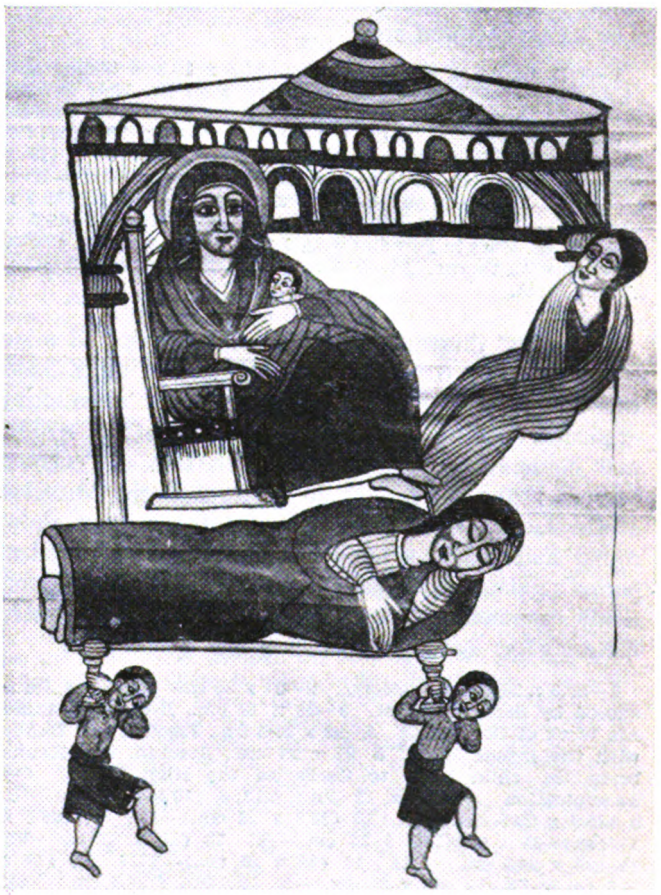
From the "Miracles of St. Mary", MS.XI, circa 1700, from Tekle Haimanoth church in Woblamba.

days the child Mary is brought to the temple and sanctified. 4—30.5 x 26.5 cm., when she is three years old, Mary is left in the temple. 5—31.5 x 27 cm., Mary in the temple with the high-priest Zacharias. 6—30.5 x 28.5 cm., Mary prays on the grave of Jesus. Angels feed her. 7—29.5 x 27 cm., soldiers try to prevent her from paying but they cannot see her. 8—29.5 x 26 cm., Christ promises Mary to fulfil all her prayers. 9—31.5 x 28 cm., Ascension of the Virgin. 10—34 x 28 cm., King David plays his harp in Mary's honour. 11—34 x 28 cm., the angels and Christ do homage to Mary in Paradise. 12—31.5 x 29 cm., an angel shows Mary heaven and hell. 13—34.5 x 29 cm., Mary is saddened when she sees hell. 14—29.5 x 28 cm., Mary prays for mankind. 15—38 x 32 c.m., again Jesus promises Mary to hear every prayer that is put to him in her name. 16 (37 x 31 cm.) and 17 (35 x 28.5 cm.)—I. 18 (30 x 27 cm.) and 19 (35 x 29 cm.)—II. 20 (33 x 28.5 cm.) and 21 (35 x 28.5 cm.)—III. 22 (33 x 29 cm.)—IV. 23 (34 x 31 cm.) and 24 (33 x 28.5 cm.)—V. 25 (33 x 29 cm.)—VI. 26 (35 x 30.5 cm.)—VII. 27 (31.5 x 29 cm.)— VIII. 28 (30.5 x 29 cm.)—IX. 29 (34 x 29 cm.) and 30 (32 x 29.5 cm.)—X. 31 (33 x 30 cm.)—XI. 32 (19 x 29 cm.) and 33 (32 x 28.5 cm.)—XII. 34 (20.5 x 28 cm.) and 35 (34.5 x 30 cm.)—XIII. 36 (30.5 x 28.5 cm.)—XIV. 37 (14.5 x 24 cm.) and 38 (31.5 x 29.5 cm.)—XV. 39 (24 x 29 cm.) and 40 (31 x 25 cm.)—XVI. 41 (31 x 25 cm.) and 42 (30 x 27 cm.)—XVII. 43 (23.5 x 28 cm.)—XVIII. 44 (31.5 x 30 cm.)—XIX 45 (30.5 x 30 cm.)—XX. 46 (24 x 28.5 cm.) and 47 (33 x 28.5 cm.)—XXI 48 (30 x 29 cm.)and 49 (35 x 32 cm.)—XXII. 50 (23 x 30.5 cm.) and 51 (27.5 x 28.5 cm.) and 52 (31 x 28 cm.)—XXIII. 53 (32 x 29 cm.) and 54 (36 x 28.5 cm.)—XXIV. 55 (25 x 31 cm.) and 56 (32.5 x 31 cm.)—XXV. 57 (23 x 28 cm.) and 58 (32.5 x 32 cm.)—XXIV. 59 (32 x 32 cm.)—XXVII. 60 (30 x 26 cm.) and 61 (33.5 x 28 cm.)—XXVIII). 62, (33.5 x 30 cm.) and 63 (31 x 28 cm.)—XXIX. 64 (31 x 22.5 cm.) and 65 (30 x 27 cm.)—XXX. 66 (35.5 x 25 cm.) and 67 (28 x 26 cm.)—XXXI. 68 (30 x 28 cm.)—XXXIII. 69—30.5 x 27 cm , God Father. 70—29 x 27 cm., Annunciation. 71—31 x 26 cm., Mary visits Elizabeth. 72—31 x 26 cm., Nativity. 73—32 x 27 cm., the wise men visit Herod. 74—31.5 x 26 cm., the murder of the innocent. 75—34 x 27 cm., adoration by the three wise men 76—30.5 x 26 cm., flight 77—30 x 26 cm., on their way to Egypt. 78—30 x 26 cm., rest on the flight. 79—31 x 26 cm., the Holy Family is robbed. 80—31 x 26 cm., the Holy Family travels on foot, the donkey having fallen sick 81—21 x 26 cm., the flight is continued. 82—31 x 26 cm., the Family comes to Egypt and is refused shelter. 93—30 x 27 cm., a robber returns the stolen clothes. 84—30.5 x 26.5 cm., Herod's soldiers find their trail and try to capture them; a tree opens and hides the Family. The donkey brays but the soldiers don't see anything near. 85—30 x 26 cm., Mary rests, Salome serving her. 86—30 x 26.5 cm., an elephant and a lion come to adore the child.

Another copy of the "Tamre Mariam," or Miracles of St. Mary, is manuscript Gondar XIII, 35 x 30 x 7 cm. large. The Manuscript is in the possession of the Sil Jalebet Church, on an island in Lake Tana. It is mentioned in the manuscript that it was given by Abraham Adibeha. Its style allows us to presume that it was written in the 18th century. It contains 80 folios with 64 illustrations in the "Gondar-Style." The illustrations have the following contents:

1—22.5 x 22.5 cm., Mary in Paradise with Jesus. A pious man (Abraham Adibeha?) adores them. 2—24 x 22 cm., annunciation. 3—28 x 20 cm., St. Mary holding the Holy



Another illustration (47) from MS XI

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Infant. King Christos prays to them. 4—22 x 22 cm., the writer of the manuscript. 5 (22 x 22 cm.) and 6 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.)—1. 7 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.)—II. 8 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.)—III. 9 (10 x 12 cm.) and 10 (22 x 22 cm.)—IV. 11 (23 x 22.5 cm.) and 12 (24 x 21.5 cm.)—V. 13 (21.5 x 11 cm.) and 14 (22 x 22 cm.)—VI. 15 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.) and 16 (21.5 x 21.5 cm.)—VII. 17 (23 x 22 cm.)—VIII. 18 (20 x 12 cm.) and 19 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.) and 20 (22 x 21.5 cm.)—IX. 21 (26 x 21.5 cm.) and 22 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.)—X. 23 (22 x 21.5 cm.) and 24 (22 x 21.5 cm.)—XI. 25 (22.5 x 22 cm.) and 26 (23.5 x 25 cm.)—XII. 27 (22.5 x 21.5 cm.) and 28 (22.5 x 22 cm.)—XIII. 29 (23 x 25 cm.)—XIV. 30 (22.5 x 22 cm.) and 31 (22 x 25 cm.)—XV. 32 (25 x 21.5 cm.)—XVI. 33 (23.5 x 22 cm.)—XVII. 34 (17 x 12.5 cm.) and 35 (25.5 x 22 cm.)—XVIII. 36 (22 x 22 cm.)—XIX. 37 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.) and 38 (21.5 x 21.5 cm.)—XX. 39 (27 x 22 cm.) and 40 (24 x 22.5 cm.)—XXI. 41 (21.5 x 22 cm.) and 42 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.)—XXII. 43 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.) and 44 (22.5 and 23.5 cm.)—XXIII. 45 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.) and 46 (22 x 24.5 cm.)—XXIV. 47 (23 x 23 cm.) and 48 (23 x 22 cm.)—XXV. 49 (20.5 x 12 cm.) and 50 (26.5 x 22.5 cm.)—XXVI. 51 (22.5 x 23 cm.)—XXVII. 52 (21 x 22.5 cm.) and 53 (20.5 x 26 cm.)—XXVIII. 54 (11 x 11 cm.) and 55 (24.5 x 23 cm.) and 56 (22.5 x 22 cm.)—XXIX. 57 (22.5 x 22.5 cm.) and 58 (24.5 x 23 cm.)—XXX. 59 (23 x 12.5 cm.) and 60 (22.5 x 22 cm.)—XXXI. 61 (22.5 x 22 cm.)—XXXII. 62—24.5 x 24 cm., St. George. 63—24 x 23 cm., St. Tekle Haimanoth. 64—21.5 x 26 cm., the three youths cast into the fiery furnace.

In the Amba Mariam Church in Gondar the "Tamre Mariam," Manuscript Gondar XV is preserved. It is 23.5 x 18 x 6 cm. large and embraces 116 folios and 18 illustrations. It presumably was written in the 18th century and the illuminations are in the Gondar-style. The scenes pictured are:

1—21 x 61.5 cm., the Trinity. 2—21.5 x 16.5, a bishop and 24 angels. 3—20.5 x 16 cm., St. Mary with the Holy Infant, adored by Queen Wolete Giorgis. 4—21.5 x 17 cm., St. George. 5 (20.5 x 16 cm.)—I. 6 (21 x 16.5)—II. 7—21 x 16.5 cm., St. Mary and the Holy Infant adored by Wolete Israel. 8 (19 x 16.5 cm.) and 9 (19.5 x 15.5 cm.)—XII. 10 (19 x 10 cm.)—XVI 11 (19.5 x 15.5 cm.) and 12 (19.5 x 16 cm.)—XX. 13 (19.5 x 16.5 cm.)—XXXI. 14 (20.5 x 17 cm.)—XXIX). 15—19.5 x 16.5 cm., St. Mary in Paradise with Jesus. 16—20 x 16 cm., Christ crowned with thorns. 17—21.5 x 17 cm., Crucifixion. 18—22 x 17 cm., Pietà.

Charming illustrations are in Manuscript Gondar XVI (37 x 31 x 6 cm.), in the possession of the Kidane Merit Church in Woldeba Siquar. The manuscript originates from the time of Emperor Yasu I (1682-1706), and contains 50 illustrations. The title is "Tamre Mariam" and it deals as do others with the Miracles of the Holy Virgin. The faces of the persons show round and charming children's faces, typical of that period's paintings, the garments are in beautiful colours, richly ornamented. It is a lovingly executed volume, flattering the eye and breathes a fine cultured art.

1—30.5 x 25 cm., St. George. 2—32 x 25 cm., Mary and Jesus adored by Seliko Michael. 3—24 x 13 cm., Bishop Johannes Afe Work of Constantia. 4—22 x 24.5 cm., Joachim and Hanna with the infant Mary. 5, 27 x 24 cm., Joachim and Hanna bring the child Mary to Zacharias the High Priest. 6—Annunication. 7(15.5 x 13 cm.) and 8 (19.5 x 24 cm.)—I. 9 (25.5 x 23.5 cm.)—II. 10 (28.5 x 25 cm.)—III. 11 (26.5 x 24 cm.)—IV. 12 (25.5 x 24 cm.)—V. 13 (21 x 23 cm.—VI. 14 (26 x 24.5 cm.)—VII. 15 (22 x 25 cm.)—VIII. 16 (19 x 24.5 cm.)—IX. 17 (22 x 25 cm.)—X. 18 (26.5 x 24.5 cm.)—XI. 19 (20.5 x 26—XII. 20 (29 x 23.5 cm.)—XIII. 21 (25.5 x 23 cm.)—XIV. 22 (30 x 25 cm.)—XV. 23 (28 x 24.5 cm.)—XVI. 24 (22 x 14 cm.) and 25 (26 x 23 cm.)—XVII. 26 (27 x 24.5 cm.)—XVIII. 27 (15.5 x 25 cm.)—XIX. 28 (28 x 24.5 cm.) XX. 29 (26.5 x 24 cm.)—XXI. 30 (20.5 x 25 cm.)—XXII. 31 (26 x 24.5 cm.)—XXIII. 32 (24 x 24.5 cm.)—XXIV. 33 (31.5) x 25 cm.)—XXV. 34 (26.5 x 25 cm.)—XXVI. 35 (25 x 23 cm.)—XXVII. 36 (25.5 x 25 cm.)—XXVIII. 37 (13 x 12.5 cm.) and 38 (30.5 x 27 cm.)—XXIX. 39 (20 x 25 cm.)—XXX. 40 (25 x 24 cm.)—XXX. 41 (22 x 25 cm.)—XXXII. 42—31 x 26.5 cm., Nativity. 43—25 x 24 cm., when Salome does not believe in the Virginity of St. Mary and touches the womb of the Virgin, she burns her fingers for her disbelief. Mary forgives her and heals her. 44—25.5 x 13 cm./45—27 x 25 cm., when Christ is born, all idols break to pieces and the devil is overcome and chained in hell. Simeon recognises the little Christchild and adores it. 46—27 x 25.5 cm., pious people give doves to the Holy Family for the sacrifice in the temple on Jesus' circumcision feast. 47—29.5 x 25.5 cm., the three wise men adore the Holy Infant. 48—21.5 x 13.5 cm./49—29 x 26 cm., the family flees to Egypt. They are robbed of their clothes by two men. One of them looks back at Jesus before he leaves, and when he sees the child standing naked and its beauty, his heart is moved. He quarrels with his companion and compels him to leave the clothes of the travellers. He then returns the attire to the family. The robber even helps Mary and holds the infant in his lap. To do this he first removes his sword and sticks it in the ground. He returns the child and grasps for his weapon, but unluckily falls so that he breaks it. He is annoyed that he was rewarded badly for trying to help. Jesus orders him to bring the pieces. The child fits them together and the sword is better than ever. When the thieves depart, Jesus points them out to his mother and tells her that both will die together with him on Golgatha, the one that helped them, being the one that will repent and go to Paradise. 50—28.5 x 25.5 cm., a pious shepherd, living near Nazareth is robbed during the night. On his search for his cattle he meets the Holy Family and recites his sorrow to St. Joseph. Joseph leads him to Jesus who shows the shepherd where his cattle are hidden. The thieves are appalled that they have been found out, repent of their sin and become pious. Jesus forgives their sins.

In manuscript Gondar XVII and XVIII are combined some leaves of illustrations that once were contained in a volume, but now exist only by themselves and without the text. The paintings seem to originate from the 17th century; manuscript XVII being 7 folios with 12 illuminations is kept in the Belesa Soso Amere Giorgis Church in Beberana Jeteterasa Siel.

1—25 x 14 cm., St. Gabre Manfas Kiddus. 2—24 x 17.5 cm., Satan chained in hell. 3—23.5 x 22 cm., Satan as the ruler of evil. 4—25 x 23.5 cm., Jesus. 5—25 x 25.5 cm., resurrection of Christ. 6—27 x 26.5 cm., Abba Sadi, a priest is being threatened by the devil who takes the form of a lion. An elephant watches the scene, frees the priest and fights the lion. 7—25 x 23 cm., the people choose Isaac for their king. 8—29 x 24 cm., St. George. 9—29.5 x 24.5 cm., Mary and the Holy Infant, surrounded by angels. 10—27 x 24 cm., Christ, King of Heaven. 11—26.5 x 23.5 cm., Mary, Queen of Heaven. 12—26 x 22.5 cm., Saint astride a lion.

Manuscript XVIII has 6 folios with 8 illuminations. These illuminations are said to originate under Emperor Seged Yasu (1682-1706). 1—36 x 27 cm., head of Christ. 2—37 x 33 cm., Coronation of Emperor Seged Yasu. 3—17 x 31.5 cm., the Trinity. 4—32 x 40 cm., Annunciation. 5—34.5 x 31.5 cm., St. George. 6—34.5 x 29 cm., the Virgin with the Holy Infant. 7—35 x 30.5 cm., crucifixion. 8—35.5 x 31 cm., resurrection.

A regal and artistic work is Manuscript Gondar XIX. 49 x 41 x 8 c.m. It is preserved in the Negare Mariam Church on Kusquam mountain in Gondar. No statement of date or reign of a king could be found in this splendid manuscript. As the manuscript is in the possession of the one monastery in which Empress Mentuab, the widow of Emperor Bakaffa (1721-30) lived and reigned for 25

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years after her husband's death, it might well be presumed, that the book originates from that time. According to its style it might be ascribed to the beginning of the 18th century. The extensive volume is entitled "Gedle Mariam." Its 151 folios are illustrated with 245 pictures, all painstakingly executed. The second part of the manuscript may have been added later. Many of the pictures are only outlined, or partly coloured, so that one may follow the exact technique of the painting. The pictures are first outlined with black paint. Then the spaces are filled with colour, as in contours, the lightest colour below, overpainted with darker colours. The effect is that one colour gently flows into the other and gradually changes its tint, till it completely merges with the new colour.

The short explanation of the illustrations is as follows: 1—18 x 31 cm., Petros and his wife Teketa, the forbears of St. Mary in the seventh generation. 2—17 x 31 cm., Joachim and Anna, in their old age beg the Lord for children. 3—15 x 17 cm., in their dream they are told that their prayers have found grace before Him. 4—14.5 x 16.5 cm, Anna with the infant Mary. 5—17.5 x 31 cm, at three years the child Mary is brought to the temple and consecrated. 6—17.5 x 15 cm., the life of the child is in danger, as people believe the miracle of Mary's birth bad magic. 71—17 x 15 5 cm (this picture has been erased). 8—18.5 x 31 cm, soldiers try to execute Mary, but she is guarded by angels. 9—15 x 31 cm., the enemies of Mary employ a sorcerer to destroy the child. His wages are measured in a gold scale. 10—16.5 x 31 cm, many cows, goats and mules are delivered to the sorcerer to do his magic. But all the animals die. 11—16.5 x 20 cm, the sorcerer calls all the unclean spirits of the darkness on land and in water. 12—16.5 x 11 cm., the child Mary remains praying in the temple. 13—18 x 31 cm., the angel Gabriel appears and kills the sorcerer and all the unclean spirits serving him. 14—16.5 x 31 cm, Annunciation. 15—16 x 31 cm., Joseph and Mary are accused of fornication. 16—25 x 31 cm, they are sentenced to drink the water of correction (poison), but no harm comes to them. Thus they prove their innocence. 17—16.5 x 17 cm, a man possessed by an unclean spirit is healed by the pregnant Mary. The spirit escapes into a pig. 18—21 x 30 cm, Mary resurrects an infant. 19—18.5 x 29 cm, birth of Christ. Salome and Joseph marvel at the infant and its mother. 20—18.5 x 29 cm., an angel announces the birth of Christ to the shepherds. 21—17 x 30.5 cm, the three wise men come to Herod. 22—28 x 31 cm., led by the star, the wise men find the child. They adore it and give presents to it. 23—19 x 31 cm, circumcision of the Lord. 24—19.5 x 16 cm, Herod orders a search for the child. 25—13.5 x 30 cm, the angel Gabriel warns Joseph to flee. 26—18.5 x 29.5 cm, the flight to Lebanon. 27—18 x 17 cm, Herod gives orders to capture the fugitives. 28—19.5 x 31 cm, an angel smites Herod with the cross, Herod tumbles and is carried away by his soldiers. 29—17 x 29.5 cm, all children of Bethlehem two years and below are slayed. 30—18 x 30 cm, when Herod heard that Jesus is still alive, he kills the older children also. 31—18.5 x 16 cm., Herod recovers from his injuries. He calls all the foreigners of the country and accuses them of causing his fall. He orders them to be killed. 32—17 x 16, Herod invites his revolting nobles to a banquet and murders them and their armies. 33—20 x 30 cm, the holy family dwells in the Lebanese mountains. The people come and offer them food and clothing. 34—St. Mary heals their sick. 34.5—24 x 30 cm., a hunter of King Domitianus' court has come to the resting place of the Holy Family. The dogs bow before the child. The hunter returns to relate the strange story to his king. Mary orders him to keep silent. 35—24.5 x 30 cm, the hunter calls his dogs and prepares to leave. The dogs refuse to obey. Therefore the hunter drags them away and beats the animals with his belt. 36—24 x 31 cm., the saints and angels appear to Mary to pay homage to the child. 37—18.5 x 30 cm., the hunter has returned to the court and relates his story to the king. 38—17 x 30 cm, the king listens in surprise and immediately prepares to leave for the resting place of the Holy Family, eager to meet the woman and child, which even the dogs worship. Mary changes the disobedient hunter into a saltstone in the form of a dog. 39—14 x 39 cm., Domitianus is appalled. He kneels before the Virgin and begs Mercy for the sinner. 40—18.5 x 30.5 cm, Mary transforms the saltstone back into the man. 41—20 x 16.5 cm, the king becomes even more frightened by this miracle and humiliates himself before Mary, but she gently lifts him from the ground. 42—(18 x 30 cm, ca.) the king orders the treasures of the country to be brought to her as a gift. Mary rejects them and orders the king to distribute them to the poor. 43—17.5 x 30 cm, the king sends word to the sick and afflicted of his country and brings them to Mary. She asks for water to be brought to her in earthen jugs. She and the child bless it, and all are healed. 44—18 x 30 cm, King Domitianus invites the family to his house. 45—19.5 x 30 cm, Herod has heard of the abode of the Holy Family and visits Domitianus with a large army. He demands the lives of the family. Domitianus angrily rejects the request. 46—21.5 x 31 cm., Domitianus plans to kill Herod, but an angel forbids it. 47—21 x 30.5 cm., Herod tries by diplomacy to influence the king. 48—20.5 x 30.5 cm., Herod accuses Mary of witchcraft and warns Domitianus that she might deprive him of his country. 49—18 x 30 cm., again Domitianus strives to kill the false Herod, but he is stopped by an angel of the Lord. 50—20 x 30 cm., when Herod sees that he cannot succeed in killing Mary, he turns to another subject. He is told that Gigar, the Governor of Syria has rejoiced in his failure. Gigar is accused, whipped and cast into prison. 51—20 x 30 cm., Herod invites the family of Gigar and promises them riches and his benevolence if they visit Gigar and convert him. They go there and entreat the saint to conceal his real feelings and to flatter the vanity of Herod. 52—19 x 30 cm., Gigar rejects and advises his relatives. Herod calls the prisoner, threatens him with a sword, chastises him again and throws him back into prison, cruelly ordering his limbs to be fettered with a silken cord. 53—19 x 30 cm., an angel appears to the suffering saint and frees him from all pain. He shows him three crowns that are awaiting him in heaven. The silken cord turns into a snake. 54—19 x 30.5 cm., the viper escapes to the palace and twines itself around Herod's neck. The servants try to free the king, but the snake bites in all directions and kills 49 of Herod's household. 55—21 x 30 cm., Gigar is called to Herod. He finds the snake around Herod's neck and an iron-smith trying to free the king from the venomous reptile. When Herod sees the saint without fetters, he turns on the guards and asks them why they have freed Gigar. 56—19 5 x 16 cm., the guards tell Herod of the miracle in the prison, and how an angel had appeared to the prisoner. Herod is furious when he hears of it and orders the guards to be executed. 57—20 x 30 cm., their heads are severed under a dead olive tree. The spilled blood waters the tree and it starts to bloom. The executioners return bewildered to the palace, and relate the miracle. 58—18.5 x 30.5 cm., hearing this, Herod orders his people to cut down the tree. This they do, but the angel Sadakyal destroys them with his fiery sword. Then Herod sends another group of people to cut the tree into small pieces. A voice warns them, but when they still proceed, the angel smites them with his sword. 59—18.5 x 30 cm., a third group of soldiers are now sent to burn the tree, but they flee to Lebanon to King Domitianus and tell of all the late events. 60—18.5 x 30 c.m., again Domitianus despairs and wishes to kill Herod. An angel tells Domitianus that God delivers the poor and rewards them in heaven. 61—18 x 30 cm., Herod orders the kinsfolk of Gigar to be executed under the tree. The tree grows larger and larger. 62—18.5 x 30 cm., Herod orders a house to be built over it, but the limbs break through the roof and shoot high up. 63—15.5 x 16.5 cm., Gigar is called before Herod who commands him to blaspheme Mary. Gigar refuses, and as a sign of his true belief he grasps the serpent around Herod's neck and in his hand it turns again into the silken cord. But nothing can pacify Herod. 64—20 x 30 cm., Gigar is whipped with pliant palm branches. 65—20 x 30 cm, then Herod orders Gigar's legs to be hacked off. A day later also the Saint's ears are severed. Gigar prays for help and God restores his strength. 66—19.5 x 30 cm., the trial continues, but Gigar refuses to blaspheme his God. A servant of Herod knocks Gigar's teeth in with his shoes. 67—22 x 29.5 cm., God consoles the saint in his prison and promises him salvation and glory. 68—21.5 x 30 cm., Herod has Gigar whipped again, and in to his open wounds corroding substances are rubbed.

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The Annunciation, MS. XIX, 14, from the Gedle Mariam in the Negare Mariam Church on Kusquam mountain near Gondar: early 18th century

In his agony Gigar cries out and God the Father himself comes to console him. Gigar is transformed and glorified and God shows him his relatives in their splendour in eternity. The guards see the glory of Gigar. 69—20.5 x 30 cm., they come before Herod to tell him that Gigar is unharmed and that he has been talking to the "sun," and that they believe in Gigar's God. 70—20.5 x 30 cm., on hearing the testimony of the guards, Herod imprisons them and orders them to be whipped. Gigar prays for his former guards. 71—18.5 x 30 cm., Herod orders his servants to open the olive-grove and prepare the place of execution for the 28 guards and the saint. Gigar stands near the grove and sends his prayers up to heaven. 72—21 x 30 cm., Gigar sees Herod burning in hell and angels smiting him with flaming swords. He also sees the saints in heaven. 74—17.5 x 16.5, the executioners crave Gigar's pardon. Then the saint is beheaded. When his head is severed from his body, his blood that moistens the olive-grove causes a spring that flows in a stream to come forth from the earth. Many people are converted to Gigar's faith, on seeing how through this water their sicknesses and infirmities depart. Herod condemns them to death. 75—18 x 30 cm., secretly Gigar's friends bury his corpse during the night. 76—18 x 30 cm., Herod rides to the place of execution to see this fabulous stream. 77—18.5 x 30 cm., Gigar meets him near the grove and condemns him. Herod bends low to the earth because he cannot see Gigar. The saint curses the evil king and prophesise his end. 78—18 x 30 cm., 40 angels come from heaven and wrap the martyrs in white linen, and 24 priests of heaven burn incense before the bodies, bury them and return to heaven. 79—17 x 39 cm., the angel Gabriel comes to Mary in Lebanon and brings her God's order to return to Bethlehem and then to continue her flight to Egypt. 80—16.5 x 30.5 cm., the Holy Family takes leave of Domitianus. Domitianus offers her precious gifts. Mary blesses him, his fruits and his country. 81—18.5 x 30.5 cm., Domitianus is greatly troubled to see the Holy Family departing from his protection. He cries out to God for enlightenment. 82—18 x 30 cm., The angel Uriel comes to Domitianus and advises him to give leave to Mary, as it is God's will. 83—16.5 x 30 cm., again the king offers his gifts to her, but she bids him distribute them to the poor. 84—17 x 30.5 cm., then the Holy Family finally departs from the land of Lebanon. 85—16.5 x 30.5 cm., an angel guides the Holy Family in its flight. Herod has heard that they have returned to the vicinity of Bethlehem and comes to capture the fugitives. 86—16 x 30 cm., Herod is too late. He beheads the spy. Devils take the departing soul and the earth swallows the body of the traitor. 87—16.5 x 30 cm. Herod gives orders to devastate the country through which Mary has escaped. Angels carry crowns of glory for the martyrs. 88—17 x 30.5 cm., Herod kills many people and burns their bodies. Angels revenge them. 89—16.5 x 30.5 cm., also in another country Herod gives orders to slaughter the population. 90—16.5 x 30 cm., when Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias, hears that Herod has killed all the children she flees with the child John into the wilderness. 91—16.5 x 30 cm., Herod calls Zacharias. 92—16.5 x 14 cm., he sends a servant to Zacharias' house to find the infant John. The servant returns without the child and in his wrath Herod kills him. Then he orders Zacharias to be murdered. Zacharias' body is buried. 94—16.5 x 15 cm., Mary passes

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Another illustration from the same work: Domitianus plans to kill Herod, but an angel forbids it (MS XIX, 47)

The Holy Family in flight: the devout people are sorry to see them leave; Mary heals many sick people. Another illustration from MS. XIX, 120. (An unusual painting attempting to portray light and atmosphere. Note the lamp and the darkness. —Editor)

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through a desert in her flight. The family has not had food for three days. Angels appear and feed them. 95—16.5 x 30.5 cm., they meet a woman named Kotiva. When Mary begs Tamar, Kotiva's servant, for food she grabs the child Jesus and dashes it to the ground. Salome catches the child, so no harm comes to it. But the earth opens and swallows Tamar. Kotiva and her household are turned into monkeys and escape. 96—16.5 x 30.5 cm., Mary lives in the abandoned house of Kotiva for 10 months and 5 days. Then an angel sends her on her way. 97—1.5 x 30.5 cm., devout people bring food to the fugitives. Joseph relates the mystery of Jesus' life to them. 98—16.5 x 31 cm., the people beg Joseph to visit their sick governor. Mary heals the governor. The snake that had grown in the abdomen of the governor is expelled. 99—16 x 30.5 cm., all sick and infirm and leprous of the country gather to find healing for their ailments. An angel tells Mary of the coming of Herod. 100—16.5 x 31 cm., the grateful people of the country are sorry to see the Holy Family leave 101—16.5 x 14.5 cm., the people of Egypt sacrifice to idols in the forms of African wild beasts. Mary expels the evil spirits from the idols. 102—16.5 x 30.5 cm., the people are angry when they see their idols destroyed. They seize Joseph and chastise him. 103—16.5 x 30 cm., Mary is full of sorrow when she sees Joseph being maltreated. An angel consoles her. 104—16.5 x 30.5 cm., the angel frees Joseph and kills the evil-doers. 105—16 x 31 cm., the family comes to a large stone on which the name of Jesus and his glory is inscribed. The angel asks Joseph to measure it; it is 109 feet long and 49 feet wide. 106—16.5 x 30 5 cm., in the wilderness the holy family meets two hunters. They are mean people and set their dogs on the Holy Child. But the animals refuse. They turn on their masters and rend them to pieces. 107—16 x 30.5 cm., Mary is pursued by other men, but they are turned into jackals and escape. Mary occupies one of the empty houses and lives there for two months. 108—16.5 x 14.5 cm., Joseph is sad when he sees the cruelty of Mary. He begs her on his knees to give back to the people their human form. Mary prays for them. 109—16.5 x 30.5 cm., the jackals are returned to their human form, but they are naked. Mary sends Joseph to fetch clothes for them and to dress them. 110—17.5 x 14.5 cm., all the sick come and are healed. 111—16.5 x 14.5 cm., Joseph hides in a cave, but it is occupied by a huge snake that threatens him. The angel Gabriel comes and kills it 112—17 x 18.5 cm., the wise men adoring the Holy Infant. 113—16.5 x 30.5 cm., the angel Gabriel tells Mary to flee. They are resting in Tona, guarded by angels. 114—16 x 30.5 cm., Joseph sees in a vision an angel telling him to flee further. After three days without food angels come and refresh them. 115—15.5 x 28.5 cm., on their way they come to a house of mourning. Mary resurrects Asror. 116—18 x 29 cm., the news spreads quickly. All sick come to be healed. 117—15,5 x 29.5 cm., on their way the Holy Family meets shepherds that seek to destroy them. Blowing big horns, the shepherds call the soldiers and throw stones at the Holy Family. As a punishment big horns grow on their own heads. 118—23 5 x 15.5 cm., Mary stays with pious people for eight months. She gives them her benediction. 119—15.5 x 30 cm., the angel Gabriel comes to Mary during the night and entreats her to flee. Many sick are healed. 120—16 x 29.5 cm., in Gelabohe a man who is possessed by the devil seeks help. 121—16 x 29.5 cm., Mary prays over the man and the devil leaves him in the form of a serpent. 122—15.5 x 29.5 cm., in gratitude the healed man brings many sheep and food. 123—16.5 x 18 cm., a girl is bitten by a viper. Her father comes to Mary and calls her to his house. On arrival they find the girl already dead. Mary revives her. 124—16 x 28.5 cm., Gabriel intimates Joseph of Herod's death, and bids him to return to his home country. 126—15.5 x 28.5 cm., when she passes through Gaza the inhabitants try to cast stones at Mary, but they are turned into stones themselves. 126—16 x 15.5 cm., Gabriel delivers a message as to the Lord's dislike of her harsh treatment and severe punishment of mankind. 127—16 x 29 cm., Mary returns to Gaza and prays. The people get their human form back. They are scared of Mary and beg her forgiveness. 128—25.5 x 18 cm., Mary flees all the people. But a voice tells her to meet them. People wait in her path with the intention of killing Mary. When she looks at them, they become paralyzed. The people believe Mary is a witch and offer her gold and valuables. Mary advises them to pray to Jesus and to lift their arms, to be released. 129—16.5 x 31.5 cm., Herod sends King Kefas rich presents in money and clothing, to bribe him to kill Mary. The king refuses, but invites the Holy Virgin to his house and glorifies her. 130—17 x 33 cm, an angel accompanies Mary to Lebanon. 131—15 x 29.5 cm., Mary is exhausted from want of rest and food. She sits and cries. An angel leads her to a place where she finds everything necessary for life. 132—15.5 x 28.5 cm., Mary comes to pious monks who have never seen a woman in their life. She remains with them for seven months. 133—15 x 34 cm., an angel sends the refugees on. 134—28.5 x 19 cm., when night comes they cannot find a place to abide. When they despair that they will have to pass the night in the open, a group of good people comes and leads them to their home. 135—16.5 x 35 cm., a brilliant light emerges from the house. When Mary asks in surprise what it means, she finds that she is surrounded by her ancestors who have come from heaven to help her. St. Mary remains in that place for 30 days. 136—26 x 31 cm., an angel advises Mary to continue her flight She comes to Bethlehem and rests there for one night. She is seen by a spy, who reports her presence to Herod. 137—24.5 x 31 cm., Herod comes and surrounds Bethlehem and murders all the people of the town. When he realizes that the Holy Family has escaped again, he kills the spy. The earth opens and swallows the traitor while devils carry off his soul 138—17 x 30.5 cm., Herod's soldiers search the country for the refugees. When they meet them, their hearts are turned, so that instead of killing them, they invite them to their homes and entertain them. 139—17 x 31 cm., Mary raises from the dead the wife of the governor of the country. 140—17.5 x 18 cm., all the relatives of one man have died. He comes to Mary and begs her to return his relatives to him. She accompanies him to the tomb and prays. Hundred people are returned to life. 141—17 x 30.5 cm., Mary leads them to Paradise, which is full of flowers and blooming trees. 142—17 x 17 cm., the petitioner is unsatisfied, that Mary brought them to life but did not return them to him. Presently the skies light brilliantly and all people fall on their faces. They are horrified and they pray to Mary. 143—15.5 x 30.5 cm., there are also evil people that plan to expel Mary. A cloud carries the Holy Family away to Dada. 144—17 x 30.5 cm., the news that the Holy Family is outlawed has spread through all countries. People try to prevent Mary from entering their country. They use magic to stop her. They kill a hog, an unclean animal, and sprinkle the ground with its blood. 145—17 x 31 cm., Mary realises their bad intention and transforms the people into pigs. 146—17 x 30.5 cm., the Lord sends his angel to Mary to chide her for her cruelty. Mary repents and prays, and the people get their human form back. They kneel before Mary and pray to her. 147—15.5 x 17 cm., Joseph also is scolded by the angel for his having not stopped Mary. 148—16.5 x 30 cm., people revere the Christchild. Mary teaches them to pray. 149—15.5 x 31 cm., to repent, the people carry heavy stones on their heads to her. 150—15.5 x 31 cm., she forgives them. Then the people build with the stones a wall 99 feet in length. 151—18.5 x 16 cm., during her flight Mary also reaches her hometown. The king rebukes her, because she is always travelling in foreign lands and does not come under his protection. 152—16.5 x 31 cm., the seven-month-old Christchild interferes and tells his mother that he does not wish to live in a house in which so many evil deeds have been committed. The king is astounded when he hears such a little child talk. Mary explains that the child is God's own son. Mary rests in the wilderness for 18 days, where the prince visits her with many sick of the country, that are all healed. 153—17 x 17.5 cm., the prince offers Mary 100 sheep and goats. She refuses the present but accepts the prince gracefully. She lifts him from the ground where he has prostrated himself, comforts him and tells him that his name shall be remembered in heaven. 154—15.5 x 30.5 cm., when resting in the land of Tona, Mary dreams, that the Lord himself calls her to him and makes her sit on his throne 155—18 x 16.5 cm., Mary is shown the glory of God and Heaven. King David plays his harp and praises her. When she awakes, she sits and meditates. 156—16.5 x 17 cm., the angel Gabriel sends Joseph away with his family. 157—17.5 x 31 cm., Herod comes and finds them gone. He kills 33 people that befriended the Holy Family and also slays the spy. 158—16.5 x 31 cm., an angel sends the family on 159—16.5 x 31 cm., Maryis threatened . She transforms her enemies into jackals. 160—16 x 30 cm., great masses of sick people hasten to meet the Holy Family and to find a cure for their ills.

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161—18 x 16 cm., in the country of Refref, Mary is accused of being a witch. She leaves the place. 162—16.5 x 31 cm., near Aksum the Angel of God informs Joseph of Herod's death. 163—15.5 x 30 cm., on her return Mary passes her home; the house of David. 164—17 x 16.5 cm., when Mary comes to Derdi, the people are much afraid of her. They beg the Virgin to leave them. Mary does so after healing many of their sick. 165—17 x 16.5 cm., Mary is carried off by a cloud to her cousin Elizabeth on the mountain Debre Sina in Palestine. 166—17 x 17 cm., Elizabeth dies and is buried by the angels Gabriel and Michael. 167—16.5 x 30.5 cm., Mary wants to take the orphan John with her, but Jesus prevents her. A cloud carries Mary to Gaza. 168—16.5 x 31 cm., on her way Mary passes a field, where the owner denies that there are peas in his field, but says there are only stones. When he goes to gather his fruit, later, the peas have turned to stones. 169—16 x 16.5 cm., on the way people have buried spearpoints, thinking that Mary could not pass them, but she continues her way, stepping unharmed over them. 170—16.5 x 30.5 cm., when the people see that they cannot stop her in this way from coming to them they bring their idols dressed in garments and try to bewitch the Virgin. The earth opens and swallows the stone images. 171—17 x 16.5 cm., when the blind hear of Mary's arrival they hasten to meet her. Mary asks them whether they believe in Jesus Christ. Then she heals them. 172—16. x 31 cm., many people see the miracle. They kneel and pray to her. 173—16.5 x 31 cm., King Raurehi from Etelia meets Mary and invites her to stay with him. 174—16.5 x 31 cm., Mary comes to his house and learns that even though the king is married to six wives he has no children. Mary touches the wombs of the women with some spittle and blesses them. The women conceive and each bears a son. 175—16.5 x 31 cm., Mary remains two years more. Then she continues her flight. 176—16.5 x 31 cm., the Holy Family arrives at Amror. People drive them away with sticks. Mary returns and sleeps outdoors in the wilderness. An angel comes and advises her not to flee the people. 177—16.5 x 19 cm., again she goes to Amror. 178—16. 5 x 16.5 cm., Mary is angry with the inhabitants and changes them into monkeys. 179—16 x 33 cm., in the desert, the family is without water. Joseph despairs and hangs himself. An angel cuts him loose and chides him for his lack of faith. 180—19.5 x 30.5 cm., the angel also scolds Mary that she quarreled wth Joseph for the water. Joseph begs Mary's pardon. 181—17 x 30.5 cm., in Algal the people try to give chase with cowtail whips to the family. But when they discover that they themselves grow tails they escape horrified. 182—17.5 x 30 cm., in the wilderness Mary creates a spring. Thereafter the country is called Maryland. 183—17 x 16 cm., the blind, crippled and deaf are healed. 184—16 x 30 cm., people hear of the arrival of the Holy Virgin. They ride to meet her on mules and try to bribe her not to enter their country. Mary changes them into mules. 185—16 x 16 cm., in the desert the fugitives cannot find water. While Mary is praying during the night, she hears the sound of running water. She wakens Joseph and he finds a river with clear, sweet water like milk. 186—15 x 16.5 cm., Mary rests near the Red Sea. She teaches the people there to pray and heals their sick. 187—17.5 x 29.5 cm., the king Nisb has heard that she passes and asks her to be his guest. 188—17 x 31.5 cm., soldiers have trailed them and try to capture them. St. Mary prays and the hearts of the men are changed. Pacified they withdraw. 189—16 x 31 cm., when passing the land of King Selan, he begs her to bless his country from afar. Mary receives the request very happily and visits the king in his house. 190—16.5 x 30 cm., the king celebrates the presence of the Virgin and her child. His soldiers call together all the sick of the country. 191—16 x 30.5 cm., Mary prays for them and the Holy Spirit descends upon them in the form of flaming tongues. 192—17.5 x 14 cm., the people realise and repent of their sins. With heavy stones on their heads they come to Mary to thank her. 193—17 x 30 cm., the king of Memen thinks that Mary is a rich witch He takes council with his court how to get hold of the riches of the Virgin. They decide to threaten her with stones. When Mary comes, they rudely demand her treasures. After telling the king that she is a poor refugee she changes the evildoers into stones. But Joseph and Salome pray for them. Mary hears their prayers and releases the people. 194—16.5 x 29.5 cm., a man possessed by the devil prays to Mary for help. The devil is driven into a pig. 195—17.5 x 30 cm., the people flee from her and escape into their houses and lock them. But all the doors open by themselves. When the people try to assail her with stones, they turn against the throwers and kill them. The other people crave Mary's forgiveness. 196—16.5 x 14.5 cm., when Joseph begs for the killed people, Mary advises him to rouse them in the name of Christ 197—16.5 x 30 cm., Joseph obeys. 198—17 x 30 cm., an angel informs Mary of Herod's death 200—17 x 16.5 cm., the family has come to Nazareth. 201—15.5 x 16 cm., the child Jesus is in deep thought and lifts his hand in benediction. Mary asks him what he is doing. He replies to her that in a far off land, called Ethiopia, many good and pious people live, and for them is the benediction. 202—14 x 19 cm., King Saidas is threatened by the King of Phars. When he prays, angels come to his aid. 204—16 x 17 cm., Mary prays. An angel brings her the message that all her prayers will be answered by the Lord. 205—17 x 16 cm., Mary comes to a place whose people are slaves of the devil. She is so sad, that she is not able to eat all day. During the night all the evil-doers are slain. 206—16 x 30 cm., again Joseph interferes and begs for pardon. Angel Michael appears and tells Mary that the people surely will repent. 207—17 x 30 cm., after their resurrection the people are scared of the Virgin. They beg Joseph to intercede. Joseph leads them to her. 208—16.5 x 30 cm., to show good intention they hurry to Mary with palm-leaves in their hands. 209—17 x 31 cm., they bring precious jewellery as a gift, but she refuses it and instructs them in the way of Christ. 210—17 x 31.5 cm., in Takras she is welcomed by the priests with drums and cymbals. 211—17 x 30 cm., the Virgin meets an old blind man. He recites to her all his sufferings, the loss of his family, wealth, and eyesight through Herod's wickedness. 212—16 x 29.5 cm., she repays him for his suffering and transforms him into a beautiful youth. 213—16 x 31 cm., then she brings to life all his relatives, children and grandchildren, even his livestock. 214—15.5 x 30 cm., thanking Mary he joyfully returns to his homeland. 215—15.5 x 17.5 cm., when she passes the land again, where she had transformed the evil-doers into monkeys, she now finds the rest of the people pious and just monks. They invite her. They also beg for the monkeys. Mary refuses their petition. 216—17 x 20 cm., also Joseph begs Mary to forgive the people. When she refuses even his prayers, he leaves her disappointed. 217—16.5 x 31 cm., Salome strongly rebukes the Virgin and follows Joseph to bring him back. Joseph is very bitter that Mary is so cruel. 218—17 x 30.5 cm., when Mary prays in a grave-yard, the tombs open and the dead come forth. 219—15.5 x 29 cm., Mary converts the people. An angel tells her to flee. 220—16.6 x 29 cm., after struggling through deserts, Mary reaches the "Golden City." The Saints, and pious, meet her with palm-leaves. 221—16 x 30 cm., many people are on their way to bring Mary presents of sheep and goats. Mary refuses the gift, but blesses them. 222—17.5 x 16.5 cm., angels feed the holy family and glorify them. 223—17 x 30 cm., people that despise the Virgin throw stones at her. The stones turn on them, and throw them to the ground where they are transformed into moles, and quickly burrow into the earth. 224—16.5 x 16 cm., the travellers reach Nazareth. 225—16 x 15.5 cm., Mary visits the temple with Jesus and he relates to her his impressions. 226—17.5 x 31 cm., when Jesus plays with his friends on the roof, he sees a ray of sun-light leading to it. He steps on it and walks towards the sun. When his playmates try to follow him, they tumble down the side and fall to their death. The parents of the dead children seek the life of Jesus. But he tells them, that their children are well. And really, they rise and play together peacefully. 227—16 x 31 cm., the neighbours forbid their children to play with Jesus. They answer Jesus: "Our children are gone. They have become monkeys and have escaped." Jesus is angry and really transforms the children. When the parents realise what has happened, they strive even more to kill Jesus. They meet a troop of soldiers that accompanies them. 228—17 x 31.5 cm., angels capture and bind a dragon that lives on Mount Kiddus. They realise, the dragon at the place where the people that wish to kill Jesus have gathered. The dragon destroys them all. Then the angels bind the monster again and carry him away. From afar the other people have seen the scene. They are frightened and come to Mary to crave forgiveness. 229—15 x 31 cm., they bring precious gifts, but Mary refuses them

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and advises them to believe in Jesus. 230—16.5 x 31 cm., Mary is invited to a feast. 231—17 x 30.5 cm., she has sent Jesus to draw water at the well and carry it home. The child breaks the jug. So he collects the water in his gown and carries it home. When Mary learns that Jesus has broken the jug she punishes him severely. Salome and Joseph are horrified when they see it. 232—17 x 30.5 cm., Jesus is bewildered that Mary beats him. He runs and gathers the pieces and fits them together and brings them home. Then he runs away to play, and does not return home. 233—16 x 30.5 cm., Jesus forms birds of clay, paints them with sunshine and throws them into the air, where they fly away. Jacob tries to do the same, but his birds fall down. When Jesus helps him also his birds fly. Joseph and Salome have searched everywhere for Jesus. They find him and bring him home. 234—16.5 x 30.5 cm., once when he is playing with other children, they tell him, that their parents are always going away to sacrifice to their gods in a lake nearby. Jesus sprays some water on the ground and the lake dries up and reveals the dwellings of the devils to the children. Jesus orders the devils to depart. The children return to their homes and tell their parents what they have seen. The parents rush to their place of idolatry and find the lake dry. They come to Mary and threateningly demand the return of their idols, spirits, and their lake or they will kill Jesus. 235—14 x 17 cm., Jesus takes a feather and touches the land, and the waters, devils and idols return. They do not obey the people but swallow the idolaters up. 236—16.5 x 30.5 cm., a drowned man is resuscitated by Jesus. Mary heals a blind man. 237—16.5 x 16.5 cm., the Governor of Galanos dies of a snakebite. Mary revives him. 238—17 x 30cm., many sick are healed by Jesus. When evil-doers are afraid Mary might be proclaimed queen, they decide to kill her. She condemns them, that the earth shall be like fire under their feet, and all food shall turn to grass in their mouths. 239—15 x 30 cm., while Mary prays in a graveyard, the earth gives back its death. 240—16.5 x 30.5 cm., angels bring her to a lake. Its water draw aside and reveal the sunken golden city. She rests there and angels bring her heavenly food. 241—17 x 30 cm., the Saints of the Golden City come to glorify the Virgin. She blesses them. 242—17.5 x 30.5 cm., after seven months she is compelled by an angel to leave. 243—17 x 29.5 cm., the Lord himself becomes visible to Mary and he asks her to sit on his throne. Then he promises her glory for all her troubles and pains on earth. 244—17 x 14 cm., at 30 years, Jesus starts his mission. His time as Master starts. 245—17 x 29 cm., Jesus teaches the Jews. He leaves . . .

The Manuscript Gondar XX, 40 x 33 x 7.5 cm, almost equally voluminous as the beautiful "Kusquam"—Manuscript Gondar XIX, deals with the life, martyrdom and miracles of St. George. It contains 146 leaves and 177 illuminations, and is preserved in the Arhane Kidane Meherid Church near Chilga. In the manuscript the reign of Emperor Johannes I (1667-1682) is mentioned but according to its style it may be presumed that it originates not earlier than from the 18th century. The title of the book is "Gedle Giorgis," or the Life of St. George. The pictures are especially neatly executed, somewhat resembling the style of the probably earlier "Kusquam" Manuscript (XIX), but in their attire not as ostentatious as the former, and not quite as lively in their features. The bright pictures breathe a spirit of an unemotional reciting of events, clear-cut, and not allowing any space for vague suppositions, embellishments or phantasy on the part of the reader, other than what the painter intended to convey in the scene. A short account of each illustration gives the following story of the Saint:

1—12.5 x 11 cm., portrait of the author of the book. 2—22 x 10.5 cm., St. George, adored by Emperor Alaf Sagad Yohannes, King of Gondar 3—21.5 x 23.5 cm., the Governor of Lida in Kapadokea, Serontos, has a son named George. Serontos voyages abroad to Palestine with his family and learns to know the country and its people. 5—22 x 23.5 cm., Serontos, returns with his family to Lida. 6—21.5 x 24 cm., St. Peter travels through Lida and heals a cripple, who had been sick for seven years. 7—21 x 24 cm., the family of the Governor Serontos, his wife Theobisitia, and their three children George, Martha, and Ezia, live long in Palestine. 8—21.5 x 11 cm., when George reaches 10 years, his father dies. 9—21 x 25.5 cm., Serontos is lamented and buried. 10—11.5 x 11 mc., a new Governor is proclaimed 11—18.5 x 24 cm., Theobisitia accompanies her son George to the new court. There George grows to be a strong and intelligent youth, well-trained in knowledge and arts. He is raised to the captaincy over 5000 men. The Governor bestows upon him a sword and rich clothes as signs of his office. Theobisitia is proud of her son and arranges a feast to celebrate the event. 12—20 x 24 cm., the feast lasts three days. The Governor loves the youth and he betroths him to his only daughter, and makes George his heir. 13—19 x 24.5 cm., by the time he is 20 years old, George has studied all the lawbooks of the country, and all habits of the Christian church and the laws thereof. When he is not occupied with work, he loves to ride and hunt. 14—14.5 x 24 cm., in battle all enemies dread George, dispose of their weapons and flee headlong. 15—14.5 x 23.5 cm., once George goes hunting and rides farther than usual He comes to the foot of a mountain in Beirut, where he sees a beautiful girl sitting desolate. She, despairing, tries to compel George to flee. 16—22 x 11 cm., George does not heed her signs but draws near. He then asks for the cause of her signs. She relates to him that the country is ruled by a horrid dragon which every year demands a maiden so that he may not devastate the whole country. She is the daughter of the king and the only maiden left and shall die at that hour. She again entreats George to leave her to her destiny, but he refuses her and awaits the arrival of the dragon. 17—24 x 23.5 cm., George bars the dragon with the sign of the cross. Then taking a belt, he fastens the dragon and gives the other end of the belt to the princess to hold, telling her to lead the reptile into the town. 18—16 x 23.5 cm., the citizens mourning for their princess see her arrive with the dreaded dragon in the lead. They run and hide in panic. 19—18.5 x 23.5 cm., when the princess, the dragon and George reach the centre of the town, where they gather all the people around them, George tells them about Christ and the kingdom of God and asks the people if they would believe in Christ if he killed the dragon in his name. George kills the monster. 20—18 x 23.5 cm., George returns to his home and sends a priest to Beirut to convert the people and baptise them. 21—12.5 x 11 cm., in Phars rules Emperor Dudeanus. He reigns over 70 kingdoms and kings. He is a heathen and worships idols. 22—18.5 x 24 cm., the emperor gives orders that everybody must sacrifice to these idols, otherwise he will be put to death. He exhibits the instruments of torture to put fright into the heart of the people and make their minds complaint. 23—28.5 x 24 cm., the nobility of the 70 kingdoms gather to start the persecution of the Christians. 24—26 x 23 cm., many Christians flee the land of Phars. 25—18 x 25 cm., A message is sent to the Governor of Lida commanding him to abjure Christ. The Governor became wrathful. 26—17 x 27.5 cm., Lida till then was tributary to Phars. Now the Governor withholds the tributes and distributes the riches amongst the poor of his own country. 27—16.5 x 13.5 cm., he starts to persecute the heathens in Lida. They escape across the sea. 28—19.5 x 27 cm., when the hostilities start. George withdraws from the royal court of Lida. He distributes all his inheritance and wealth to the poor, and starts his outstanding and singular mission for Christianity. He approaches the heathen kings and avows his Christian religion. 29—20.5 x 24 cm., George is brought before Dudeanus, and repeats his avowal. 30—17 x 24.5 cm., the emperor admires the courage of the young man and respects him. He offers great riches and a high office to George if he abjures Christ. 31—19 x 24 cm., George scorns the offer and curses the emperor. 32—23.5 x 24 cm., angrily Dudeanus gives an order to execute George. George's belly is cut and his entrails torn out. 33—12.5 x 24 cm., George is stretched on a bed of sharp nails. 34—15 x 25 cm., astonished, the executioners see that they cannot harm the saint, whenever they inflict wounds on him, afterwards he is always sound and without blemish.

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Horseshoes are nailed into the hands and feet of the sufferer. 35—17 x 24.5 cm., the Saint is compelled to crawl on all fours to his gaol. An angel appears and frees George from his fetters. 36—20 x 26 cm., the prisoner again is brought before the emperor. He still proclaims his faith in Christ. Big nails are driven into the body of the martyr. 37—18 x 25 cm., George is immersed in boiling water and his head is blown in with heavy nails. The Lord restores George's life. He stands and prays. 38—16 x 24.5 cm., he is brought before the Emperor and swears his Christianity. 39—19 x 24.5 cm., the Emperor finds new ways to torture George He is fettered to a large oblong rock and rolled into an abyss. The skies cloud over and darkness ascends on the country. 40—16 x 24.5 cm., on the following day George is nailed to a plank. The Christians seeing the pains of the martyr lament him. But death has no power over the Saint. 41—16 x 24 cm., George is weary of his sufferings. The Lord appears to him and brings him comfort. 42—20.5 x 24 cm., George is hung on rafters and hacked to pieces with red-hot sickles. 43—17 x 25 cm., when the emperor realises that he cannot destroy George, he decides to harm him with evil magic. He orders a conjurer, who first shows his art. He gives a potion of strong poison to a cow. The cow is split in halves, George drinks of the same poison, but no harm comes to him. The magician, when he sees this is overcome by fright. He kneels before George and asks him to teach him of the mighty God that has saved him. 44—14 x 24.5 cm., the magician convert, is baptised and thereafter executed. 45—18 x 24 cm., George is put into the "Iron Virgin," a coffinlike box through which knives are run in every direction. 46—16 x 24 cm., the pieces of the body of the saint are buried by the executioners. An angel collects the pieces and brings them to God's Throne. The Lord embraces George and sends him back to earth. 47—18 x 13 cm., George is impaled, pierced even to his head. 48—14 x 24.5 cm., George returns to the emperor and confesses his Christian faith. 49—15 x 25 cm., one of the kings entreats the emperor to stop torturing the saint. 50—15 x 23.5 cm., many Christians are executed. 51—13 x 24.5 cm., George is tied to an iron bed and a fire is lighted under him. A sword is pushed through his heart and deadly poison poured into his mouth. 52—16.5 x 24 cm., George is encased in plaster and rolled down into an abyss. 53—24 x 24 cm., the executioners try to suffocate the Saint. They put a cord around his neck and fasten a rock to it. Then they hang him on a tree by his feet. 54—16 x 13 cm., nails are driven into the head of the suffering saint. 55—20 x 25 cm., the kings summon George and promise to set him free if he performs a miracle. George makes the thrones to take root, blossom and bear fruit. When they see this the kings accuse George of witchcraft and deliver him again for torture. 56—27 x 32 cm., big chunks of the Saint are hacked off with axes. The soul of the Saint escapes into the lap of the Lord in Paradise. 57—17 x 25 c.m., again the emperor tries magic on the Saint. A big jug is made in the form of a cow and the Saint enclosed therein Then George is to be burned to ashes in it. 59—18.5 x 14.5 cm., magic does not harm the saint. The jug breaks and George emerges unharmed. God clasps him in his arms. 60—19.5 x 24.5 cm., the executioners see the miracle and are converted to Christianity. The emperor has them executed. George again stands before Dudeanus. 61—17 x 24.5 cm., the emperor does not tire of inventing new tortures. Nails are driven into each fingertip of the saint, and through his nose into the brain. 62—17 x 29.5 cm., George is sawed in half; the pieces are being burned to ashes. 63—20.5 x 25 cm., then the emperor orders the urn with the ashes to be buried deep in the earth and a palace built over the spot. Presently the sun is darkened and the angel of the Lord appears. He shows his sword to the kings, who fall senseless. Then he takes the urn. 64—22 x 25 cm., the angel brings the urn to God's throne. George is lifted out of the urn by God's hand. 65—13 x 24 cm., on his way back to earth and further persecution the Saint passes a field. He finds a widow weeping for the only bull she had, that has fallen and died. Already the vultures are devouring its flesh. George hands the woman a stick and tells her to touch the carcase with it. As the woman does so, the bull rises and is healthy and youthful. Now the son of the widow can continue to till his land. 66—20 x 24.5 cm., George arrives at the imperial palace and shows himself to the kings. They ridicule him and refuse to believe that he is St. George. They go and excavate the urn, but find it empty. 67—18 x 25 cm.,

St. George arrives at the palace and shows himself to the kings who ridicule him. MS. XX, 66, the life of St. George, probably 18th century, from Arhane Kidane Meherid Church near Ghilga.

still they do not wish to realize his identity. One of them asks for a miracle to prove that he is St. George. They fetch an urn, that has been buried for 430 years and contains the ashes of deceased nobles: fifteen men, nine women and three children. St. George restores the lives of the deceased. He asks the resurrected ones in whom they believed in the time of their lives. They answer that they worshipped idols, and therefore now are burning in the eternal fire of hell. They speak of the tortures of hell and how Christ had descended there and brought hope to the condemned. They relate that they saw one of the kings that had recently died and that he suffers great pain. When the gathered kings hear the story of these risen ones, they close their ears and their hearts and accuse them of lying, because they could not know of Christ, as he had been born long after they themselves were dead. 68—18 x 24.5 cm., St. George calls for the apostle Jacob, the brother of John and he baptizes them. Then they depart to Paradise. 69—18 x 24 cm., as for St. George he is bound and imprisoned and accused of witchcraft and alliance with the evil one, and is chastised with brambles. 70—21 x 21 cm., the emperor is weary of the cruelties he inflicts upon George, because they are without success. He has a poor woman attend to the prisoner. St. George begs the woman to give him food. The woman is compassionate of the saint, but cannot help him. She and her little son, who is blind, dumb and lame are famished. They are slowly dying of starvation. St. George asks the woman to leave and beg from her neighbours. The woman goes from hut to hut, but everyone, though compassionate, turns her away. In her sorrow she starts to pray to " The God of the saintly Prisoner " whom she does not know by name, to provide victuals. 71—24.5 x 24 cm., downcast the woman returns to her hut, and is surprised to see that the dead wood of the central pole has shot forth leaves and flowers. When she enters her abode the prisoner is roaming free and a table is set with rich food, enough for all of them, and for many more days. 72—17 x 13 cm., the woman worships George, but he instructs her in the ways of the Lord. She also recites her sufferings to the Saint . She was young and happy and deeply in love with her youthful husband. When she felt herself with child she rejoiced in her luck, but her husband met with an accident and perished. Then she became so desolate, that she was blinded with tears, stricken dumb with despair and would not be comforted, and became lame for sorrow. When her hour arrived she bore a man-child, and it was blind, dumb and lame. George sympathizes with the widow and restores the sight and speech of the child . The mother rejoices and begs the saint to also loosen the child's limbs, but he rejects her and teaches her patience. 73—20 x 24.5 cm., the miracle

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does not stay a secret. The kings learn of it and are angry over the act. They lay hold of St. George and chastize him. 74—13.5 x 24 cm., fiery coals are gathered on the head of the saint, and when they don't harm him, an ironpot is made red-hot and turned over his head. 75—17 x 23.5 cm., nails are driven into his body and after being covered with tar, wax and tow, he is burned alive upon an iron grill. 76—20.5 x 24 cm., the executioners grind his ashes finely to powder, then carry them up a hill and scatter them to the winds. 77—17 x 25 cm., the Lord himself appears in the form of lightning, collects the dispersed ashes and resurrects George. 78—18 x 24 cm., George returns to his executioners. They are afraid and are converted to Christianity. 79—25.5 x 24 cm., the kings execute their former servants, their captain they hang by the feet. 80—18 x 25.5 cm., the emperor tries to bribe George to forsake his religion. George scorns him and curses the evil ruler. He is again tortured, his eyes are blinded, he is scalped, his tongue cut out and his legs hacked away. 81—16 x 23.5 cm., God appears to George and promises him seven crowns in heaven for his seven years of suffering on earth. Then he heals him. The warders see the miracle. 82—16 x 24.5 cm., the guards that have been converted to Christianity are beheaded. 83—19 x 24.5 cm., George is sentenced to be crushed under horse's hooves. 84—18 x 24.5 cm., the emperor admires George for his courage and that he is able to resist even the cruelest of tortures. He decides to make George his heir if he will renounce his faith, and sacrifice to the idols. George welcomes the promises of the emperor, and when Dudeanus compels him to renounce Christ immediately, George asks him to first summon all the priests of the country. The emperor sees success and embraces St. George. Then he sends him to the empress and advises her to treat him like a son. 84—18 x 24.5 cm., the empress likes George. When she finds him praying she asks him about his religion and George tells her all about Christ and the evil ways of idolatry. The empress is tired of so many new ideas and falls asleep. George remains in her chamber and prays over her. 86—16.5 x 13.5 cm., the emperor summons all the people and priests to attend George's renunciation of Christ. The widow under whom George had been kept a prisoner hears the proclamation. She hastens to George and curses him for forsaking his real God for the grace of the evil emperor. George asks the woman to be near at hand and to pray for him. 87—18.5 x 25 cm., when all the people are assembled, the emperor calls to St. George to start with the procedure. George realizes that still the idols and spirits are missing. He asks the lame boy to run and fetch them, and immediately the limbs of the cripple are released to the delight of his poor mother. 88—20 x 25.5 cm., the child returns, followed by the idols and their evil spirits. When the devil sees George he is scared, and begs him to leave him alone. George commands him to confess all the evil he has brought upon the earth. The devil obeys. He relates how he was thrust out from heaven for his haughtiness, how he seduced Eve, and how he even was daring enough to think he could tempt Jesus. The devil admits that he had been driven away from other places and that he found his abode in this country. The people are astonished at the story. George curses the devil. 89—18 x 24 cm., the earth opens and swallows the evil spirits and their idols. Then an outcry arises when the people see their "gods" destroyed. They rage and again St. George is made a prisoner. 90—25 x 26.5 cm., the emperor raves when he sees that he was thus deceived. At the moment he thought he would triumph. He hurries to the palace to relate the events to his wife Eskindrea. She had been full of bad forebodings and prayed for George When her husband tells her all that has happened she rejoices, but when she learns that George is again imprisoned, she cries and begs pardon for him. The emperor realises that Christianity has even penetrated his palace. He grabs the empress and drags her by her hair before the tribunal of kings and accuses her of adultery with George and condemns her. The empress is publicly hung by her long hair. 91—18.5 x 13 cm., she is then tortured with red hot knives and a heavy rock placed on the chest to crush the breath out of her. 92—18 x 24 cm., then she is dragged into prison. She is downcast that she should die without the sacrament of baptism. George comforts her and tells her that her own spilled blood will christianise her. She is beheaded. 93—17.5 x 12.5 cm., Dudeanus calls together the tribunal of kings and they condemn George to death. St. George is led to the place of execution. 94—22.5 x 24 cm., on the road he begs the soldiers to allow him to stop for prayer. He sees in a vision the death and torture in hell of the 70 kings and the emperor. 95—22 x 25 cm., George sees his soul standing before God. God promises to fulfil all prayers that are made in St. George's name. 96—17.5 x 23.5 cm., then God shows him the throne and the seven crowns that are waiting for him. 97—19 x 14 cm., while the saint has these visions, a cloud hides him from the view of the soldiers. They are deeply disturbed. 98—21 x 24.5 cm., George is executed. An angel catches his head, that it should not fall on the ground. 99—20 x 24.5 cm., George's soul in Paradise. 100—20 26 cm., he receives the seven crowns and his name is inscribed on the throne of the Lord. 101—18 x 24 cm., pious people secretly visit the place of execution to bury him. 102—17 x 25 cm., when they swathe the corpse, they fit the head onto the shoulders and it grows to the body. 103—27 x 25.5 cm., the corpse is transported across the sea to Lida. 104—24 x 24.5 cm. in his home, it is buried and a church built over it. The bishop consecrates the church and administers holy communion. 105—20 x 24 cm., after Dudeanus' death, Diokletianus succeeds him. He also worships idols and persecutes the Christians. He sends his minister Auhyus, to destroy St. George's church in Lida. George blinds the minister and touches him with his spear. The minister is carried away by his servants. When they reach the Joppe-river, they find Auhyus dead and throw his corpse into the water. 106—19 x 26 cm., a king of Rome orders his servants to read to him the lifestory of the saint. He and St. Michael appear to the pious king. The king orders a Church in remembrance of St. George. 107—18 x 25 cm., King Theodoseos attends mass at the St. George's church. Bishop Theowodotos says the mass and reads aloud the "Gedle Giorgis." 108—23 x 26 cm., the Lord crowns St. George King of Saints. Bula refuses to show reverence, which he thinks is due to God only. When Nob rebukes him, Bula also pays his respect to the "King of Saints." 109—14.5 x 12.5 cm., Bishop Socrates records the life of St. George. 110—18 x 24.5 cm., a pious man prays to George and is granted his prayers. 111—22.5 x 25 cm., St. George followed by heavenly army. 112—22 x 25 cm., George's corpse mourned over by the people. 113—22 x 25 cm., it is brought to Lida. 114—18.5 x 25 cm., it is carried on an oxcart to the cemetery. 115—14.5 x 24.5 cm., Andreas wishes to build a church for St. George. He has no funds. George appears in his dream and shows him a hidden treasure. 116—20 x 14 cm., Andreas awakens his wife and they visit the place and find a jug filled with gold. 117—22 x 24 cm., Andreas builds the church. 118—22.5 x 24.5 cm., the body of the Saint is buried therein and the Archbishop consecrates the church. Aman, possessed by the devil passes. St. George, to torture the evil spirit, suspends the man in the air until the mass is finished. Then he gently releases him to the ground and the bad spirit escapes. 119—24.5 x 24.5 cm., a sick man, has to move about on his knees and hands. The neighbours carry him to the George's church. The devil struggles desperately and threatens to kill the poor wretch, burying his claws into the neck of his victim. The neighbours hold on to the man's feet. St. George appears and frees the sick man. Then he hangs the bad spirit by his legs near the church, for everyone to see. 120—20 x 13 cm./121—22 x 15.5 cm./122—24.5 x 25 cm./123—20 x 15.5 cm., a Jew mocks at the pious when they gather for prayer in the church. Once he even steals into the church and there picks the pocket of one of the faithful. St. George appears and hangs the Jew with a chain in a nearby tree. The thief struggles and cries, but nobody can free him. Next day the saint appears and releases him and converts the sinner. 124—20 x 24.5 cm. 125—21.5 x 25.5 cm./126—20.5 x 25 cm., a church is built for St. George. A poor widow has a tree cut and prepared and wishes to dedicate it to the church. The widow writes St. George's name on the rafter and with a prayer rolls it into the water on whose other shore the church is built. The king passes near the lake and finds the rafter with George's name on it. He orders it to become the centre-beam of the church. 127—22.5 x 26 cm./128—25.5 x 24.5 cm./129—15 x 13 cm./130—20.5 x 25 cm./131—14.5 x 24.5 cm., Bifamon is very pious. He is married, but has no children. After their prayers to St. George, the wife begets a child. They call the boy George. Bifamon is a warrior and goes to fight the Moslems. The child falls sick, but is healed by St. George. When Bifamon again goes to war, his little son is kidnapped. The child travels

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with his captors. When the feast of St. George arrives, the parents sadly prepare the annual meal. They moan the loss of their son. St. George rides and frees the child and returns him to his parents. 132—19.5 x 24.5 cm., Diokletianus hears of the death of his minister Auhyus. He gets ready to destroy George's church personally. He hastens to tear down the holy light, but an ember blinds his eye. In his pain he runs out of the church, but hits his head on the bell-stone. He falls senseless and his reason leaves him. 133—17 x 13 cm., the servants throw the body of Auhyus into the Joppe river. 134—21.5 x 25.5 cm., children are mocking the lunatic, blind Diokletianus. He curses them. The devil appears to him and asks him what he would do if he restores his sight and reason. His answers are blasphemies on God. That is what the devil waits for. He grasps the departing soul and returns to hell. 135—21.5 x 26 cm./136—21 x 24.5 cm., a Moslem caravan crosses the desert. One man falls sick, and is abandoned. St. George appears and carries him to Mecca, where his astounded companions find him when they arrive. 137—19.5 x 24 cm., the aged Archbishop consecrates his only son and shows him the relics of St. George. But the youth falls ill and dies. The senile bishop laments over him and lays his dead son under the coffin of St. George. The youth arises from death. He becomes the new Bishop after his father's death. 138—18.5 x 23.5 cm./139—14 x 25 cm./140—11.5 x 23.5 cm., in a heathen, but peaceful land a Christian abides. His envious neighbours plot against him. They accuse him before the Governor, who does not wish to harm the man, but sends him on a mission to deliver a letter and bring the reply from a far-away kingdom. The Christian laments his plight. St. George appears and carries him to his destination and tarries there until the man has finished his mission. Then he carries him back to his home. On St. George's Day, the neighbours are astonished to see him go to church. They again accuse him of disobedience. When called to the trial, the Christian delivers the reply, proves his innocence and relates the miracle. 141—16.5 x 23.5 cm./142—16.5 x 14 cm./143—14.5 x 14 cm./144—24.5 x 24 cm./145—15.5 x 15 cm., a pious man builds a church in honour of St. George. The king travelling through the country sees the building, finds it to his liking and starts to live in it with his court. Neither tears nor threats can make him abandon the temple. The bishop curses St. George for allowing his sanctuary to be defiled. St. George comes and kills the king. Then he visits the bishop and tells him that he must not curse him any more. 146—19.5 x 25.5 cm., a fisherman makes a great catch. He calls on St. George who appears and helps him to drag the net into the boat. 147—17 x 24 cm./148—15.5 x 24.5 cm./149—13.5 x 12 cm./150—12.5 x 13.5 cm., a pious sexton hides his wealth in the church. He reveals the hiding-place to his evil sons before he dies. They uproot the church flooor and churchyard, but cannot find the treasure. They start quarrelling, each accusing his brother of theft. They finally depart. The church becomes ruined, so the priests decide to build a new one. They are poor, but trust in Providence. They come upon the treasure and rejoice. The news of the find travels far. The sexton's evil sons hear of it and proclaim the treasure as their heirloom. They accuse the priests before the king. The king orders the treasure to be brought into his treasury and sends both parties away. St. George first warns the king and burns his house down. Still the king withholds the money. The priests nail a petition to St. George to the church door. A second time St. George threatens the king. This time the monks can finish the church and rejoice in it. 151—12.5 x 13.5 cm./152—17.5 x 26 cm./153—15 x 26 cm., Ethiopia is over-run by the Moslems. Emperor Zara Yacob prays to St. George. The Mohammedan Bedlai burns down the Church of Agibere. St. George appears and leads the Ethiopians to battle. Bedlai's head is brought in triumph to the Emperor 154—14 x 24.5 cm./155—12.5 x 25 cm., an Ethiopian woman grinds her corn on St. George's Day. A neighbour warns her, but she abuses her. St. George appears and strikes the woman and her two children dead. The neighbour begs for the woman and St. George grants her prayer. The woman and her two children are converted. 156—15 x 24.5 cm., John, the treasurer of St. George's Church, is falsely accused of embezzling the church treasures. The king imprisons him, but St. George reveals the innocence of John and frees him. 157—18 x 13.5 cm., cripple vows to become a monk if his prayer is heard. St. George heals him, but the man just as soon forgets his vow. This happens three times. After the third time the man offends the saint even so far that, instead of becoming a monk, he marries. The saint appears and slays him. 158—20 x 14 cm., the pious wife of a merchant named George lays hands on herself rather than commit adultery. The seducer is punished by St. George for the death of the woman. He has a sore on his neck which extends until it encircles the neck and finally the head rots away and falls off. 159—25 x 26 cm., the saints appoint a meeting before St. Markoreo's Church. A blind priest hears the gathering and hastens outside. He then hears St. George explain to the other saints how he tarried to save a drowning man. St. George's coat touches the eyes of the priest. He is healed and sees the saints riding off. 160—16 x 25.5 cm., before riding to battle, the leader of the Christians prays in church and sacrifices to St. George. The saint appears visible on the battlefields and all the enemies flee. 161—19.5 x 26.5 cm., a hyena steals during the night a sheep from the churchyard. After the mass, the people are astounded to see a hyena escaping towards the churchyard, followed by the stolen sheep. The hyena collapses dead. 162—26 x 25.5 cm./163—14.5 x 13 cm., Moslems camp near a Christian church. One of them shoots in sport an arrow at the picture of St. George. But the arrow returns and kills the transgressor. 164—19 x 24.5 cm./165—13 x 14 cm., a Mohammedan woman thinks herself with child since 12 months. Nobody can help her, so she comes to St. George's Church. The sexton does not trust her, so he makes her eat pork to prove her seriousness. When the enraged relatives find the woman, they try to drag her home, but she becomes as heavy as lead. Pain seizes her and she is delivered of a serpent that was abiding in her womb. 166—11.5 x 26.5 cm./167—28.5 x 24 cm., pious people driving from Samaria to Damascus are threatened by lions. When they pray to St. George the lions bow low and then escape. 168—16.5 x 24 cm., in Dima, near Gojjam, Moslem troops are murdering and robbing. The Governor prays to St. George, who helps the Christians to victory. 169—23 x 27 cm./170—15 x 25 cm., George spends all his wealth for the poor and the church. The greedy king casts him into prison and sends his servants to rob the church. St. George slays them. 171—16 x 25 cm., a man is innocently accused and imprisoned. A pious woman prays for him. St. George frees the man and shields him from his persecutors. 172—14 x 25.5 cm./173—17 x 24 cm./174—29 x 25 cm./175—22 x 25 cm., a nobleman fallen in disgrace and imprisoned prays to St. George and is freed by him. He returns to his family and craves for mercy. But after some years again he is imprisoned.. He is jailed for 15 years. Then through St. George's intervention the king's heart is changed and he pardons the prisoner. 176—30 x 28 cm., St. George. 176—31 x 25 cm., the Holy Virgin with the infant Jesus and two angels.

The Old Testament is represented in Manuscript Gondar XXI, with 87 folios and 172 illustrations. The title of the manuscript is Tebiwa Tabeban, it is 36 x 31 x 6.5 cm large and now to be found in the Kidane Merit Church in Chilga, Gult Amsa Fetch. The illustrations originate from the 18th century. The whole manuscript might be compared to a colourful, gay children's book. It obviously has been intended for the illiterate. The New Testament and the Miracles of St. Mary are attached at the end. The illustrations depict the following contents:

1—23 x 23.5 c.m., God the Father, worshipped by Wolata Phigar. 2—22.5 x 24 cm., God creates the world. 3—22.5 x 22.5 cm., Lucifer is cast into Hell. 4—22 x 23.5 cm., he is chained in Hell. 5—22.5 x 23 cm., God creates Adam. 6—22.5 x 23.5 cm., God creates Eve. 7—23.5 x 23.5 cm., the first sin. 8—23.5 x 23.5 cm., Adam and Eve are cast forth from Paradise. God promises the Messiah. 9—24.5 x 24 cm., Cain kills Abel. 10—22.5 x 24 cm., Seth and Enoch, his son, worship Adam. God appears and tells them that He is their Lord. 11—22 x 24 cm., Jared and his family are pious. All the others have their

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righteousness. 12—23 x 24 cm., death calls on the just Enoch. 13—23 x 24 cm., Methusalem. 14—23 x 23.5 cm., Noah and the Flood. 15—23 x 24 cm., Sem is blessed. 16—23 x 24 cm., Melchisedech praying on the tomb of Adam. 17—22 x 24 cm., the Tower of Babel. 18—22 x 24 cm., Abraham comes to Canaan. 19—22.5 x 23.5 cm., Lot is saved from Sodom, his wife turns to salt-stone. 20—22 x 23 cm., Abraham and Sara, in old age they beget Isaac. 21—23 x 23.5 cm., Abraham sacrifices Isaac. 22—22 x 24 cm., Jacob dreams. Esau receives him. 23—23 x 24 cm., the pious Job (Hiob). 24—22.5 x 24 cm., Joseph sold to the Egyptians. 25—23 x 24.5 cm., God appears to Moses. 26—23 x 25 c.m., Pharaoh kills the Jewish men-children. 27—23.5 x 24 cm., the blights over Egypt. 28—23.5 x 24.5 cm./29—23.5 x 24 cm., the Jews travel through the Red Sea. Pharaoh's army destroyed. 30—23.5 x 24.5 cm., God leads the Israelites through the deserts. 31—23.5 x 24.5 c.m. Manna rains down to earth. 32—23 x 24.5 c.m., Korah, Dathan and Abiram are punished for their rebellion against Aaron. 33—23 x 24 cm., the Israelites cross the Jordan river. 34—23 x 24 cm., Joshua, Aaron's son leads the Israelites against the Canaanites. 35—24 x 24 cm., Jericho besieged. 36—23.5 x 24 cm., Jericho conquered. Rahab, the woman spy, is rescued from the doomed city. 37—24.5 x 24.5 cm., the Israelites in Canaan. 38—24.5 x 24.5 cm., Bileam is asked to curse the Israelites. Phineas kills Simri and Kozbi. 39—25 x 24.5 cm., Barak fights Sisera. Jael kills Sisera. 40—25 x 25 cm., Gideon fights against Midianites. 41—24.5 x 25 cm., Samuel fights the Philistines. 42—24.5 x 25 cm., David and Goliath. 43—24 x 24.5 cm., David and Bethsheba. 44—24 x 24.5 cm., Solomon crowns his concubines. 45—23 x 24 cm., Israelitic kings. 46—23 x 24 c.m., Elijah. 47—23.5 x 24 cm., Elijah predicts the end of Ahab and Jezebel. 48—23 x 24 cm., King Ahab and Elijah. 49—24 x 24 cm., Elijah rides to heaven in a fery chariot. 50—24 x 24 c.m., Jonah sent to Nineveh. 51—22 x 24 c.m., Salmanassar captures the Israelites and brings them to Assyria. 52—23 x 24 cm., King Menassie punished for killing Elisha. 53—23.5 x 24 cm., Naaman, the Syrian, is cured of leprosy. 54—23.5 x 23.5 cm., king Josiah sacrifices to God. 55—22.5 x 23.5 cm., King Zedekiah throws Jeremiah into a well. Pious people rescue the prophet. 56—24.5 x 24 cm., Nebuchadnezzar besieges the Jews. 57—23 x 24 cm., the three youths cast into the fiery furnace. 58—23 x 24 cm., when Nebuchadnezzar becomes too haughty he is transferred into a pig. 59—23 x 24 cm., Daniel saves him. 60—23.5 x 24 cm., Susanna accused of adultery. 61—23 x 24.5 c.m., Daniel in the lions' den. 62—23 x 24.5 cm., an angel feeds Daniel. 63—23.5 x 24 cm., Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones. 64—22.5 x 25 cm., Isaiah's death. 65—23.5 x 25 cm., evil-Morodah. 66—23.5 x 24 cm., Belshazzar's feast. 67—23.5 x 24.5 cm., the Israelites are released from captivity, they return to Jerusalem. 68—23.5 x 24.5 cm., they return with their new king. 69—23.5 x 25 cm., they come to Jerusalem. 70—23.5 x 24 cm., Judith. 71—23 x 24 cm., Esther. 72—23 x 24 cm., Sanballat besieges Jerusalem. The walls are raised around Jerusalem. 73—23.5 x 23.5 cm., King Skinder kneels before the High Priest and brings an offering. 74—23.5 x 24 cm., King Bartholomeus calls the Jewish prophets to copy all prophecies. Simon writes the book of Isaiah. He omits the part that a Virgin is going to bear the Messiah. An angel rebukes him, and corrects the copy. 75—23.5 x 24.5 cm., Antiochus forces the Jews to eat pork and worship the sun. 76—23.5 x 24.5 cm., he tortures and kills seven brothers and their mother. 77—24 x 23.5 cm., angels feed Mary in the temple. 78—23 x 24.5 cm., Annunciation. 79—23 x 24.5 cm., Birth of Christ. 80—23 x 24 cm., Circumcision. 81—23 x 24.5 cm., the three wise men. 82—22.5 x 25 cm., Flight to Egypt. 83—22 x 25 cm., the slaying of the innocent; Elizabeth dies, John is nourished by an antelope. 84—23 x 25 cm., baptism of Christ. 85—23 x 24 cm., temptation. 86—23 x 24 cm., Last Supper. 87—23 x 24 cm., Gethsemane. 88—22.5 x 24.5 cm., Crucifixion. 89—23 x 23.5 cm., descension to hell. 90—22.5 x 24.5 cm., Ascension and burial. 91—22.5 x 25 cm., angels announce the resurrection. (Judas hangs himself). 92—23 x 24.5 cm., the Holy Spirit comes upon the Christians. 93—23 x 24 cm., Rahel—after her baptism called Wolete Phikir, who translated the Bible for Ethiopia. 94—23 x 24.5 cm., Jesus in heaven. 95—23 x 24.5 cm., the Holy Trinity worshipped. 96—22.5 x 24 cm., Death of Peter and Paul. 97—23 x 24 cm., death of St. Thomas, St. George. 98—22 x 24.5 cm., St. Gabre Manfas Kiddus; Abba Samuel. 99—22 x 24 cm., a pious monk and Rahel the author. 100—35 x 30.5 cm., Adebar Seged—Portrait, St. Michael. 101—23 x 23 cm., reign of heathen kings. 102—23 x 23 cm., the youths cast in the fiery furnace. 103—26.5 x 23.5 cm., David; Annunciation. 104—22 x 23 cm., Birth of Christ; announcement to the shepherds. 105—22.5 x 23 cm., Jesus in the crib. 106— 22 x 23 cm., circumcision. 107—21 x 23.5 cm., Mary and Joseph sacrifice doves. 108—21 x 23 cm., flight to Egypt. 109—21 x 23.5 cm., Jesus in the synagogue. 110—21 x 23 cm., Jesus baptised. 111—26.5 x 25 cm., temptation. 112—21.5 x 24 cm., Jesus preaches. 113—20 x 23.5 cm., Jesus departs from the pious women. 114—20.5 x 24 cm., Jesus washes his disciples' feet. 115—22 x 23 cm., the Last Supper. 116—21.5 x 23.5 cm., Gethsemane. 117—22.5 x 23.5 cm., treason of Judas. 118—22 x 24 cm., Jesus accused before the High-priests. 119—22.5 x 23.5 cm., Jesus accused before Herod. 120—22.5 x 23.5 cm., Jesus before Pontius Pilatus. 121—22 x 23.5 cm., Jesus chastised. 122—22.5 x 23.5 cm., Jesus mocked. 123—22 x 23.5 cm., Jesus condemned to be crucified. 124—22 x 23.5 cm., Simon carries the cross. 125—22 x 23.5 cm., Christ crucified. 126—22 x 23.5 cm., the cross is lifted. 127—22.5 x 23.5 cm., a soldier gives Jesus vinegar and myrrh. 128—22.5 x 24 cm., Christ dies. 129—22.5 x 23.5 cm., his side is opened. 130—22 x 23.5 cm., the corpse is taken from the cross. 131—22 x 23.5 cm., Burial. 132—22 x 23.5 cm., resurrection. 133—21.5 x 23.5 cm., Ascension. 134—22 x 23.5 cm., the Holy Spirit descends. 135—22.5 x 23.5 cm., Jesus, King of Heaven. 136—22 x 23.5 cm., the first sin. 137—21.5 x 23.5 cm., God asks Cain for his brother Abel. 138—21 x 23.5 cm., ApostleJacob's death. 139—22 x 23 cm., "Give to the emperor what is his, and to God, what belongs to him." 140—22 x 23 cm., the pious will be glorified in heaven, the evil-doers punished in hell. 141 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—I. 142 (23.5 x 24 cm.)—II. 143 (22 x 23 cm.)—III. 144 (22 x 23.5 cm.)—IV. 145 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—V. 146 (23 x 23 cm.)—VI. 147 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—VII. 148 (21 x 23 cm.)—VIII. 149 (23.5 x 23 cm.)—IX 150 (23 x 24 cm.)—X. 151 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—XI. 152 (23 x 23 cm.)—XII. 153 (23 x 23 cm.)—XIII. 154 (25.5 x 23 cm.)—XIV. 155 (23.5 x 23.5 cm.)—XV. 156 (29.5 x 23.5 cm.)—XVI. 157 (23 x 23 cm.)—XVII. 158 (25 x 28 cm.)—XVIII. 159 (23 x 23 cm.)—XIX 160 (23 x 23 cm.)—XX. 161 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—XXI. 162 (27 x 23 cm.)—XXII. 163 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—XXIII. 164 (25.5 x 23 cm.)—XXIV. 165 (23 x 23.5 cm)—XXV. 166 (22.5 x 23 cm.)—XXVI. 167 (23 x 23 cm.)—XXVII. 168 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—XXVIII. 169 (23 x 23.5 cm.)—XXIX. 170 (26 x 22.5 cm.)—XXX. 171 (26 x 23.5 cm.)—XXXI. 172. (23 x 23 cm.)—XXXII.

Manuscript Gondar XXIII. 31 x 28 x 5 cm. large, may be regarded as a parallel to the St. George manuscript (Gondar XX). It contains the story of St. Fasilidas. The manuscript is preserved in the Koma Fasilidas Church in Debre Tabor and embraces 72 folios and 82 illustrations. The paintings are done in a heavy hand. The colours are hard and the scenes forceful and crowded. Especially interesting is the relating of the history of the royal house.

1—21.5 x 13 cm., Bishop Christianos writing the story of St. Fasilidas and visited by Dionasius, Augus and Mermedius, who have come to learn the story. 2—25 x 22.5 cm., Numerianus King of Rome, his wife Theodora and their son Jositos. 3—27 x 23 cm., Fasilidas, his wife Sophia, Ausabius and Mokars their sons, and Tona and Rodes, their daughters. 4—27.5 x 22.5 cm., Fasilidas' sons study the church law. 5—27 x 22.5 cm., they are trained in the art of knighthood 6—25 x 23 cm., the boys consecrated by Bishop Stephanos. 7—26 x 23 cm., they play a knightly game. 8—25.5 x 24 cm., the king orders a feast to celebrate his first minister, Fasilidas. 9—26 x 24 cm., the boys are nominated "Ras," and ordained by the king. Fasilidas is dressed in royal robes and adorned with the royal crown to do him honour. 10—13.5 x 12 cm., the king and Fasilidas converse about the coming war with the Berbers. 11—27 x 24 cm., the Christian army going to war, led by Abadir and Theodoros. Also the sons of Fasilidas ride

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to war. 12—27 x 13 cm., the army baggage train. 13—23 x 12 cm., warriors. 14—27.5 x 24 5 cm., the victorious troops return. They kiss the shoes of their king. Fasilidas' sons are happy to see their father 15—27 x 23.5 cm., the king betrothes his son Claudius to Rodes, Fasilidas' daughter. Fasilidas is downcast. Rodes has been dedicated to become a nun. 16—23 x 12 cm., an angel warns Fasilidas not to break his vow. He consults his wife. 17—26 x 24 cm., Fasilidas tells the king that he cannot give his daughter to the prince. The king marries his son to Tauklia the 12-year-old daughter of Philas Phoros, a nobleman of his court. 18—27 x 24.5 cm., the declaration of war has come from Nifilasimanos in the south. Fasilidas advises the king. 19—13.5 x 12 cm., the army rides forth 20—26.5 x 24.5 cm., while all able-bodied men are at war, spies kidnap the younger prince, Jositos. 21—26.5 x 24.5 cm., the news reaches Claudius who immediately leaves the battlefield to free his brother. He is taken prisoner himself. 22—25 x 25 cm., the Christian army is defeated and flees. 23—8.5 x 11.5 cm., the women of Phars receive the glad tidings of victory. 24—25.5 x 24 cm., Numerianus, Fasilidas, the King's second Minister, Hirmanus, and the princess are worried, because Kuz has declared war on the Christians. The king rides to battle in a warrior's plain attire. 25—25.5 x 24 cm., Numerianus is killed His death is kept a secret. For one year the princess rules. Then Kuz hears of the death of Numerianus and plans to destroy the Christians. The princess recruits warriors. Agrippa, a shepherd of Egypt, hears of it, and comes to war. He is very learned in playing the harp and the flute. He charms all people, even the animals and plants, with his art. 26—25 x 24.5 cm., the princess hears Agrippa play and is enchanted. She falls in love with him, marries him and crowns him emperor. His name is changed to Diocletian. 27—27 x 25 cm./28—26 x 22.5 cm., the war with Kuz starts. Diocletian calls Theodorus, and holds council with Fasilidas, whom he respects for his wsdom. Theodorus recognises king Kuz's son riding his pony in the rear of the army. He catches the youth's hair and lifts him from his pony. He carries him off to Diocletian who sends the child to bishop Agagios for education. When Kuz learns of his son's whereabouts, he sends his servant to the bishop who ransoms him for his weight in gold. 29—20 x 12 cm., the battle still rages. 30—26 x 25 cm., Theodoros again captures the youth and brings him before the emperor. Kuz loses the battle. 31—21.5 x 25 cm., on seeing the young prince, Diocletian is astounded. 32—25 x 22.5 cm, the emperor summons bishop Agagios and asks him for the prince. Agagios tells him that the boy has died. 33—25 x 22 cm., the emperor summons the bishop to the church to swear to it. 33—26 x 23.5 cm., the bishop ewears a false oath. Then the bishop is confronted with the youth and admits his wickedness. The emperor condemns him to death . The gold is melted and poured into the mouth of the bishop. But he has repented of his sin and trusts in the Mercy of the Lord, so no harm comes to him. The emperor doubts the justice and even the very existence of God when he sees the miracle, and renounces his faith. He gives an order to destroy Christianity. 35—26 x 23 cm., Diocletian orders idols to be made and worshipped. 36—24 x 22 cm., Jositos and Claudios, the brothers of the empress, are still suffering in prison. An angel tells them of the nearing end of Kuz. 37—25.5 x 24 cm., the brothers try every means of escape. They meet and rejoice in their reunion. 38—17.5 x 12.5 cm./39—26 x 23 cm., Ausabious, Fasilidas' son, escapes. He meets the two royal brothers. They contact the enemy and kill the king of Phars. With many prisoners they come home. 40—24 x 23 cm., advised by his evil Minister Hirmanus, Diocletian demands Fasilidas' renunciation of his faith. 41—25 x 23 cm., Hirmanus brings the declaration of war from Kuz. 42—25 x 23.5 cm., the news reaches Fasilidas in his exile. 43—24 x 22.5 cm., Archangel Michael appears to Fasilidas and leads him to the throne of the Lord. 44—24.5 x 23 cm., Jesus interprets God's law to Fasilidas and makes known to him his destiny of martyrdom. 45—25 x 22.5 cm., Fasilidas returns. He distributes all his wealth in order to get ready for his mission. 46—24.5 x 23 cm., Claudios and Ausabious reach their home-country. When they see the idols, they destroy them and their priests. Diocletian imprisons Claudius, his wife's brother and the son of Fasilidas, and beheads them. 47—23.5 x 22 cm., God appears to Fasilidas and consoles him on the death of his son. 48—24 x 22 cm., the younger prince, Jositos, his wife Tauklia, also the younger son of Fasilidas, Mekars, are caught. They are bridled like horses and led to prison. Fasilidas and Sophia are ordered to the emperors' presence. 49—17.5 x 12.5 cm.-50—25.5 x 23.5cm., to influence Fasilidas and his wife the king exhibits the royal children and their own to the parents. He tries to bribe Fasilidas. 51—26.5 x 22.5 cm., the emperor gives an order to slay all Chrstans. 52—26 x 22.5 cm., Fasilidas comes to the emperor and accuses and curses him. The king rages, and tries to kill Fasilidas. Hirmanus, whose plans are different, stops him. Fasilidas is fettered and brought to an island. 53—26 x 23 cm., Fasilidas is chastised. 54—14 x 12 cm., he is taken to prison. The devils escape. 55—25 x 22 cm., Fasilidas is thrown into a furnace and charred. 56—25 x 22 cm., an angel pours holy water over his wounds and heals him. 57—10 x 12 cm., Masrus believes that Fasilidas is a sorcerer. He entreats Fasilidas to worship idols. 58—26.5 x 24 cm., Fasilidas refuses. His eyes are chiselled out. Christians are executed. 59—26.5 x 24 cm., fiery irons are bored into Fasilidas' eyes. When Fasilidas tries to kneel and pray he cannot lift himself from the ground. 60—24 x 21 cm., four Christians come to Fasilidas to be baptised. They wish to convert people and to heal the sick. 61—23 x 21 cm., the emperor summons Fasilidas, who is chastised with "morning-stars." 62—24 x 21.5 cm., the emperor catches the four people after they are baptised and beheads them. 63—24 x 21.6 cm., Fasilidaes is cast into a furnace. 64—24 x 21.5 cm., God appears and frees him. 65—22 5 x 21 cm., followers of St Fasilidas show their contempt of the emperor in gathering earth in their fingers and scattering it upon the feet of the Minister. 66—23 x 21.5 cm., the Minister orders their execution. 67—21 x 21.5 cm., he falls ill. 68—10 x 11 cm., a blind boy is healed by St. Fasilidas. 69—22 x 21 cm., followers of the emperor and followers of St. Fasilidas throw stones at each other. The latter are imprisoned and executed. 70—25 x 21 cm., Fasilidas is torn and sawed to pieces. 71—21.5 x 11.5 cm., St. Fasilidas appears to the sick Minister to prove that he is still alive. 72—25 x 21.5 cm., a bridle is put upon St. Fasilidas and he is led through the country. 73—16.5 x 13.5 cm., an angel assists St. Fasilidas. 74—21 x 21.5 cm., Jesus appears to him and promises him heaven. St Fasilidas is accused and condemned to death. 75—16 x 11 cm., he is beheaded. 76—10 x 11.5 cm., Ahmed Gran invades Ethiopia. His servant Arwe Bedlai burns the Mesele Church in Lake Tana. 77—24 x 12.5 cm., most of the Lake Tana Churches are burned. 78—14 5 x 13 cm., Monk Elias calls to the saints for help. 79—24.5 x 22 c.m., Saint Fasilidas comes riding with many other Saints across the lake. 80—21 5 x 21.5 cm., the Moslems try to reach a new church with "Tanquas" (papyrus-boats). The monks pray. 81—26.5 x 23.5 cm., the saints destroy the enemy. 82—25 x 21.5 cm., one soldier tries to escape into the church, but St. Fasilidas follows him and slays him.

A small work, manuscript Gondar XXIV, mentioning the reign of Emperor Adyam Seged Yasu (1682-1706), shows some illustrations, 8 in all, of Saint Akale Christos. The title of the book is Gedle Hawareat. The manuscript embracing 107 folios is preserved in the Akale Christos Church in Gaint.

The illuminations show the following scenes: 1—18 x 19 cm., Father Isayas writes down the life of the saint. The devil tries to divert him and winds himself in the form of a snake around Abba Isayas. Akale Christos appears and drives away the devil and the snake. 2—19.5 x 19.5 cm., while Akale Christos stands praying the devil appears as a snake and threatens to bite and to swallow him. But he does not succeed in swerving the saint from his prayers. King Suseneyos and his son, Asrate Dengel, pray to Akale Christos. 3—26.5 x 21 cm., even as a child the saint was very pious. The holy Virgin is visible to him. When his father dies, Christ comes to comfort the youth. 4—25.5 x 21.5 cm., whilst the saint is praying in the desert, two Leopards joyfully play around him. But the evil one is around too. The saint prays still harder and the earth opens and swallows the devil. 5—26 x 20.5 cm., Akale Christos is deep in prayer. He stands so motionless that the vultures come to devour his flesh, which they tear from his body. Thus he dies. A women's child dies. She laments for it, but Abba

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Girma Maskal restores the child to her in the name of Akale Christos. 6—25 x 21 cm., whilst the saint is still treading the earth, pious people give him some land. The field is never worked. A farmer trespasses the ground, tills it and puts seed in it. The saint appears and orders him to leave the holy ground. The farmer does not heed the order . When he is about to harvest, big herds of baboons destroy the food. 7—22. 5 x20 cm., Akale Christos prays. The Lord himself appears and gives him the ownership of the land on which he stands. Emperor Adydam Seged Yasu prays to the saint. 8—25 x 20.5 cm., when Akale Christos dies, Christ appears with his angels to bury the body. A priest worships in remembrance of the saint.

Of Manuscript Gondar XXV, only the second part of the miracles of the Lady Woleta Petros, is illuminated. The manuscript is preserved in the Quarata Woleta Petros Church in Lake Tana, it mentions the reign of Emperor Atse Fasil Sewene. Its style allows the presumption that it originates from the 18th century. The book embraces 134 folios with 23 illuminations. The manuscript relates that the saintly woman lived at the time when Catholicism was brought to Ethiopia and her emperor converted to it. She abandoned home and family and became the centre of resistance for many Ethiopian Orthodox Church followers. She is buried on an island in Lake Tana and a church is dedicated to her, She is the saint of the women and the needy in Ethiopia, not doing great miracles, but taking care of the everyday needs of her people.

1—25.5 x 20 cm., on her deathbed, Christ and Mary appear. The monk, Abba Sele Christos, and Felicita Christos visit the dying saint and pray. 2—8.5 x 17 cm., the funeral meal is prepared. The monks are very poor and do not know where to get so much flour to feed all the visitors. But the flour in the earthen jug does not diminish. 3—15.5 x 19.5 cm./4—10.5 x 17 cm., a sick man is rowed to the church on the island in Lake Tana, but is not healed. He orders his servants to bring him to the grave of Woleta Petros . There he is healed and returns gladly to his homeland. 5—12.5 x 17 cm., the country is devasted by locusts, only the fields of those are saved, that prayed to Woleta Petros. 6—17 x 17 cm., the child of a poor woman falls sick. On her prayers the saint appears, and heals the sick child. 7—16 x 18 cm., the Memhir* (Priest-teacher) of the island-seminary visits a pious woman. She immediately sends her servant to fetch cool beer to refresh her guest. The servant demands which jug she shall bring, The woman is astonished, as she only possesses one jug with beer. She realises, that Woleta Petros found pleasure in her hospitality and has rewarded her. 8—14 x 18 cm. a woman goes early to church on the 17 November to celebrate the feast of Woleta Petros and to sacrifice some candles to her. She is weary from the long journey and rests under a tree. She then continues her way. On her arrival she notices, that she has forgotten her candles. She returns to the tree, where she thinks she has left the gift. But there she realizes that she had left them at home. She is downcast and prays to the saint. To her surprise she sees her goat coming along the road and carrying the bundle of candles in its mouth. She rejoices, takes the gift, sacrifices it and joyfully returns home. 9—17.5 x 41 cm,. two priests crossing Lake Tana on a "tanqua" are caught in a tempest. They lose their paddle and are helpless. On their prayers the saint appears and leads them safely to their island. 10—14.5 x 18 cm., 11—12 xx 18 cm., a pious woman goes to wash her laundry in the lake. She places her prayerbook on a rock next to her, but forgets it, when she is finished with her work. When she reaches home, she misses the book, she returns, but cannot find it anywhere. In the meantime a fisherman had passed the rock seen the book and taken it with him. He tries to sell the book. Nobody will buy it from him. He is even accused of stealing it. Finally he prays to the saint and she advises him to bring it to the priest in the church. The woman recovers her prayerbook. 13—15 x 11 cm./14—10 x 20 cm./15—15 x 12 cm., an old woman wishes to do a good deed and bring a heathen girl to church for conversion. But the girl has only mischief in mind . She steals a prayerbook of one of the nuns. She is later accused thereof, but denies the theft, and even says she wishes to drop dead if she does not tell the truth. Then she brings the book to the market and sells it for two measures of precious salt. The merchant looks into the book and reads the name of St. Woleta Petros and takes fright. He demands his goods back and sends the girl away with the book. She cannot sell it anywhere and when it is without value to her, she resolves to return it with an excuse. But she had lied and is too late. A hyaena kills her . 16—18.5 x 20 cm. /17—9.5 x 9 cm., a woman with her blind child attends the funeral feast of the saint. One of the servants drops the jug with "Talla" (Ethiopian sour beer) and while it is falling she prays to the saint. The jug hits the ground and is broken, but not one drop of Talla is spilled. Even the pieces of the jug become whole again. The woman with the sick baby sees this miracle. She meditates on it, and then wets her child's eyes with the Miracle-Talla. The child's sight is restored. 18—17 x 19.5 cm., Mesgebe Haimanot is sick. Woleta Petros appears to him and asks him to write the story of her life. As soon as he feels better, he starts to visit his brethren, finds out the story of the saint and writes it out. 19—21.5 x 18 cm., on a pilgrimage a woman is overcome by night. She prays to the saint. While she hurries on, she notices, that the sun stands still and only sinks after she has reached her destination. 20—18.5 x 17.5 cm., again the same woman goes on a pilgrimage with two friends. A big storm cloud comes up and threatens the women. But when they pray, the hail falls around them, but they are not touched either by rain or hail. 21—14.5 x 22 cm., they are very tired, and seek hospitality in a friend's hut. She expects grand visitors on the next day and quickly hides the Talla she has prepared for the occasion. Then she serves the pilgrims Talba-water (water of linseed). They refresh themselves and depart. Next day when the distinguished visitor comes, the woman wishes to serve her hidden Talla, but she cannot open the jug. When she finally breaks the neck of the jar to get at the Talla, she finds the jug empty, so both are lost as a punishment for her discrimination. 22—23.5 x 21 cm., Woleta Petros is worshipped by a pious nun. 23—28.5 x 22 cm., Hirute Selassie, who copied this manuscript from an older one.

On the island of Tana Cherkos in Lake Tana, manuscript Gondar XXVI, 30 x 35 x 10 cm. is found. It mentions in its text the reign of Emperor Tekle Haimanot (1769-1777). We may presume that it originates from this date. The manuscript consists of 158 folios and 91 illuminations. The title of the book is "Tamre Jesus," dealing with the life and miracles of Christ. The illuminations are kept natural in their movement and setting. The figures are nicely executed but are somewhat plump in their appearance. They have lost their spiritual background and have become illustrations, or rather legible scripture for the illiterate. This art is colourful, sturdy and comparable with the primitive unaffected art of a rustic people. The illustrations depict the following scenes:

1—29 x 25 cm. The Holy Trinity, underneath the King Atsbeha of Aksum, Abraha and Atsbeha. 2—28 x 22.5 cm., the child Jesus shows hell to the Virgin. 3—25 x 24 cm., the devil is thrown into hell. 4—28 x 25 cm., Archangel Michael with the heavenly army. 5—20 x 15 cm., the creation of Adam. 6—26.5 x 23 cm., Adam and Eve are deceived by the snake. 7—7 x 12 cm., a pious woman who has copied this book. 8—24 x 24 cm., the annuciation. 9—24 x 23 cm., St. Mary proves her innocence by drinking the water of correction (poison). 10—14 x 23 cm., Native. 11—16 x 15 cm., Salome doubting St. Mary's Virginity, burns her fingers on Mary's womb.

* The Memhir is the head of a monastry and may be termed prior or abbot; the head of the priests at the Lalibela rock churches is the Memhir.—Editor.

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The Memhir of the island seminary visits a pious woman; she sends her servant to fetch cool beer (see above). From MS. XXV, 7, Miracles of the Lady Woleta Petros, of the 18th century in Quarata Woleta Petros Church in Lahe Tana.

She repents and is healed. 12—26.5 x 24.5 cm., when Christ is born, all angels protect him, while the devils seek to destroy him with the help of their idols. But the idols break in their hands. 13—15 x 22.5 cm./14—27 x 22.5 cm., rejoicing in the birth of Christ shepherds are playing hockey. 15—26.5 x 23 cm., old, blind Simeon lives in the temple. When his friends see him rejoicing, they ask him the reason, and he tells them that the Messiah is born. 16—25.5 x 22 cm., St. Mary comes for the child's circumcision to the temple. Simeon holds the infant and has his eyesight restored. He thanks God that he has allowed him to see the Saviour of his people. 17—28.5 x 23 cm., the three wise men worship Jesus. 18—28.5 x 24 cm., the flight to Egypt and the death of the innocent. 19—13.5 x 22 cm., an angel guides Joseph in his flight. 20—26 x 24 cm., the Holy Family meets the highway-robber Titus. His soul is changed and he helps to carry the infant. Herod's soldiers follow their trail. 21—14.5 x 22.5 cm. when they return to Nazareth, Jesus plays with the neighbourhood children. They form birds out of clay. Jesus throws them into the air, and they fly away. 22—11 x 22 cm./23—15 x 22 cm., Jesus is brought to the synagogue to learn writing. Priest Sekios teaches Jesus to write the letter "Alpha." The child asks the priest what the meaning of this letter is. The priest cannot explain it, so Jesus advises him, and teaches him the meaning. The priest accompanies the child home and tells his mother, that he is unable to teach him, as he knows more than him. 24—23.5 x 22 cm., one boy plays with Jesus on the roof of the house. Jesus sees a sunbeam reaching the rim of the roof and walks on it towards the sun. The boy tries to follow Jesus but falls to his death. When the parents of the boy lament, Jesus resurrects the child. 25—16 x 22 cm., Jesus carries water, but breaks the jug. He carries the water home in his gown. 26—24.5 x 22 cm., Jesus helps his stepfather in his work. A woman, bitten by a snake, is healed by Jesus. A priest wishes to judge Jesus and questions him about the Bible. When he doubts Jesus' answer he is stricken dead. 27—9 x 21 cm., the harvest is destroyed by hail. Jesus sows a handful of corn on the ruined field and the seed shoots up and replaces the destroyed harvest. 28—20.5 x 22 cm., Titman's cattle are stolen. The thieves deny their evil deed. Jesus gives speech to the mute cattle, and they speak before the judges. 29—9 x 12 cm., portrait of a pious woman. 30—11 x 22 cm., a fisherman makes a big catch, but thieves are robbing him. Jesus makes the fishes talk, and they swim back to their right owner. 31—12 x 25 cm., a thief is called to trial. He denies the deed, but the cow he has stolen tells the judge the truth. 32—20.5 x 16 cm. 33—13 x 15 cm., Joseph is threatened by lions in the wilderness. Jesus comes there and the lions bow deep to Jesus. When Joseph sees this he also worships Jesus. 34—13 x 12 cm./35—26 x 12 cm., a farmer's field is destroyed by a flood. He comes to Jesus. The waters ascend like a cloud from the field and the harvest is saved. 36—20 x 22 cm., in one of the churches the four symbols of the gospels are painted. The Jews mock the paintings. Jesus gives life to the symbols. 37—14 x 22 cm./38—22 x 22 cm., there was a woman accused of adultery and condemned to be stoned. Jesus is asked for his judgment. Meditating, he writes into the sand and tells them that the one without blemish shall cast the first stone. The woman is unharmed. 39—15 x 25 cm., Jesus comes to a well in Samaria. He asks for water and converts the Samaritan woman. 40—12.5 x 11 cm., Jesus teaches. 41—26.5 x 13 cm., the miraculous draught of fish. St. John baptises in the Jordan river. 42—22 x 11.5 cm., Jesus heals a man born blind. The Jews question his parents. 43—17.5 x 25.5 cm., Jesus resurrects the son of a poor widow 44—21 x 12 cm., Jesus raises a dead man Sheep and goats, that have seen the miracle, bow before him. Jews want to stone him for sorcery. 45—20.5 x 23 cm./46—18.5 x 24 cm., a farmer is indebted for 40 talents and his creditors threaten to take his land. He comes to Jesus, who takes a plant and blesses it. The plant carries such rich fruit that the farmer can cover his debts with its yield. 47—18.5 x 24 cm., Jesus meets Sarah, Rebeka and Rahel. 48-14 x 25 cm., a man comes to Jesus. He owns a field, but the larvae of the cockchafers destroy his fruit. Jesus blesses the field. When harvest is reaped the field bears so much fruit, that the farmer can pay his debts. He distributes the rest of the income and follows Jesus. 49—20 x 24 cm., Jesus heals the woman from the issue of blood, when she touches his garments. 50—21 x 12, Jesus removes the repugnant smell of a man. 51—26.5 x 12 cm., Jesus teaches the people. 52—15 x 13.5 cm., locusts devastate the country. A famine threatens the people. 53—25 x 15 cm., a cloud carries Jesus away. An angel destroys the locusts. 54—28 x 14 cm., lions trouble pilgrims. Jesus asks Nathaniel to tell the lions to leave the people in peace. 55—27 x 24 cm., Jesus predicts his betrayal by Judas. Gemalial, the brother of Nikodemus, invites Jesus to his house. The middle pole of the house starts flowering. 56—15.5 x 12 cm., Jesus and his disciples in Debre Said. 57—27 x 22.5 cm., Jesus teaches in the temple. He predicts the ruin of the temple and of Jerusalem. 58—10 x 11.5 cm., a pious woman. 59—26.5 x 22 cm., Jesus baptised in Jordan. 60—28 x 14 cm., the devil tempts Jesus. 61—28 x 24.5 cm., the wedding in Cana. 62—14 x 13 cm./63—26 x 13 cm., Lazarus resurrected from death. 64—27 x 25 cm., Jesus teaches his disciples. He predicts their martyrdom and speaks of false prophets that will arise. 65—15 x 12.5 cm., Jesus teaching his apostles. 66—11 x 12 cm., Jesus teaching. 67—21 x 25.5 cm., Jesus sends his apostles to get the donkey. 68—29 x 26 cm., Jesus rides into Jerusalem and cleans the temple. 69—18 x 25 cm./70—9 x 23.5 cm., Jesus is anointed. 71—24 x 25.5 cm./72—27.5 x 25.5 cm., the last supper. Jesus washes the feet of the apostles. 73—26 x 14 cm., Gethsemane. The betrayal by Judas. 74—15.5 x 13 cm., Jesus imprisoned. 75—27 x 24 cm., Trial, and castigation of Jesus. Pilate washes his hands. 76—29 x 24.5 cm., Christ's crowning with thorns, crucifixion, and burial. 77—25 x 24 cm., the Jews demand that the tomb be guarded. 78—15.5 x 23 cm., Guards. 79—27 x 25.5 cm., Christ descends to hell. He arises from the dead. The Virgin prays at the tomb. 80—14 x 24 cm., the guards before their officials. 81—23 x 12.5 cm., Joseph, who buried Christ, is imprisoned. 82—28 x 24 cm., Christ glorified in heaven, an angel appears to the imprisoned Christians. 83—20 x 20.5 cm., Christ appears to his followers. He calls out to Peter, who walks across the lake. When he is doubtful he sinks, Christ saves him. 84—13.5 x 24 cm., the miraculous draught of fish. Christ dines with the apostles. 85—15.5 x 24 cm., Thomas is doubtful of Christ's identity. 86—25.5 x 23.5 cm., Christ promises the Holy Spirit. 87—25 x 23.5 cm., Ascension. 88—25.5 x 23.5 cm., the Holy Spirit descends upon the Christians. 89—14 x 23.5 cm., the apostles draw lots over their departure. 90—25 x 22.5 cm., King Akarijos in Roha falls sick. He sends his servant for Christ. The servant returns with the message of Christ's death and a cloth with the imprint of the face of

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When Christ is born all angels protect him, while the devils seek to destroy him with the help of their idols. But the idols break in their hands. From MS. XXVI, 12, Tamre Jesus, in the Tana Cherkos Church in Lake Tana; text written during the reign of Tekle Haimanot (1769-1777)

the Saviour. The king's servants dread black magic. They drop the cloth into water, but it does not become wet. They drop it in fire, but it will not burn. The king gets impatient. He takes the cloth and embraces it. He is healed.

Manuscript Gondar XXVII was written in the late 18th century. It lies in the Kidane Merit Church in Dasen. The book was ordered by Dejazmatch Wolde Hewot. It contains the story of Christ on 155 folios and is adorned with 8 illustrations in a clear hand with the following scenes illuminated:

1—26 x 24 cm., annunciation. 2—27.5 x 23 cm., the shepherds adoring the holy infant. 3—25.5 x 21 cm., Jesus baptised in Jordan. 4—28 x 22 cm., Christ's transfiguration. 5—28.5 x 23 cm., Christ crowned with thorns. Sahalie Selassie Ulsamra prays to Christ. 6—30 x 23.5 cm., Crucifixion. 7—28.5 x 23.5 cm., descension to hell. 8—29 x 23 cm., St. Mary, Queen of heaven on Christ's right.

Manuscript Gondar XXVIII, the four gospels "Arba Wongel" are preserved in the Debre Mogina Church in Armatcheho. No date is indicated. It appears to belong to the 19th century. It contains 185 leaves and the following 9 illustrations:

1—37 x 32 cm., Nativity. 2— 37 x 33 cm., St. Matthew. 3—35 x 31 cm., Christ's baptism. 4—35 x 31 cm., St. Mark. 5—37 x 31 cm., Jesus teaches in the Synagogue. 6—35 x 31 cm., St. Luke. 7—37.5 x 31 cm., Crucifixion. 8—36.5 x 30.5 cm, St. John. 9—36.5 x 31 cm., Christ sees Adam and Eve in hell.

Hamle Mare Dengel, the daughter of Emperor Fasil, ordered Manuscript Gondar XXIX at the end of the 17th century. It is at Kidane Merit Church in Lai Gud, in Semien. It contains 102 folios and 25 illustrations and deals with the Gospel of St. John—"Wongel Johannes." The book is painted in a rustic style with plump outlines and glaring colours giving the impression of gloominess. The following scenes are depicted: (Chapters and Verses of the Gospel of St. John are given).

1—23 x 20.5 cm., St. John and his follower Abrokoros write the Gospel. Below Princess Hamle Mare Dengel. 2—10 x 20.5 cm., 1/19, the testimony of John the Baptist. 3—19 x 20 cm./4—16.5 x 20 cm., 2/1, Jesus at the marriage of Cana. 5—28.5 x 20.5 cm., 2/14, He cleanses the temple. 6—11.5 x 17 cm., 2/19, He foretells his death. 7—13.5 x 20 cm., 3/23, John the Baptist's testimony. 8—16.5 x 11.5 cm., 4/7, the Samaritan woman. 9—13 x 11 cm., 4/39, the Samaritan woman. 10—14 x 10.5 cm., 4/43, Jesus testifies, that a prophet has no honour in his own country. 11—13 x 19.5 cm., 5/1, Jesus cures a cripple at Bethseda on the sabbath. 12—20.5 x 21 cm./13—21 x 20 cm., 6/1, Jesus feeds the five thousand. 14—15.5 x 20.5 cm., 8/1, Jesus and the woman taken in adultery. 15—13 x 11 cm., 9/1, Jesus cures the man born blind. 16—24 x 22.5 cm., 11/1, Jesus raises Lazarus from the dead. 17—11 x 22.5 cm., 12/1, Jesus anointed by Mary at Bethany. 18—23.5 x 21.5 cm., 12/12, Jesus enters Jerusalem. 19—19.5 x 21 cm., 13/1, Jesus washes the disciples' feet. 20—16 x 22 cm., 18/1, 12, Jesus betrayed by Judas. 21—15.5 x 20 cm., 19/4, Pilate questions Jesus. 22—19.5 x 13.5 cm., 19/38, Joseph and Nicodemus bury Jesus. 23—24 x 18.5 cm., Christ's descension to hell. 24—14 x 12 cm., 21/6, the miraculous draught of fish. 25—24 x 20 cm., 21/13, the meal of bread and fish.

Manuscript Gondar XXX and XXI are accounts of the council of Nicaea, and were recorded under Emperor Fasil's son, Zadik Yohannes. Manuscript XXII is done more beautifully and is large in volume, not in size; book XXX was executed with less care. The style of the paintings corresponds. The two volumes appear to supplement each other. The books are now kept separate, Manuscript XXI in Gondarodj Giorgis Church in Gondar, Manuscript XXX in the Bitraha Mariam Church in Lake Tana.

The illustrations of Manuscript XXX show the following portraits: 1—15 x 12 cm., Sawiros of Antiochia. 2—22 x 12.5 cm., Abrikeles of Kiskis. 3—23 x 15 cm., Yaicob of Syrug. 4—24 x 14.5 cm., Benjamin of Eskindrea. 5—25 x 15.5 cm., Johannes of Eskindrea. 6—19 x 13 cm., Giriyacos of Antiochia. 7—21 x 14 cm., Theodoseos of Antiochia. 8—17.5 x 10.5 cm., Dionaseus of Antiochia. 9—21.5 x 13 cm., Abba Gabriel of Eskindrea. 10—16.5 x 12 cm., Kosmos of Eskindrea. 11—24 x 14 cm., Basilios of Antiochia. 12—20 x 13 cm., Kosmos of Eskindrea. 13—15.5 x 14 cm., Mekareos of Eskindrea. 14—18 x 12.5 cm., Dionaseus of Antiochia. 15—18 x 13 cm., Minas of Eskindrea. 16—19 x 12 cm., Dionaseus of Antiochia. 17—23 x 14 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 18—21 x 14 cm., Philataos of Eskindrea. 19—22 x 14 cm., Philataos of Eskindrea. 20—17 x 13.5 cm., Atnaseos of Antiochia. 21—20.5 x 14.5 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 22—24.5 x 14 cm., Zacharias of Eskindrea. 23—19 x 15 cm., Senuteus of Eskindrea. 24—16.5 x 13 cm., Dionaseus of Antiochia. 25—20 x 12.5 cm., Achristodolos of Eskindrea. 26—18 x 14 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 27—20 x 14 cm., Habib of Tekrit. 28—13.5 x 13 cm., Awu-Zacharias-Jehija. 29—15 x 13.5 cm., Gorgoreos. 30—19 x 13 cm., Juleos of Rom. 31—21.5 x 15 cm., Nathalis of Rom. 32—14.5 x 11.5 cm., Gorgoreos of Konstantinia. 33—19.5 x 12 cm., Theodoseos of Eleskindria. 34—14.5 x 12 cm., Johannes of Burles. 35—16.5 x 12 cm., Kerelos of Eleskindrea. 36—19.5 x 12.5 cm., Kerelos of Eleskindrea. 37—20.5 x 11.5 cm., Gorgoreos.

The illustrations of Manuscript XXII show the following portraits:—1—22 x 33 cm., Christ and his twelve Apostles, attending the Council of Nicaea. —16 x 10.5 cm., Hereneos of Aedom. 3—12 x 10 cm., Autiphos of Constantinia. 4—14.5 x 10 cm., Gorgoros of Kisarea. 8—14.5 x 11 cm., Gorgoros of

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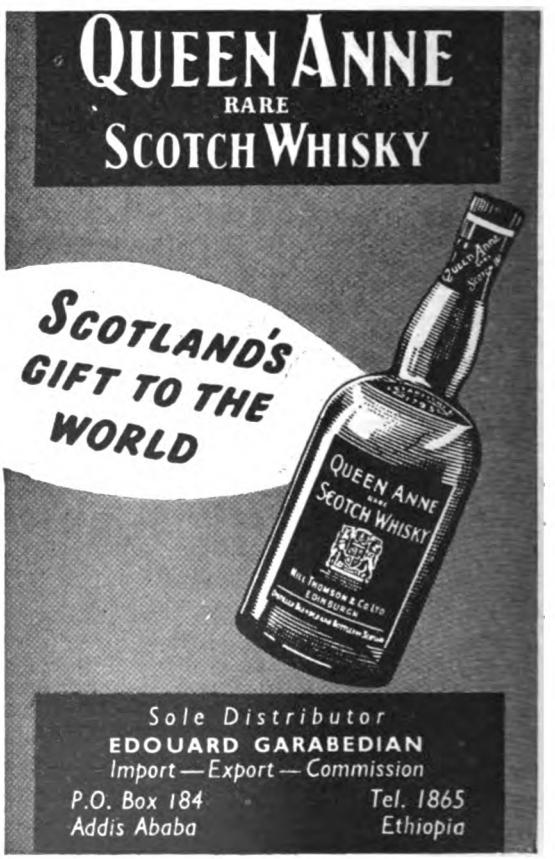
phagos-Athen. 6—10 x 8 cm., Agnateos of Ansokea. 7—14.5 x 10 cm., Gorgoros of Kisarea. 8—14.5 x 11 cm., Gorgoros of Armenia. 9—14.5 x 11 cm., Eleskinderso of Eskindrea. 10—33.5 x 37.5 cm./11—19 x 29.5 cm., the meeting of the bishops. 12—17 x 12 cm., At natheus of Eskindrea. 13—16 x 10 cm., Basilios of Kisarea. 14—16 x 10 cm., Gorgoros of Nusis. 15—16 x 11 cm., Philcus. 16—12.5 x 10 cm., Hawulidis of Rom. 17—15 x 11 cm., Madoligon. 18—14 x 12 cm., Ayokindeus of Rom. 19—12.5 x 10.5 cm., Selebastreos of Rom. 20—14 x 10.5 cm., Nathalis of Rom. 21—14 x 12 cm., Ephrem of Sorea. 22—15 x 9 cm., Herakles of Kiskis. 23—22.5 x 9.5 cm., Sauwireanus of Ela. 24—16 x 12.5 cm., Apheroseos of Armenia 25—15 x 10 cm., Johannes of Jerusalem. 26—15.5 x 10.5 cm., Theodoros of Encora. 27—14 x 9 cm., Epiphanos of Kopros. 28—15,5 x 10.5 cm., Gorgoros of Insenasu. 29—12.5 x 8.5 cm., Johannes Afework of Constantinia. 30—13 x 10 cm., Theopholos of Eskindrea. 31—15.5 x 10 cm., Kerelos of Eskindrea. 32—15.5 x 11.5 cm., Theoposeos of Eskindrea. 33—15.5 x 13 cm., Sawiros of Antiochia. 34—16 x 10 cm., Yacob of Syrug, 35—15 x 12.5 cm., Benjamin of Eskindrea. 36—17 x 10 cm., Johannes of Eskindrea. 37—14.5 x 9 cm., Kiryakos of Antiochia. 38—15 x 11 cm., Theodoseos of Antiochia. 39—16 x 12 cm., Dionasios of Antiochia. 40—17 x 10.5 cm., Gabriel of Eskindrea. 41—15 x 11.5 cm., Kosmos of Eskindrea. 42—14 x 10.5 cm., Basilios of Antiochia. 43—16 x 10.5 cm., Kosmos of Eskindrea. 44—15.5 x 10 cm., Magareos of Eskindrea. 45—15.5 x 10.5 cm., Dionasius of Antiochia. 46—15.5 x 9 cm., Menas of Eskindrea. 47—14.5 x 10.5 cm., Dionasios of Antiochia. 48—13.5 x 11 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 49—14.5 x 10 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 50—16.5 x 10.5 cm., Philataos of Eskindrea. 51—116 x 10 cm., Philataos of Eskindrea. 52—15.5 x 9.5 cm., Atnateos of Antiochia. 53—16.5 x 11 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 54—15 x 12 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 55—16 x 10 cm., Zacharias of Eskindrea. 56—16.5 x 10 cm., Synutius of Eskindrea. 57—15 x 9.5 cm. Synutius of Eskindrea. 58—16 x 9.5 cm., Dionatios of Antiochia. 59— 12.5 x 9 cm., Akrysytodolos of Eskindrea. 60—14.5 x 11 cm., Akrysytodolos of Eskindrea. 61—14.5 x 10 cm., Johannes of Antiochia. 62—16 x 10 cm., Habib of Tagrit. 63—15.5 x 9 cm., Gorgoros. 64—13 x 8 cm., Julius of Rom. 65—16 x 11 cm., Nathalis of Rom. 66—15 x 9 cm., Gorgoros of Sensinaso. 67—15 x 9.5 cm., Johannes of Buriles. 68—15 x 9.5 cm., Jacob of Eleberadei.

Three hundred psalms of David are collected in Manuscript Gondar XXXI, 36 x 23.5 x 9 cm. It is preserved in the Debra Mariam Church in Semien. It is presumed that the paintings in the book were added in the beginning of the 19th century. Its illustrations are only two. Two further pages outlining some planned pictures and sketches on motifs probably painted in another volume. 1—34.5 x 31 cm., St. Tekle Haimanot. 2—23.5 x 25.5 cm., St. Mary with angels. The annunciation (21 x 27 cm.) is outlined but not completed. The sketches in a very small size depict the following contents: St. John, baptism of Christ, St. George, descent from the cross and ascension.

Descriptive in every picture and pleasing to the eye is Manuscript Gondar XXXII, 40 x 36 x 8 cm. It is a copy of the revelation of St. John with 150 folios and 130 individual paintings, most of them fullpage. There is very little text in the manuscript, and almost every passage of St. John's revelation is shown in a full detail. According to the style it presumably was painted in the 19th century. The book, which is beautifully executed gives the impression of its being entirely intended to interpret the scriptures to the illiterate. The book was probably inspired with this concept, not by the spiritual urge to adore the text, but to instruct by making the mere words of the vision of St. John visible to the reader, and make him part in the colourful dream of the Saint. The manuscript now is preserved in the Dereski Mariam Church in Semien. Contents are listed only by the Chapters and Verses of the Revelation of St. John:

1—25 x 18.5 cm., 1/1-7. 2—35.5 x 34 cm., 1/8-12. 3— 36 x 32 cm., 1/13-16. 4—30.5 x 23 cm., 1/17-20. 5—31 x 32 cm. 6—36.5 x 28.5 cm., 2/1-7. 7—35 x 30 cm. 8—35.5 x 31 cm., 2/8-11. 9—19 x 17 cm. 10—38 x 29 cm. 11—36.5 x 31.5 cm., 2/12-17. 12—30.5 x 33 cm. 13—39 x 32 cm., 2/18-29. 14—18 x 18 cm. 15—29.5 x 32 cm., 3/1-6. 16—37 x 31 cm., 3/7-13. 17—36 x 33.5 cm., 3/14-22. 18— 39 x 32 cm. 19—39.5 x 33.5 cm., 4/1-11. 20—27 x 33 cm. 21—30 x 29.5 cm. 22—37 x 31 cm. 23—38.5 x 34 cm., 5/1-14. 24—35 x 31 cm., 6/1-2. 25—37.5 x 31.5 cm., 6/3-4. 26—37.5 x 30.5 cm. 6/5-6. 27—32.5 x 29.5 cm. 28—38 x 31 cm., 6/7-8. 29—38 x 33 cm., 6/9-11. 30—38 x 31.5 cm., 6/12-15. 31—28 x 28.5 cm. 32—36.5 x 32 cm., 6/16-17. 33—30.5 x 22 cm., 6/16-17. 34—39.5 x 33.5 cm., 7/1-3. 35—39.5 x 34.5 cm., 7/4-8. 36—38 x 33 cm., 7/9-10. 37—35.5 x 34 cm., 7/11-12. 38—36.5 x 31 cm., 7/13-14. 39—36.5 x 27.5 cm., 7/15-17. 40—39.5 x 32 cm. 41—32 x 35 cm., 8/1-5. 42— 37.5 x 26.5 cm., 8/6-7. 43—21.5 x 18.5 cm., 8/8-9. 44—34 x 30.5 cm., 8/8-9. 45—35.5 x 32 cm., 8/10-11. 46—30.5 x 28.5 cm., 8/12-13. 47—37 x 32 cm., 9/1-4. 48—39 x 30.5 cm., 9/5-12. 49—39.5 x 23 cm., 9/13-14. 50—39.5 x 34 cm., 9/15-21. 51—33 x 18 cm. 52—37.5 x 24.5 cm., 10/1-11, 11/1-2. 53—33.5 x 33.5 cm., 11/11-14. 56—17 x 25.5 cm., 11/15. 57—39 x 33 cm., 11/16-18. 11/11-14. 56— 17 x 25.5 cm., 11/15. 57—39 x 33cm., 11/16-18. 58—39.5 x 32 cm., 11/19, 12/1. 59—39.5 x 35 cm., 12/2-9. 60—39.5 x 33.5 cm., 12/10-12. 61—36 x 34 cm., 12/13-17. 62—39 x 32.5 cm., 13/1-6. 63—39.5 x 34 cm., 13/7-10. 64—35 x 28.5 cm., 13/11-14. 65—37 x 32 cm., 13/15-18. 66— 39 x 30 cm., 14/1-5. 67—39.5 x 32 cm., 14/1-5. 68—39.5 x 29 cm., 14/1-5. 69—37 x 29 cm., 14/6-7. 70—18 x 28 cm., 14/8. 71—37 x 35 cm., 14/9-11. 72— 40 x 32 cm., 14/12. 73—19.5 x 15 cm., 14/13. 74—37 x 32 cm., 14/14. 75—36 x 16 cm., 14/15. 76—39.5 x 33 cm., 14/16 77—39.5 x 31 cm., 14/17-18. 78—40 x 36 cm., 14/19-20. 79—39.6 x 31 cm., 15/1. 80—19 x 8 cm. 81—40 x 33.5 cm., 15/2-4. 82—32.5 x 27 cm., 15/5-6. 83—25 x 15 cm., 15/7. 84—40 x 28 cm., 15/8. 85—23.5 x 34 cm., 16/1-3. 86—24 x 32 cm.,

(Continued on page 389)



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Christ sees Adam and Eve, MS. XXVIII, 9, from the Four Gospels, probably 19th century, in Debre Mogina Church in Armatcheho

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Illustration from the Revelation of St. John the Divine, MS. XXXII, probably 19th century, from Dereski Mariam Church in Semien

(Continued from page 386)

16/4–7. 87—27 x 35 cm., 16/8-12. 88—30 x 35 cm., 16/13-16. 89—39 x 30 cm., 16/17-21. 90—37 x 33 cm., 17/1-11. 91—40 x 25 cm., 17/12-18. 92—25 x 21 cm., 18/1-8. 93—39.5 x 32 cm., 18/9-19, 18/20. 94—39.5 x 32 cm., 18/21-24. 95— 22.5 x 10 cm., 19/1-3. 96—39.5 x 33.5 cm., 19/4-5. 97—37 x 18.5 cm., 19/6-10. 98—31 x 32 cm., 19/11-16. 99—39.5 x 34.5 cm., 19/17-21. 100—28.5 x 14 cm., 20/1-3. 101—40 x 34 cm., 20/4-9. 102—30.5 x 25 cm., 20/10. 103—7 x 23 cm., 20/11-15. 104, 30.5 x 23 cm., 20/11-15. 105—31.5 x 17.5 cm., 21/1-8. 106—26 x 21 cm., 21/9. 107—32 x 32 cm., 21/11-14. 108—38.5 x 29 cm., 21/11-14. 109—36 x 24 cm., 21/15-27. 110—40 x 30 cm., 22/1-5. 111—31.5 x 17.5 cm., 22/6-8. 112—32 x 32 cm., 22/9-11. 113—38.5 x 29 cm., 22/12-17. 114—36 x 24 cm., 22/18-21.

The book concludes with the Story of St John. 115—22.5 x

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Another illustration from the Miracles of St. John, MS. XXXII

33.5 cm., the apostles draw lots as to where they shall each preach. 116—38 x 34 cm., St. John and his companion Abrocoros, leave the other apostles. 117—35 x 34 cm./118—37.5 x 38 cm., a storm wrecks their ship. Only St John and Abrocoros are able to reach shore. The people of Salaugia take them prisoner but release them. 119—33 x 33 cm., in the heathen country all the children of nobles and the king's son are raised in the guardianship of an intelligent, powerful and faithful woman. St. John and Abrocoros come to her and offer to teach the children. Romana, the woman, refuses their services. But they tell her that they have already served Romana's mother. She accepts them. 120—39 x 30 cm., they are compelled to do menial work in the house. Romana demands that they bow before her. They refuse and are chastised for their disobedience. 121—38 x 30 cm., when St. John enters the laundry he makes the sign of the cross over the furnace. The devil that dwelled there, escapes. Romana brings her new servants to the temple to register them as her slaves. 122—36 x 33 cm., one of the devils living in an idol, on seeing St. John, flees, knocking down the king's son, who falls down dead. Romana despairs. But St. John resurrects the boy. In the meantime a servant has hurried to the king to tell him of his only son's death. The king dies from a stroke. 123—39 x 32.5 cm., the orphaned prince begs St. John to restore his father's life. St. John does so. The king is converted to Christ and is baptised with many of his court. 124—39 x 32.5 cm., John teaches in the temple. All idols shatter. The raging people drag John before the city wall and stone him. His body is left for the vultures to devour. There is still life in him. He prays to God for strength and to forgive the unknowing people. Thunder answers him. Many people hear it and are frightened. They repent, are converted, and baptised. 125—37 x 32 cm., St. John preaches and baptises. 126—28.5 x 33 cm., a devil-possessed boy is cleansed. Many people are converted and baptised. 127—38 x 33 cm., St. John heals a sick man. He is accused of sorcery and imprisoned. The king releases John. 128—38.5 x 32 cm., John leads the king and many people to their heathen temple. He chases the devils from their abode and the temple collapses. 129—37.5 x 32 cm., John's enemies seek to bear false witness against him, but everyone testifies, that though the temple broke, no harm came to anybody. John cannot be convicted. 130—38 x 31 cm., martyrdom of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Mark. 131—17.5 x 35 cm., John thinking his end near, asks his followers to prepare a grave and sends them to Ephesus to preach. They leave him praying in the grave, and depart sadly. 132—32.5 x 29 cm., on their return the grave is invisible. Only the shoes and the clothes of the apostle are found.

Yet another Tamre Mariam, Manuscript Gondar XXXIII, 33 x 28 x 9 cm., can be reported. It is preserved in the Debre Michael Church in Semien and according to its style it may be presumed that it was written in the 18th century. It has 55 illustrations and besides the miracles of Our Lady, it relates the Gospel of St. John.

1—18.5 x 15 cm., St. John. 2—32 x 27 cm., Mary, Jesus and the twelve disciples. 3—23 x 25 cm./4—28 x 25 cm./5—31 x 27 cm., Marriage at Cana. 6—13 x 26 cm., Jesus rides into Jerusalem. 7—23.5 x 22 cm., the Last Supper. 8—28.5 x 26 cm., Jesus washes his disciples' feet. 9—30.5 x 27 cm., Gethsemane. 10—25 x 23 cm., the mocking of Christ. 11—29 x 23 cm., the way to Calvary. 12—31 x 26 cm., Crucifixion. 13—29 x 27 cm., Christ taken from the cross. 14—19 x 22.5 cm., Burial. 15—23.5 x 22.5 cm., Descension to hell. 16—30 x 27 cm., Ascension. 17—28 x 22 cm./18—25.5 x 22 cm., I. 19—19 x 21 cm., II. 20—28 x 24 cm., III. 21—24 x 23 cm., IV. 22—23 x 26 cm., V. 23—21 x 19.5 cm., VI. 24—14 x 20 cm., VII. 25—21.5 x 22 cm., VIII. 26—31 x 26 cm./27—12.5 x 18 cm., IX. 28—24.5 x 23 cm./29—29 x 24 cm., X. 30—28 x 23 cm., XI. 31—29 x 25 cm., XII. 32—28 x 26 cm., XIII. 33—24.5 x 23 cm., XIV. 34—24.5 x 24.5 cm., XV. 35—29 x 21 cm., XVI. 36—22.5 x 22 cm., XVII. 37—26.5 x 22 cm., XVIII. 38—22 x 20 cm., XIX. 39—26 x 20 cm., XX. 40—26.5 x 22 cm./41—27.5 x 25.5 cm., XXI. 42—23 x 22 cm./43—24 x 23 cm., XXII. 44—30 x 25 cm., XXIII. 45—27.5 x 21 cm., XXIV. 46—23 x 18 cm./47—29 x 23 cm., XXV. 48—30 x 24 cm., XXVI. 49—24 x 23 cm.,

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XXVII. 50—25.5 x 24 cm., XXVIII. 51—20 x 24.5 cm./52—24 x 23.5 cm., XXIX 53—29 x 25.5 cm., XXX. 54—24.5 x 25 cm., XXXI. 55—21 x 24 cm., XXXII.

Manuscript Gondar XXXIV, 29 x 27.5 x 7 cm., preserved in the Ganat Tekle Haimanot Church near Debre Tabor was ordered through Abba Gedo and his wife Woleta Paulus in the time of Emperor John. By its style we presume that it was written around 1700. On 144 leaves it describes the life-story of Bishop Tekle Haimanot. The manuscript ends with the portrait of the Saint in Bishop's attire. 1.26 x 23 cm., Bishop Tekle Haimanot.

The manuscript found last was Gondar XXXV, 25 x 21 x 8 cm. It is a version of the Tamre Mariam of the 18th century, ordered by Fiseha Seyon Christos and embraces 217 folios with 67 illustrations. The Miracles of Mary are followed by miracles wrought by saints. The book now is kept in the Kusquam Church in Kadet Amara in Wagara.

1—17.5 x 16 5 cm./2—17 x 17 cm., I. 3—19 x 17.5 cm., Jesus promises Mary to fulfil all her prayers. 4—18 x 17.5 cm., II. 5—15.5 x 17 cm., III. 6—9 x 8 cm./7—17 x 17 cm., IV. 8—18.5 x 16.5 cm./9—17 x 17 cm., V. 10—17.5 x 17 cm., VI. 11—17 x 16.5 cm., VII. 12—2 0x 19 cm./13—17.5 x 16.5 cm., VIII. 14—14 x 17 cm./15—20 x 17 cm., IX. 16—16.5 x 18 cm./17—18.5 x 17 cm., X. 18—19 x 16 cm., birth of Christ. Gabre Christos adores the infant. 19—11 x 9 cm./20—17 x 16.5 cm., XI. 21—19.5 x 17.5 cm./22—21 x 18 cm., XII. 23—17.5 x 17 cm./24—18.5 x 18.5 cm., XIII. 25—18.5 x 18 cm., XIV. 26—17 x 17 cm., XV. 27—17 x 17 cm., XVI. 28—12.5 x 16.5 cm./29—17.5 x 17 cm., XVII. 30—17 x 16.5 cm./31—17.5 x 17 cm., XVIII. 32—17.5 x 17 cm., XIX. 33—16.5 x 16.5 cm./34—18 x 16.5 cm., XX. 35—10.5 x 10 cm./36—17 x 17 cm., XXI. 37—19 x 17 cm., XXII. 38—17 x 17 cm./39—19.5 x 17 cm., XXIII. 40—11.5 x 17 cm./41—18 x 17 cm., XXIV. 42—19.5 x 17.5 cm./43—18.5 x 16.5 cm., XXV. 44—17.5 x 17.5 cm., XXVI. 45—15 x 17 cm., XXVII. 46—18 x 18.5 cm., XXVIII. 47—19 x 17.5 cm./48—18 x 17.5 cm., XXIX. 49—17.5 x 18 cm., XXX. 50—19.5 x 17 cm., XXXI. 51—18 x 17 cm., XXXII. 52—16 x 16.5 cm./53—17 x 16.5 cm., Flight to Egypt. 54—16.5 x 17 cm., the devil tortures the Bishop of the St. George's church. The bishop offers incense and prayers to the saint and is freed from the devil. 55—17.5 x 17 cm., He gathers the people and shows them the devil. They reverently hear the miracle. 56—16.5 x 7.5 cm., a pious woman has donated a rafter for St. George's church. 57—17.5 x 17 cm. 58—7.5 x 7 cm./59—17 x 17 cm., the boy George falls sick. The father prays to the saint, and St. George appears and heals the boy. When the father goes to war, the boy is kidnapped by the enemy. St. George recovers the boy and restores him to his parents. 60—17.5 x 17 cm., a pious man donates many presents in the name of St. Michael. The devil is jealous and makes him fall sick. He prays to St. Michael and is healed. 61—18 x 16.5 cm., a leper woman prays to St. Michael for help. He advises her to visit the church and to anoint herself with the oil of the eternal light. She is healed. 62—17 x 17 cm., a man borrows money from a Jew in St. Michael's name. But when he shall repay his debts he denies it. The Jew asks him to swear an oath in the church in St. Michael's name. The debtor does so and immediately both his arms are paralysed. Then he admits his evil deed and repents. The Jew, seeing the miracle, become Christian. 63—18 x 17 cm., a beggar comes to St. Michael's church. The saint asks him why he does not work. The beggar tells St. Michael that he never had enough money to start a trade and make a living. The saint loans him the money for a year. The man departs to a far-off country and is successful. When St. Michael's day is at hand, he is distressed because he cannot leave his business. Trusting in St. Michael he encloses the money and a note with the saint's name in a tiny shrine and throws it into the river that flows by the church. The sexton of St. Michael's church goes fishing on St. Michael's day. He catches a big fish and when he opens it, he finds the case with St. Michael's name and the money. He hides it in the church treasury. When the merchant passes by, the sexton reproaches him for his not paying his debt. The merchant relates how he sent the money. Happy the sexton arises, brings the box and shows it to him. 64—17.5 x 16.5 cm., a blind woman hears of Bishop Tekle Haimanoth's death. She goes to the church and begs to be allowed to wrap the deceased's cloak about her. Then she meditates and listens to the life-story of the saint. When she is ready to leave, she has found healing. 65—17.5 x 17 cm., a pious but simple monk, does not choose one Patron, but seven, when his death nears, he calls upon everyone of the saints and entrusts his soul to him. When his soul departs, six of the saints arrive to carry the soul to heaven. But they start arguing, which one shall be allowed to deliver the soul. The devil rejoices when he sees the saints fighting and steals in, in the meantime to thieve the poor bewildered soul. But the seventh saint, Gabre Manfas Kiddus, who was a little late, appraises the situation, snatches the soul up and brings it before the Lord. With lightning, thunder and hail he chases the devil away. The other saints realise too late what has happened. 66—17 x 16 cm./67—17 x 17 cm., a woman persecuted by the evil one, comes to the bishop and begs to be included in his prayers in the mass. St. Gabre Manfas Kiddus appears, casts forth the devil, binds him, and gives him into the power of the woman. When the mass is finished everyone beholds the bound devil. St. Gabre Manfas Kiddus looks down from heaven.

The Crucifixion, from Tamre Mariam, MS. XXXIII, 12, 18th century, in Debre Michael Church in Semien.

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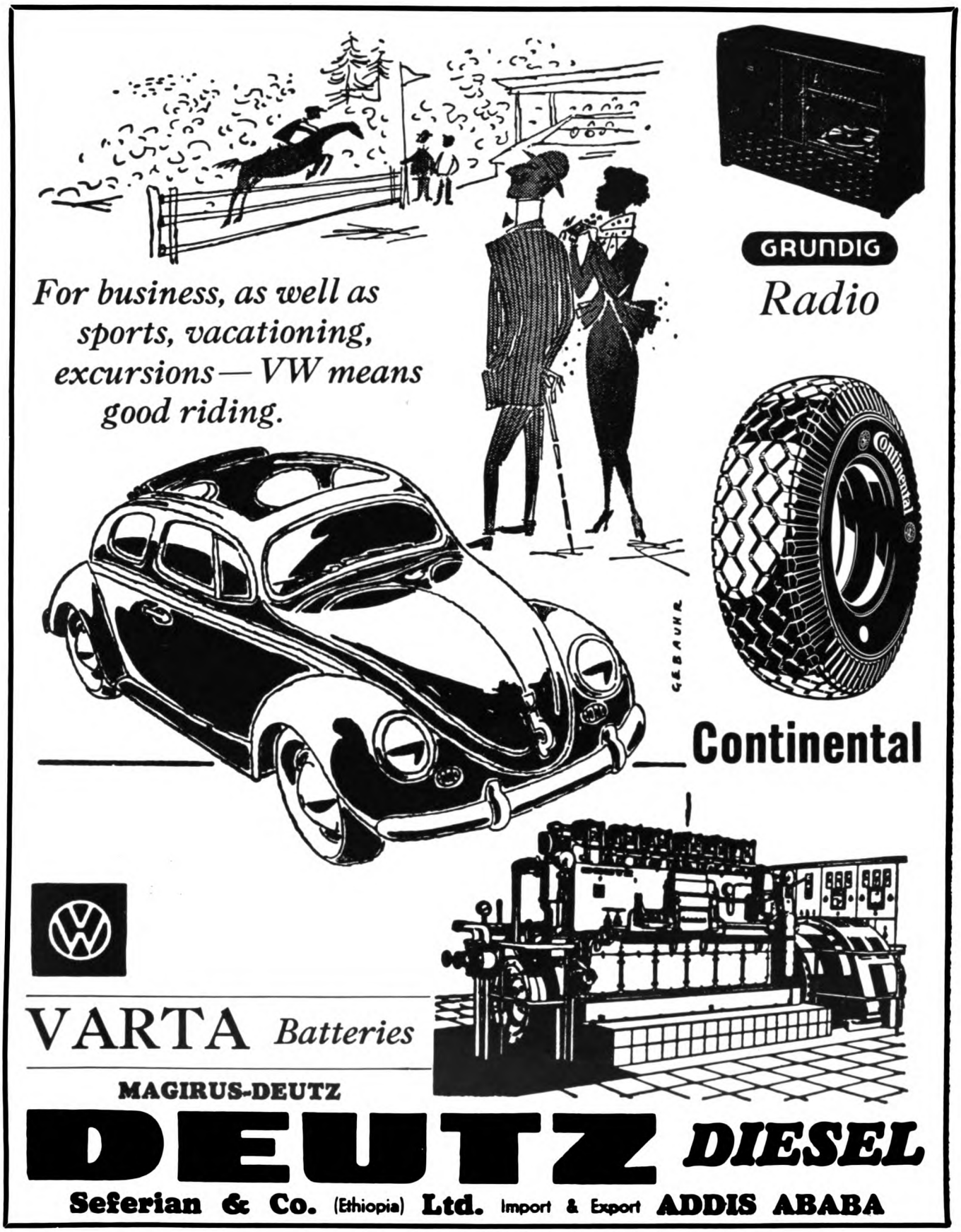

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H.I.M. the Emperor laying the foundation of the new city of Awasa

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ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

JOURNAL OF INDEPENDENT OPINION, ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND THE ARTS

Published in Ethiopia and Britain — Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst

Vol. IV No. 12 — November, 1960

THE EDITOR

As most readers will have heard, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has passed away.

Born in Manchester on 5 May, 1882, she died at her home in Addis Ababa on 27 September, 1960.

She was working at her desk until midnight on the eve of her death . . .

The present issue had gone to press and was edited and mostly written by her.

A commemorative issue of "Ethiopia Observer" will conclude Volume IV of this publication.

LAND DISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

By The Editor

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H.I.M. The Emperor Haile Sellassie inspects progress at Awasa. To his right: Dejazmatch Mangasha Seyoum, Minister of Public Works, and Ras Mesfin Seleshi, Deputy Governor-General of Shoa Province

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To Awasa—A Future City

Farming and Cadastral Survey

In early morning, the Emperor Haile Sellassie, his two sons, and a party of Ministers and heads of Departments, set off for Awasa where extensive works of development are commencing.

In every aspect, its personalities and purpose and its geographical setting, the incident was typically Ethiopian of the present era. Its like could probably be witnessed nowhere else in the world today.

Though attention might be engrossed by the wonderful scenic panorama, by far the most remarkable feature of the expedition was the energetic lead of the Monarch, who was taking his Ministers and those who, in the natural course, might be expected to succeed him to observe the progress of developments in which it would shortly be their duty to take their several parts.

As the many cars sped forth on their journey, Addis Ababa was seen far away to the north, wrapped in the mist and gloom now enveloping the highlands ; its mountains showed sombre purple. The grey, foggy cloud masses brooding over them were discharging their moisture in drenching rain, or perhaps even hail upon the city.

But here at Debra Zeit the limpid sky was suffused with gentle radiance ; the rosy flush of dawn still lingered.

The party headed southward for Awasa in the deeper and warmer lowlands. As the sunlight gained in power the vast firmament momentarily became bluer and more radiant.

A halt was made at village after village, where the Emperor desired to speak with some farmer, some venerable elder. At times a band of children had lined up to give their greeting. At times a group of local officials or elder residents stepped forward to offer welcome. At times gifts were exchanged.

At Adimatula a considerable gathering of people had assembled, the women raising their " li-li-li," a high-pitched, trilling note, resembling the song of birds, their traditional cry of welcome. Youths and maidens were hastening from all directions ; how splendidly they ran, both boys and girls ! One could not forbear some doubts of the 1958 nutrition survey's estimates when one saw this crowd of gay and active youth, apparently in perfect health and best of spirits.

The people were decently clad in a variety of clothing, many women and girls wore the traditional unbleached cotton dresses, with the graceful white muslin couta. They mostly wore also a knitted pull-over or cardigan, some of the girls had pretty flowered muslin skirts, beautifully fresh, as though either newly-made, or so efficiently laundered that they appeared as new. Some were all in white muslin. The men and youths mostly wore white also : riding-breeches, tightly buttoned from knee to ankle, shorts for the younger boys. A large proportion wore also a jacket of cloth or corduroy, or a pull-over—either generally in a harmonious colour which appealed to the taste of the wearer. This style of dress is usual in all this part of Ethiopia, as it is in Addis Ababa, although here at this lower altitude the climate is much warmer than in the capital.

Here the Emperor's party turned aside from the highway and all descended from the cars. A magnificent thick-set line of dark green Euphorbia Abyssinica, Ethiopia's giant cactus extended far across the landscape—sombre and impressive.

A great eagle perched on a flat-topped acacia near at hand, huge and solemn, looking a veritable king among the feathered kind. Smaller birds, even they of great size, wheeled aloft and hovered on widespread wings.

What have we come here to see ? I asked one of the Ministers. He smiled : " His Majesty is interested in so many things ! " This was the land of an old resident, he added, who had been farming here since the time of Emperor Menelik.

The Emperor tramped away at great speed, the rest of the party hastening to keep up with him, over the rugged ground with many holes which might catch the foot, and clumps of straw-coloured grass, knee high.

The pace eluded me ; I received a kind message telling me not to tire myself by walking so far.

I urged, the photographer, Haile Mezenghe, to leave me and join the Emperor's party to photograph all of interest.

Having abandoned the race, I wandered among the dewy, blue and yellow wild-flowers, listening to the sweet chirruping of little birds. Some of the flowers recalled the familiar St. John's Wort, the lesser and the greater some wore the colour of pale lilac lady-smocks.

Far away in the distance, lost to sight behind successive groups of trees, the Emperor and his companions were examining the great grey cattle, among them an enormous prize bull. The Emperor, as the photograph shows him gathered up from a trough some of the cattle-feed and smelt it carefully, prompted by keen interest in all that pertains to cattle-raising, one of Ethiopia's main economic activities.

The calves were being inoculated against cattle disease. The Emperor, in his zest for all this, must lend a hand. On such occasions, the formality of the Palace is discarded ; he is a farmer among farmers, a veterinarian among veterinarians. Always active and swift in movement, he now seems younger, relaxed in spirit and yet alert in mind.

As I strolled among the flowers a train of the great, grey cattle passed ponderously by me, so close that I might have touched their bulky sides.

The journey was now resumed. There were splendid crops growing close to the highway, vividly green, and grass

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yet more green for pasture, the wonderful mountains everywhere bounded the landscape. Magnificent clouds, ever-changing, rode in the sky.

The highway carried us on at last to drier and hence more arid and wilder lands. The appearance of the sparse population was different also. The lovely golden-brown women in snow-white mammas, their muslin skirts embellished by pretty woven borders, the men in riding-breeches, the boys in shorts and jerseys, the girls in flowered muslins, had all been left behind. A darker people now appeared : women with scanty black or brown garments with strings of beads and heavy metal bracelets, slim little boys often entirely nude.

Frequently the Emperor's car halted to enable him to hand to the people lengths of neatly folded, creamy-white cotton cloth—an intimation that the time has come for Ethiopians—all Ethiopians—to dress suitably.

The recipients holding the cotton stood gazing after the Emperor's car, the white cloth almost dazzling in its new whiteness against the dusky skin.

We learnt it is the Emperor Haile Sellassie's habitual custom to carry cloth with him to present to the people when he visits undeveloped areas.

The land again became greener as we neared Lake Awasa, ever changing in beauty with the varying light of the day. Now it was white and shining, now blue, grey, yellow or pale rose and the mountains on its distant further shore were smoky blue; the clouds resting on them, blurring their outline, scarcely differed from them in colour. The foreground, enriched by the beneficent rains of the season, showed vivid green broken by streaks of golden-brown and yellow where grasses and flowers were in bloom. Nearer still the stiff, lighter green leaves of banana and the useful " false banana " musa enset and an immense warka tree with pale-bark and graceful sage-green foliage crossed the level lines of the vast scene. A breeze stirring through the leaves seemed to presage approaching rain, but throughout the long day no rain fell.

On an eminence above the lake, overlooking its splendour, the Emperor has built a little lodge, where he can stay when he comes to inspect the progress of developments in this area.

The road winding up to the lodge is flanked by great boulders in their natural state, unworked by man, jutting out of the rising ground. A fine variety of trees charms the eye : juniper, acacia, eucalyptus, occasionally a palm or cypress.

On the height an informal garden surrounds the house. Dahlias and the rare crimson bloom of zinnias, growing here to unusual size.

Long garden-chairs and a tent, fully open on the long side fronting the path, were conveniently placed.

To the left, a little further removed, is a camping site, very simple, but having everything requisite to enable travellers to remove the dust of the journey and to rest on a comfortable couch.

Lunch was served in the lodge and included delicately flavoured fish from the lake, rendered especially attractive by its rosy-pink colour, resembling that of the best salmon, but rosier.

The guests now dispersed to the lake-side hotel—a species of big bungalow surrounded by individual guest-houses erected in its large compound. These have each a verandah, mounted by steps, a room furnished with two beds and its own bathroom, entered by a small passage opening from the bedroom. The hotel was manifestly growing for a number of these guest sleeping houses were under construction. Our party had filled all the existing ones to overflowing and the journalists who had come with us were obliged to drive away to Shashermanna to find a bed for the night. The need for the Emperor to build his own lodge and with its camping sites for those who would accompany him, was indeed very clear. To have a residence at places where development is taking place under his direction is a necessity for him.

Lake Awasa is becoming a favourite holiday resort. Its popularity will increase as it becomes more widely known. The road there from Addis Ababa, once a trifle difficult, has been rendered very good by the Imperial Highway Authority ; any small car can take it easily, the beautiful lake, wholly free of crocodiles or other dangerous creatures, is perfectly safe, both for boating and bathing.

The essential purpose of the good road there is not, however, to serve the tourists, much as they may enjoy it ; its object is to open this fertile country in the interests of the cultivator and the fisherman and to promote the National development.

After a brief respite, the Emperor led off again for a long, cross-country drive by a road obviously of recent construction ; the newly turned earth on either side of the way was clearly seen.

On the verge of a wide plain, a halt was made. A dozen men in rough country-clothes had assembled ; they had been measuring the land which extended as far as the eye could see. A group of local officials were also present ; the Governor of the area, in black suit and slender city-shoes ; the others less formally garbed. The Emperor and all the party descended. The leader of the surveying team, with note-book and much other tackle in his bulging pockets, addressed the Emperor, telling him in a plain, straight-forward way that he and his companions had completed the measurement of the land allocated for this purpose and now claimed the traditional reward of a certain proportion of land for themselves, termed " Yechok Mariett," literally " land of the thorn," an allusion to the thorns which were apt to cling to the clothes of the surveyors in the course of their work in uncleared country. It seems the custom still continues ; the leader of the team claimed the right for himself and his companions.

In reply to His Majesty's questions, the leader of the surveyors described the methods they had employed in measuring the land and indicated by words and gestures the area surveyed, the great expanse of which and the mountains bounding it could be discerned from the eminence on which we stood.

These measurements were being taken as part of the cadastral survey which is being made to render possible the land distribution the Emperor Haile Sellassie has initiated.

The local Governor and his assistants having confirmed the account given by the surveyor, the Emperor replied they had done the work well and should have their due reward.

Then all the party set off, retracing the same road to the lodge, on past the lake-side hotel and away from the main road till a fleet of Landrovers were met. The Emperor, and all the following, rapidly scrambled into them.

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H.I.M. The Emperor Haile Sellassie examines feed. See article "To Awasa, a Future City"

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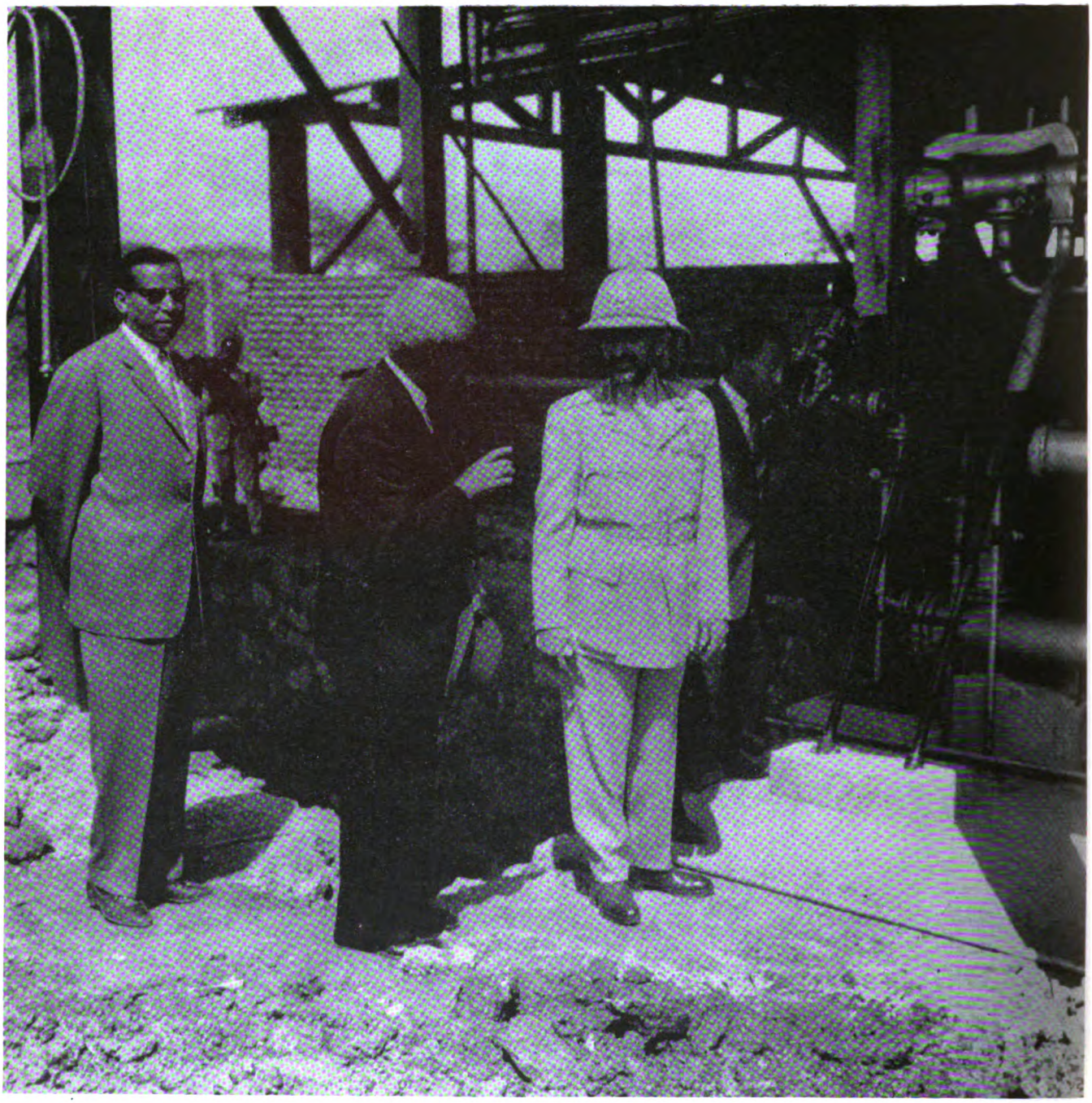

At Awasa: the Emperor is seen speaking with Ras Imru. General Mulugeta Bulli, Minister of Community Development (left), and Dejazmatch Mangasha Seyoum, Minister of Public Works (right)

We went bumping over rough ground to a farm of 70 gashas (a gasha is 400,000 square metres). Two hundred time-expired soldiers with their wives and children (averaging five per family) have been settled on this farm. A number of tractors imported from Jugoslavia, which had been seen by some of us passing through Addis Ababa only a few weeks earlier, were here in operation. Their presence in Ethiopia was due to the Emperor Haile Sellassie's visit to that country and the agreements then made.*

The light was now waning, the working day drawing to a close. The Emperor, eager and active as ever, sprang from the leading Landrover to examine the tractors, stationary and in operation, and to talk with the farmers.

* The Yugoslav Embassy states that there are 20 Zadrugar tractors and one TG 50 crawler at the Awasa farm, 20 Zadrugars at the Boter farm, and five TG 50 crawlers at the Emperor's Pilot Farm. A further 80 tractors are expected to arrive in the near future. Note: R.K.P.P.

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Inspecting one of the Yugoslav tractors at Awasa

We followed him to the village of the soldier settlers. Here were numerous workshops with machine and hand-tools, garages, and stores. A spring had been found on the site and water was being electrically pumped from it for a variety of purposes, including the irrigation of the land and to supply the soldiers and their families for drinking, personal washing and laundry.

Each soldier-settler had built and furnished for himself a small rectangular house, containing a living room and the requisite number of bedrooms for his family. The beds were rendered proof against the insidious mosquito by a fine-mesh. This was an additional precaution to the regular supply to each inmate of the settlement the requisite anti-malarial drug.

This time-expired soldiers' settlement is organised by the Ministry of National Community Development which intends to settle on the land some 9,000 families during the next five years. An ex-soldiers' farm worked on the same lines is being established at Boter ; others will follow. The land will

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At Awasa

be worked and its produce marketed in common. Each worker on the farm will have his share of the profit derived from the produce as well as his standing wage. Eventually others beside ex-soldiers will be admitted to the project. It was found easiest to commence with the time-expired soldiers—a disciplined group, accustomed to working together. Additional land will be provided to extend the work. The land where the surveyors had been interviewed that afternoon will be brought into the scheme.

In 1960, the inaugural year of the ex-soldiers' settlement at Awasa, work on the farm for the men has been the first concern. Next year it is intended to organise suitable instruction and employment for their wives.

A school for the children is already projected. The site has been prepared and the plans drawn for a village to serve the needs of the time-expired soldiers' community and those who may subsequently join it. The immediate building programme includes a boarding school, a hospital for 24 beds with an outpatients' clinic, housing for teachers, hospital and other staff.

The Future City

On leaving the farm the Emperor and all the party drove to the site of the future city of Awasa. From the summit of Mount Taber, an isolated cone rising sheer from the plain, the plan of the city with its roads, already traced, can be discerned.

A saw-mill had been erected by an Italian commercial firm, which will profit by the future extensive building operations projected. Italians are by no means the least to benefit by Ethiopian development, despite the mistakes of the past.

The Ethiopian Tobacco Monopoly has a plantation in the neighbourhood. Negotiations were in progress to establish a fish-canning factory, for which fish will be available from Lake Awasa itself and also from the numerous other lakes in this region; Zwai, Langana, Hora Abyata, Shala, Abaya, Shamo and Stefane, most of which are easily reached by road.

Meat canning is also being negotiated ; the area particularly in the Awasa neighbourhood is rich in cattle for the moisture deriving from the lakes and the rivers adjacent ensures some very good pasture.

Emperor Affixes Commemorative Plaque to Village Foundation Stone

We were all up betimes next morning and proceeded to the place where the Emperor Haile Sellassie was to lay the foundation-stone of the village. On examining the plans, it was pleasant to note that the fine trees growing here and there on the site were to be preserved to grace the village with their beauty and welcome shade.

After a speech of explanations of the work already achieved by the Minister of Works, the Emperor expressed his great interest in the project, his hopes for its success and his thanks

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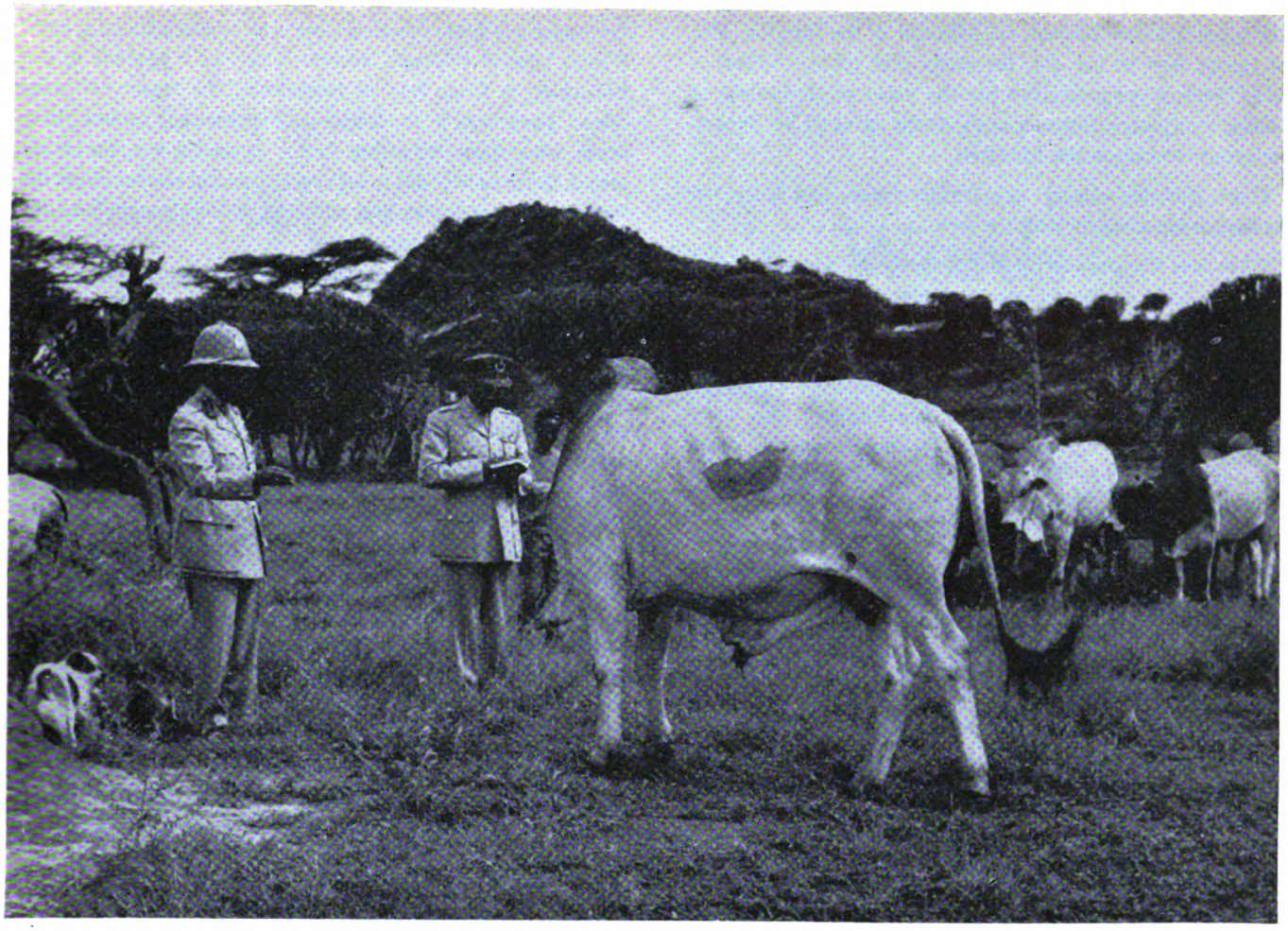

Inspecting pedigree cows

and congratulations to the organisers. Then he affixed a commemorative plaque to the stone prepared for the event.

This done very vigorously, he led the way to the saw-mill where the power-driven machinery was shaving planks from the stout trunks of big trees, grown in the locality, and other operations were in process. The proprietor of the mill meticulously explained every item to the Emperor's politely attentive ear, while his keen eye gauged every detail of the equipment. None of this was new to him ; indeed, as the Ethiopian saying goes, it was, " familiar to him as daily bread." Many and many a saw-mill had he examined before this.

On the return journey to Addis Ababa, the Emperor was very soon out of his car to examine a spring at some distance from the road.

The news of his presence in the area had spread far and wide. The more-or-less official welcomes by schools and local officials which had occurred on the out-going journey were seldom seen on the return, but there were eager crowds at all the villages and many groups of people on the road between stood waiting to give their greeting or to present petitions to the Emperor. Even today in modern Ethiopia, however many official committees and councils may be established, the people believe their needs will be best assured by a petition to Jan Hoy in the traditional way.

Now a lovely woman in flawless white shamma, her splendid black hair tastefully arranged, would step forward to present a document.

A man with excited gestures would suddenly appear close to the window of the Emperor's car, imploring, " Jan Hoy," and eloquently describing his need.

Others, still more excited, from time to time, cast themselves on the ground before the Emperor's car. The experienced driver was always prudently cautious on this account. Soldiers and officials rushed forward to raise these unorthodox petitioners, and would have hustled them aside, but the Emperor's gentle voice, saying in Gallinya, " Kotto, kotto " (come, come) brought them dishevelled to his window to tell their tale. His patient ear, ever-attentive, gave license to all suppliants ; his slender hand was always extended to receive all petitions ; from him there was never impatience or indifference. He passed the petitions immediately to

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Ras Andargatchew Massai, the Minister of the Interior, who sat beside him in the car, for study and report. There a heavy load of responsibility for the pleas of thousands of humble petitioners, together with all the cares of his department must rest upon the Minister.

This is Ethiopia—today, as in former times—and today, the old blends inextricably with the new.

What was the purport of these numerous applications to the one who is always willing to receive and to hear them ? In many cases the claim was for land in accordance with the promise, recently renewed and made known by broadcast, that every Ethiopian shall own land. Some were asking for the tools, equipment and capital. The Emperor also lately promised to help agriculturalists lacking means to make effective use of their land. There was also a variety of troubles for the solution of which assistance was asked : court cases, in respect of land usually, long unsettled, inability to obtain school or hospital accommodation for the offspring of the petitioner, or to alleviate his own suffering.

Such are the chronic ills of all the underdeveloped countries. Their recital met a sympathetic and fully understanding auditor. In how many cases would he and his Minister, with all the goodwill in the world, be able to provide a solution for the troubles of the petitioner which he would consider a real solution, his individual difficulties being a fractional, but integral part of vast and widespread problems still unsolved ? Who could say ?

Yet it is well that at this stage of Ethiopia's evolution, an understanding tenderness of heart and an eager, questing mind, ever seeking the welfare of the people, should thus be brought into immediate contact with the problems of the toilers on the land, the villagers and the afflicted poor. Everywhere in all countries these human problems tend to become dulled in their impact upon the mind of the average official by constant familiarity and by the weariness evoked by their constant repetition, their cumulative magnitude.

The present land distribution scheme and its accompaniment of practical financial and other assistance to farmers is, in part at least, the outcome of the intimate contacts established by those numerous journeys and the poignant desire, thereby maintained in its pristine fervour to better the lot of the average Ethiopian upon whom the country depends for its economic existence.

Having left far behind the arid, uncultivated dry lands, we reached again the fine crops of the agricultural area.

We noticed the many new houses the people were building for themselves in the villages, largely the newer type of rectangular which in the villages is rapidly ousting the round " tukul."

A giant fig-tree occasionally grew alone on some eminence, its wide-extending branches, its pale bark lit by the sun. Its tender green leafage recalled the early spring in England when the young leaf-buds are expanding after winter's freezing cold. Winter here in Ethiopia, paradoxically, as it appears to the European, is from July to September, the season of great rains. Even here in the lowlands, tempestuous showers may bring with them devasting hail. None-the-less the rainy season bestows new life to all vegetation and clothes anew the branches whose leaves had withered in the drought and the burning sun of May and June.

We turned aside from the highway to Lekki Demba on the shore of the great Awash river. Here was a paradise ; grass vividly, almost unbelievably green, contrasted with the dark trunks still wet by recent rain and the drooping branches of luxuriant trees. The river was alive with countless numbers of paddle-boats, their slim, brown-skinned navigators were nude save for a loin-cloth ; athletic and well proportioned they might have been members of a tremendously numerous racing team, while some still crowded the broad stream with their small craft, others had landed and were massed on the bank.

The Emperor Haile Sellassie went down to the river to talk to the boatmen. He returned toward his car carrying a handful of the lovely blue lilies streaked with violet, gathered from the river bank where they were growing.

At that moment appeared a deputation of local priests from a neighbouring church. Against that background of vivid green they were a brilliant spectacle. Their blue and scarlet sunshades sparkled with golden sequins, gold embroidery and gold fringes. Their shining white robes and turbans, their stoles of purple, blue, or crimson, seen in the dappled sun and shade under the spreading trees, were indescribable in their intensity of colour, almost startling, yet pleasing to the eyes. They seemed to belong to another world.

Thereafter by the roadside we had another fleeting glimpse of the priests and their bright sunshades, for they had cut through a by-path among the trees to say a last warm-hearted farewell to their Emperor.

Foreign travellers often describe the priestly umbrellas as mere finery ; in fact, they are a protection from the fierce rays of the sun during the long religious ceremonies. Since the ecclesiastical vestments are brilliant, the sunshades are also sumptious to accord with them—every church has its own colour-scheme. In former times the richly embroidered sunshades were not confined to ecclesiastics ; they were used also by kings and nobles. As in these modern days, the garments have everywhere grown more sober, the awning, or the tent has been substituted as a shade for the notable spectators at the church festivals and if a sunshade is used it will be sober like the clothes.

So we proceeded—always more petitioners, more petitions, till we neared Debra Zeit again and had left behind that old-time Ethiopia which still lingers in the countryside.

No doubt the journey had evoked new ideas and new activities would arise from it.

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The Emperor's Words

Address delivered by His Imperial Majesty at the Inauguration of the Awasa Community Development Training Centre

It gives us great pleasure to-day to lay the cornerstone of the first Community Development Centre, at Awasa, a project in which we have long cherished the keenest interest and entertained the highest hopes.

This project possesses a potential of the highest order and contains within it the seeds for a growth extending far beyond what anyone can envisage. The trainees who will come to this centre will receive instruction in methods and techniques which, if well and properly applied, can have the greatest impact upon future development of our Empire. Community development is, fundamentally, the assisting of people whose economic, social and administrative life is still in a relatively undeveloped state to organise and focus their energies upon the solution of common problems. A man who remains isolated and separated from his neighbours is a prey to the ills and plagues which afflict mankind in its primitive state. The joining together in a unified effort to overcome the perils of nature and the dangers which beset man on all sides is the very basis of society. It is the means by which humanity, since the dawn of history, has assured its survival. As self-help is so basic to the free development of the life of a people, so assistance and aid in the techniques of self-help must inevitably contribute to a more highly developed society and will increase many hundredfold the ability of our people to make the most efficient use of the human and natural material and resources which are already at hand for the amelioration of their problems and the betterment of their way of life.

It is fitting that this centre should be located in this area, for nearby is the site of one of the first agricultural co-operatives which are being developed by our Government. The interaction between this training centre and the co-operative farm will provide the centre with a laboratory where those who are receiving instruction here may observe in action the procedures and techniques in which they are being instructed. Similarly, the co-operative farm cannot fail to benefit from the close physical proximity of this centre which will be ready at all times to render advice and assistance in the manifold problems which are posed for any group of people who embark together on a new way of life.

Man's quest for knowledge which has resulted in securing for humanity the benefits of science and technology has furnished us with means of overcoming difficulties which only a few generations ago appeared insurmountable. It is for us now to search, to know and to apply the knowledge that has been acquired by modern science.

In many parts of the world people who never swerved from the effort to attain this objective through education in modern scientific measures have exploited the wealth of their land by mechanised farming and the building of industries and have not only developed a high standard of living but have also come to the aid of the needy underdeveloped countries of the world.

All this has been possible through the constant desire for development and devotion to the search for knowledge as the key to economic, social and cultural betterment. The Almighty through His benevolence has blessed us with fertile lands which hold great wealth, but because our land has not been developed by modern methods, the raising of the standard of living of our people could not be accelerated according to our wish and desire. As a result the economic condition of the people has lacked the desired co-ordination. A close observer of the problems and needs of our people, we ordered many studies to be conducted and the establishment of several schools and training centres to be founded from time to time.

Even though our wish and desire for attaining the highest objective is considerable, our people, for whose benefit we continually strive, must realise the purpose of the various institutions we are establishing and must co-ordinate their efforts to help in their development.

As we lay here the foundation stone of a Community Development Centre to-day we have great hopes in the students who will be trained here and in other centres. They will become a stimulus to others not only to pay lip-service to the needs of the country but to serve them in practice.

During our visits to Europe, the Far East and America, in the past few years, we have seen how the peoples of the world, through a definite planning and co-operative system, have overcome the problems posed by economic and social development and have attained a high standard of living. We have realised that our own country encounters the same problems of development as these other countries. To reach our avowed

(Continued on next page, column one)

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Land Distribution and Farm Financing

When the Emperor Haile Sellassie returned to Addis Ababa at the time of the Italian defeat in 1941, he stated that every Ethiopian should have land and the distribution commenced, but he discovered in practice that the majority of the people to whom land was given were without capital to obtain the necessary equipment for agriculture and farming. Hence they were unable to make use of the land they had received. Accordingly they left the land unused and endeavoured to subsist by other means.

Therefore when circumstances rendered this possible, the Emperor announced a new scheme of land distribution and development which he broadcast to the Ethiopian people in speeches* delivered in August and September, 1959. He there stated:

1. that Ethiopians who have no land shall be granted land;
2. that Ethiopians who have land (or are now granted land), but who have no capital to work it, will be furnished with capital by loans on easy terms;
3. that expert advice will be given to assist farmers;
4. he urged the establishment of co-operative farms;

The implementation of these schemes has been placed under:

The Ministry of the Interior;

The Planning Department of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Planning;

The Ministry of National Community Development.

There is Government land in every province and the intended distribution is to be made from that source. It has been decided to give to every landless Ethiopian half a gasha (= 20 hectares) of land as a free gift.

Ethiopians who fought as patriots for the liberation of their country during the Italian occupation and in support of the liberation forces are to be given one gasha (= 40 hectares).

In each province of the Empire there is a large quantity of land in the possession of the Government. This is the source from which land will be distributed.

The land distribution has been placed in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior. To assist the Ministry Committees have been appointed for each of the 13 provinces (including Eritrea) with sub-committees for the several districts within the province, termed Awrajas.

Before the land could be efficiently allocated it was obvious that it must be measured. A complete cadastral survey had therefore to be instituted. By the beginning of June, 1960, no less than 83,993 persons had received half a gasha of land and 16,545 persons had received one gasha.

A further 146,564 gashas of land had been measured in readiness for distribution.

The cadastral survey was not proceeding with sufficient rapidity to meet the numerous applications which were being received from all quarters, it was therefore decided to double the number of people at work on the survey.

The distribution of loans to aid farmers to develop their land has been placed under the Planning Department of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The loans are to bear interest of 2½ per cent and to be repayable in five years. It was decided to commence with the small farmers and to deal subsequently with individual farmers and societies cultivating large areas. The small farmers were to be granted initial loans up to a maximum of $1,000 (£700-0-0) each.

The Department commenced operations in March, 1960.† After six months committees had been formed in the 13 provinces and sub-committees for the various Awrajas within each province had been established. Each Provincial committee consisted of:

The Governor-General of the Province;

The Treasurer of the Province;

A representative of the Ethiopian Government.

Each Awraja committee comprised:

The Governor of the Awraja;

The Secretary-General of the Awraja;

The Treasurer of the Awraja;

The Chief Administrator of the State Domains in the Awraja.

(Continued from previous page)

goal we also must remove any detrimental traditions and obstacles in our way. We must fulfil our duties in conformity with the exigencies of modern times and within the framework of international requirements.

In this age of science and technology education is the fundamental basis of development. To attain our high objective, our efforts must therefore be so directed that education will reach all our people. In the firm belief that through education they will be able to improve their standard of living and their future lot, we have unceasingly devoted our efforts to building more and more schools. It is gratifying to see our people bracing themselves for the task before them by constant devotion to the ideal of progress and by taking full advantage of the institutions we have established.

We express our deep gratitude to the United States Government which has generously granted financial aid for the Community Development Centre whose foundation-stone we lay to-day.

* These speeches published in "Ethiopia Observer" No. 2, Vol. IV.

† 15 Megabit, 1952.—30 Nahase, 1952 (Ethiopian calendar.)

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Loans are granted to farmers whose land is sufficient to guarantee the interest and repayment of the loan. If the vaue of the land does not suffice to guarantee repayment the personal guarantee by a person able to make good the deficit will be accepted. Such personal guarantees are very usual in Ethiopia; a well-to-do person will often assist in this way a poorer relation or friend.

The Central Committee appointed for the province acts as an appeal committee to which applicants who may consider the Awraja Committee have not treated them fairly may apply for a re-hearing of their case.

In 1961 the Department will also undertake the supply of expert advice and of agricultural machinery as well as the granting of loans.

The sums allocated to the 13 provinces of Ethiopia (including Eritrea), for lending to small farmers only were as follows:

PROVINCE	Eth.$
Shoa	200,000
Harar	200,000
Eritrea	400,000
Wollo	100,000
Begemdir	100,000
Gojjam	100,000
Kaffa	200.000
Sidamo	150.000
Wallega	100,000
Tigré	100,000
Illubabor	100,000
Arussi	100,000
Gamu/Gofa	100.000
Administrative Expenses	50.000
Total	Eth.$2,000,000

Loans of Eth.$500 by the Ethiopian Development Bank to small farmers, over a period of several years have proved exceedingly helpful to them. The Bank has been satisfied with the rate of repayment and has remained financially sound. The present land development programme is on a considerably larger scale and much is to be expected of it of benefit to agriculture and the agriculturalists.

The aggregate of the loans actually distributed to small farmers only, in what remained of the first six months period after the committees had been formed in each province and Awraja amounts to:

SHOA PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Jibat and Mecha	10,000
Tegulet and Bulga	10.000
Menz and Yefat	10.000
Selale	10.000
Chebo	10.000
Verer and Kereyu	10.000
Managasha	10.000
Jaca	10.000
For Future Distribution	110.000

HARAR PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Harar	25.000
Dire Dawa	25.000
Chercher	25.000
Gurshum	20.000
Webera	20.000
Gara Muleta	20.000
Jigjiga	20.000
Kebere/Daher	20.000
Adal and Issa	20.000

ERITREA PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Hamassen	56,000
Akela Gusaye	90,000
Serae	78,000
Keren	40.000
Sahel	43,000
Agordat	57,000
Massawa	35,200
Assab	9,600

WOLLO PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Dessie	11,600
Wollu	10,400
Ambasel	5.858.90
Worellu	5.858.90
Aussa	5.858.90
Yeju	5.858.90
Werehimeno	5.858.90
Borena	5.858.90
Wadela Dalanta	5.858.90
Lasta	5,858.90
Wag	5,858.90

BEGEMDIR and SEMIEN PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Gondar	10.000
Chelgar	10.000
Libu	10.000
Debra Tabor	10.000
Gaynt	10.000
Woggero	10.000
Semien	10.000
For Future Distributions	30.000

GOJJAM PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Debra Markos	14.000
Bechena	14,000
Wata	14.000
Bahr Dar	14.000
Metekel	14.000
Kola and Dega Damot	14,000
Agor Medir	14,000

KAFFA PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Jimma	80,068.38
Limu	52.140
Kaffa	25.050
Kulo	15.000
Gimra	20.000
Maju	5.018.67

SIDAMO PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Sidamo	31.000
Derassa	31.000
Wollamo	30.000
Jem-Jem	22.000
Borana	21.000
Arero	15,000

WOLLEGA PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Lekemti	16.670
Genbi	16.670
Godru	16.670
Larjo	16.670
Kelm	16.670
Asosa	16.670

TIGRE PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Adowa	16.000
Derta	14.000
Aksum	11.000
Shiré	11,000
Mai Chaw	11.000
Tembien	11.000
Agame	11.000

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The Prison Farm at Robi

Ato Chanialew Teshome, Director-General of Prisons throughout Ethiopia, called for us one morning. We set off in his Landrover for the prison farm at Robi near Debra Sina.

He assured us that the prisoners under his care are "not criminals." That is a term he completely rejects on their behalf. In the main, he says, they are of two types. The first of these are efficient, respectable men who considered themselves "insulted." Accordingly they came to blows with the author of the supposed insult to vindicate their honour and reputation. In the struggle to avenge the insult one or the other was killed or gravely injured. Accordingly the survivor has been tried and sentenced to suffer imprisonment, sometimes for a long term—five or ten years, or even more. The second type of prisoners is the poor unfortunate who stole, or in one way or another committed some kind of fraud when driven by poverty, often to provide sustenance for his children. These, the Director-General declared, are the two main categories of prisoners. There are very few women—only about 300 in the Central Prison, as compared with 3,000 men—the proportion one woman prisoner to ten men is usual also in the United Kingdom.

In all cases Ato Chanialew has a lively sentiment of compassion for his charges and a keen anxiety to re-establish them as soon as possible in normal life.

Ever since he was appointed Director-General, he has desired to remove them from the gloomy and crowded precincts of a city prison and to place them in the wholesome atmosphere and active life of a farm. Ethiopians are essentially agriculturists; their traditions are rooted in the soil. Contact with the large impersonal processes of nature. with the healthy fatigue and sound sleep which follows physical labour in the open are the best of all antidotes to the turgid passions and quarrelsome destructive impulses.

Moreover the essential purpose of the prison farm is to enable its inmates to acquire knowledge and skill in agriculture and its attendant crafts which will enable them to take a useful share and to earn an honourable subsistence in Ethiopia's main industry. Moreover during the term of their sentence the prisoners will earn a proportion of the profit made by the farm and will be able thus to build up a modest capital which will sustain them while seeking employment after their release and may even enable them to purchase the necessary tools to establish themselves as independent craftsmen. Apart from any earnings which may accrue to them, the prisoners, by reason of the skills they will acquire on the farm, will be raised to a position of much greater economic security than most of them formerly occupied.

Ato Chanialew's ideas on the rehabilitation of prisoners, as he is doubtless aware, coincide with the trend of modern criminology, as its principles may be best applied in a predominantly agricultural country such as Ethiopia.

In short, his aim is to transfer to farming the great majority of prisoners, excluding those who have proved irreclaimably dangerous, being apt at any time to attack their fellow prisoners or their guards. We suggested that such persons are probably of disordered mind, and in need of specialised treatment by the alienist or the psychiatrist. Ato Chanialew agreed this might be so. He was, however, at present most concerned with the great mass of prisoners who are not insane or suffering from any sort of obsession and for whom he has good hope of restoration to normal citizenship through work on the farm.

His project of course coincides fully with the Emperor Haile Sellassie's land distribution and his determination to free land to all Ethiopians willing to cultivate it.

Continued from previous page

ARUSSI PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Chelalo	25.000
Tiche	25.000
Kambata	25.000
Arba Gugu	25,000

GAMA GOFA PROVINCE

	Eth.$
Gamu	32,000
Gofa	35.000
Gardula	30,000

It should be emphasised that the Department granting the loans has only been in charge of the work for six months during which provincial and subsidiary committees had first to be formed, moreover the official in charge of the work had in the first place other obligations to fulfil.

The co-operative aspect of the Land Distribution has been placed under the Ministry of National Community Development. This Ministry has commenced by establishing collective farms for time-expired soldiers of the Ethiopian Army.

The present land distribution and development programme which the Emperor Haile Sellassie has initiated, promises to be one of the most important steps yet taken for the welfare of the Ethiopian people and for the prosperity of Ethiopia which is predominantly an agricultural country.

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Hard at work on the Prison Rehabilitation Farm at Robi

Ato Chanialew's proposal to establish a prison farm was not realised without obstacles. When he broached his plan to the Council of Ministers, objections were raised: "We have not sufficient means to place all the children in school; we cannot therefore spend public money on putting law-breakers on a farm!" When, however, the Director laid his plan before the Emperor, it was favourably received as a progressive measure. The upshot was that he received a loan from the Ministry of Finance to establish the farm which will have to be repaid. It is advantageous for his venture that it will be financially self-contained. Instead of paying all proceeds annually to the Ministry and receiving a budget fixed by the Ministry in return, the farm will retain its own revenue from which it must pay all expenses, as well as repaying the loan from the Ministry of Finance. When the loan has been repaid profits will be used toward establishing other prison farms.

Moreover, and this is inherent to the whole venture, 20 per cent. of the proceeds will be regularly placed to the account of the prisoners. From this fund each man will receive an equal share to be held till the time of his release, in order to give him a modicum of security on his return to normal life. If he has dependants, he may claim that a quarter of the amount put aside for him on his release shall be paid to them, but not more, for it is considered essential that on leaving the custody of the prison administration he shall have sufficient means to place him above the temptation to resort to law-breaking to supply his immediate needs.

Already at Jimma prison, coffee growing has been initiated on a small scale. Ato Chanialew hopes to expand the prison land for coffee growing at Jimma with the proceeds of the sales.

Robi is a much larger project; it comprises forty gashas of good arable land on a level plain surrounded by mountains, not far from the little town of Debra Sina. The drive to the farm from Addis Ababa is magnificent, the road ascends almost continually till the Termaber Pass is reached at 10,000 feet. Nearing the Pass the rock-face rises sharply from the highway which winds around the mountain spurs. Rooted in the rock are many aloes with

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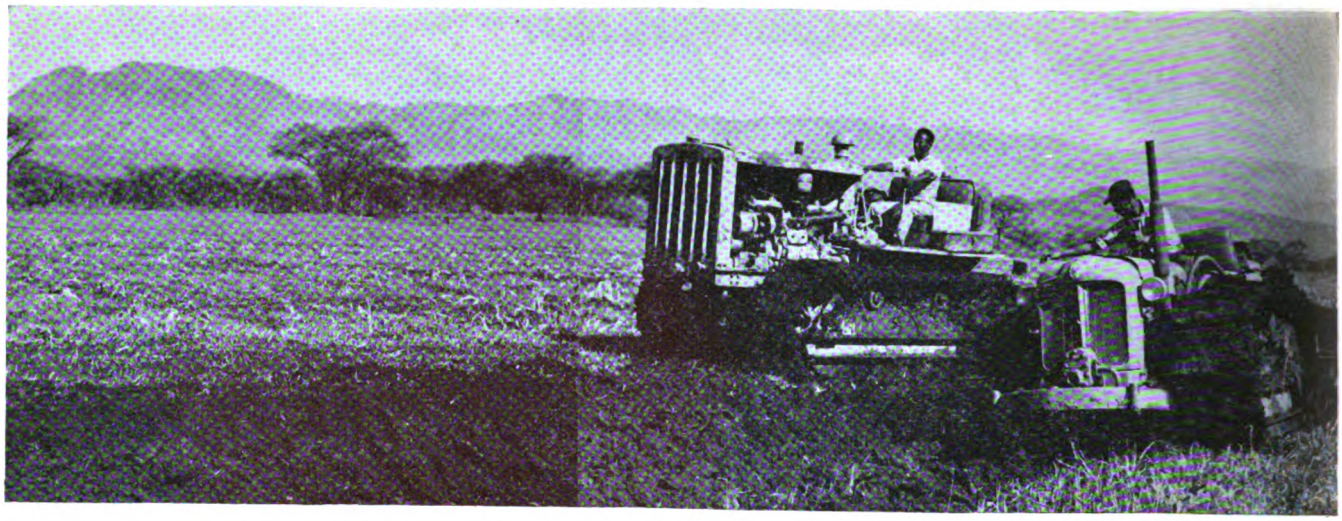

Tractors at work on the Prison Farm at Robi

heads of brilliant scarlet blossoms borne on long slender stems growing from a base of spiky leaves. Few other flowers could be seen in this chill season of gloomy skies. When the rains have ceased delicate alpine blossoms will appear, clinging to the rock and clothing the mountain-side which slopes down to the valley below, as with a lovely embroidered carpet.

At a gap in the mountain-wall above the highway, vividly green uplands were seen. A green hill rose silhouetted against the sky, for a moment blue and radiant with fleecy white, sunlit clouds. Here the people of the neighbourhood were gathering in excitement; a flock of destructive big grey monkeys had arrived. The peasants, apprehensive for their crops, called to Ato Chanialew to scare them away by firing his gun.

At the Termaber Pass, where the fascists affixed a tablet commemorating their fugitive victory, the Mussolini tunnel opens from the road ahead. The road emerges from the dark tunnel to the dramatic prospect of far extending country viewed from the great eastern escarpment. Three thousand feet below is the little town of Debra Sina, to which the road now descends, traversing in its course two lesser tunnels.

At Debra Sina the traveller feels immediately the hot breath of the lowlands and the heat increases till the prison farm at Robi is reached.

The Director explains that the men he has selected for the farm are all serving sentences of not less than two and not more than ten years' imprisonment—in other words only those have been chosen for the pioneering stage of the venture whose sentences are long enough for them to profit effectively by the training on the farm, while men convicted of homicide who are considered dangerous have been avoided.

In order to take advantage of the good growing period produced by the rainy season for sowing and to get as much land as possible cleared, levelled and ploughed before the rains rendered the ground too soft and sodden for the tractors to be used, he had rushed to the farm a preliminary group of 120 prisoners and 120 guards. A nucleus of essential structures to house this number of inmates, with sheds for the agricultural tools and machinery, store-rooms, a hospital building and so forth had been erected. One-tenth of the area (four gashas) had been prepared and sown with crops, upon the sale of which there was reason to rely, and also with smaller experimental ventures.

The present proportion of guards brought in at the commencement would be excessive as a long-term arrangement. Later it was intended to reduce the proportion to one guard for each twenty prisoners.

During the current year it was proposed to increase the number of prisoners on the farm from 250 to 500, if there proves to be sufficient work to occupy that number.

Barracks for the anticipated newcomers are to be constructed of earth and cement blocks compressed in a blocking machine. The earth of the locality is very good raw material for the bricks when mixed with cement.

The crops already sown include tobacco, cotton, coffee, maize, wheat and other cereals, paprika and other peppers and spices used in making the favourite Ethiopian hot sauce called "wat," oil-bearing plants, tomatoes, peas, beans, "rasp," a type of cabbage, and potatoes. All these will be used to feed the inmates and also for sale.

The main crops it is intended to develop are: tobacco, maize, peas, neug (niger) and "sellit" (sesame), both oil-seed bearing plants, for all of which there is a ready market. Twenty-five acres have been sown with tobacco to be supplied to the Ethiopian Tobacco Monopoly which has a curing station a short distance from the farm. One gasha of land has been sown with maize, one gasha with peas; both these are needed for the inmates and both are cash crops which find a ready sale.

We had lunched during the journey and after a brief introduction to the members of his staff Ato Chanialew proposed driving to the summit of the neighbouring hill

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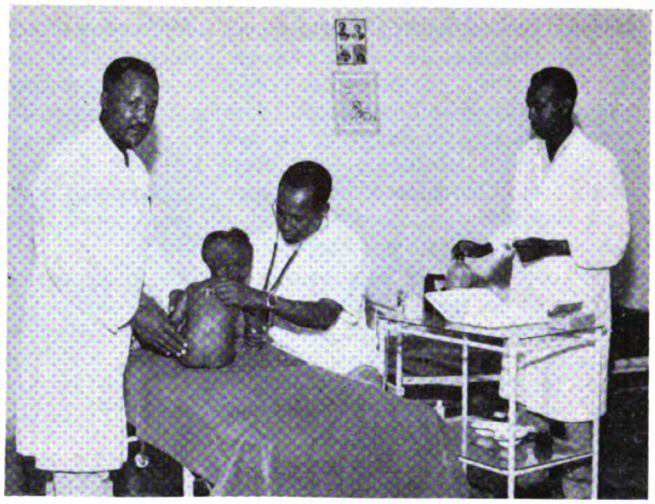
Work in progress on the Prison Farm, Robi



In the Robi Prison Hospital

from which the entire farm could be seen in order that Haile Mezenghe might photograph it from this point.

A considerable detour had to be made to reach the hill as even in this sultry lowland, heavy rain had fallen and the land had become soft and marshy. Even so, the Land-rover at one point was completely bogged down until a group of prisoners rushed from far away and by their united efforts got it moving again.

At the top of the hill was a substantial house. It was unfurnished but it would later be prepared for occupation by the local governor if he visits the farm or by any important visitors who might happen to arrive. It could be made a pleasant residence, standing, as it does, at this cooler height with magnificent views of the country on every side. From its rear verandah could be seen the farm, its buildings and ploughed land, and the faint green of the crops beginning to sprout.

On descending again to the hot plain we were pleased to be driven to the next valley where on a more extensive plain than that of Robi, Ato Chanialew hopes to add an extension of the present farm where many more prisoners may be rehabilitated for a new and better life.

The air freshened gently towards evening. As the sun descended the abundant wildfowl emerged from the shelter of dense bushes and picked their way daintily among the slender saplings by the way.

It was dark and still, the air warm and soothing when we reached the farm. A room in the hospital had been prepared for me and every comfort which thoughtful kindness could suggest was provided. We shared the evening meal of the staff in the barn-like structure reserved for their mess. We slept serenely, breakfasted well and were ready for the work of the day at 7 a.m.

Dr. Atnafe Temtemie, presides over the hospital and

The Prison Farm, Robi

Prisoners practice agriculture as part of the rehabilitation process

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out-patients' clinic. He qualified in the United States of America and is the first medical man who ever practised at Robi. He opens his clinic at eight o'clock every morning to members of the local public as well as to the prisoners' guards and other staff. Among the three last his services are seldom required; the healthy regular life on the farm with adequqate food keeps them all in good health. Ato Chanialew is far too wise to believe that good work, requisite to a successful farm can be obtained from under-nourished men whomsoever they may be.

The people of the neighbourhood come in increasing numbers to the clinic. The population is scanty but people walk considerable distances to consult the doctor. Mothers especially are glad to bring their children to obtain his advice and treatment. In the summer of 1960 the average daily attendance was 50 patients from among the people living round about the area.

As we waited for the clinic to open, we saw a young woman approaching. Her long, full skirted dress of coarse, unbleached cotton swept the ground. Skirts of this length, though common in Addis Ababa till about fifteen years ago, are no longer seen there now. She walked gracefully barefoot, her skirt swaying as she moved. She held her child facing her close to her breast, the small legs clasping her around the waist.

While she went barefoot her precious little one had a tiny pair of scarlet boots laced with white silk cords such as one might have seen any day in Europe. No doubt they were imported and had found their way to the local market.

In the hospital were a dozen patients, the average is 10 to 15 but there are beds for twenty. Several men and women were suffering from malaria. A man was recovering from shock. He had been in a collision which occurred on the mountain road; the car in which he was a passenger had come within an ace of being hurled over the precipice. The fear of falling into the abyss had greatly affected him.

A pretty young woman, about 25 years of age, was recovering from anaemia but though regaining her health she did not wish to leave the hospital. She was happy under the solicitous care she was receiving and smiled radiantly at whoever paused to speak to her even if she could not understand a word of what was being said.

A glance into the prisoners' dormitories showed bedsteads of iron tubing, made in the prison metal-workshop with spring-mattresses. The bedsteads were constructed so that a second bed could be fitted on top in the American fashion, to save expense. The second tier was not yet added, not being required for the present prisoners.

Confinement in cells is not practised on the farm, as its purpose is to give the prisoners a normal agricultural life as a preparation for their rehabilitation.

Breakfast is at 7 a.m. Bread for breakfast for prisoners and staff is baked by the inmates. The mid-day meal is at noon, the evening meal at 6 p.m. At noon the prisoners have "injeras," the traditional Ethiopian pancake-bread, made of Tieff flour, as usual, and "wat," the favourite Ethiopian stew, made with beans, peas, and onions, flavoured with "Bebere," the hot, red sauce used in every Ethiopian household, mixed with plenty of butter, or vegetable oil on fast days, to render it palatable and nourishing. Here oil is used and when the crop is grown it will be oil from the seed produced on the farm. A kind of cabbage boiled and mixed with butter or oil is also served here as in the Ethiopian home.

Once a week meat is provided, either mixed with the wat or served separately.

The evening meal is much like that of midday, as is usual in the Ethiopian home, but to give variety, a stew of green peas and oil is sometimes substituted. We tasted this stew at staff mess and found it very good.

Work normally commences at 8 a.m., but in this extremely hot weather the men are anxious to get to work as early as possible in the cool of the morning. They were at work as soon as they had finished breakfast. Work ends at 5 p.m.

Between the midday meal and 3 p.m., and between 5 p.m. and supper at 6 p.m., the prisoners visit the priest, if they wish, and attend educational classes.

Shower-baths taken in rotation and are fitted in between breakfast and the commencement of work at 8 a.m. between 1 and 3 p.m. or after supper.

Saturday is "wash-day" when the inmates wash their personal clothing and bed-sheets.

The prisoners' dining room was furnished with stout wooden tables and benches. The "masob," a circular basketry table still used in old-fashioned Ethiopian homes and the rugs on which the company traditionally sat around the "masob" though extremely picturesque were not considered suitable in an institution; what might be pleasant and comfortable in a household would involve too much expense and labour here. The attempt to preserve an old custom fast disappearing, when the workshop can more economically produce wooden tables and benches would not be justified.

Colonel Makonnen Worku is the manager of the prison farm under Ato Chanialew Director-General of Prisons throughout Ethiopia.

Lieutenant Eshete Hapte Mariam is the technical manager of the workshops.

A group of men were shaping wooden handles for hatchets, picks, hoes, and other agricultural hand-tools and fitting them to the meal heads made in the metal workshop. Of agricultural machinery the farm is furnished with ploughs, disc-harrows and tractors, a big caterpillar T.D.C. from U.S.A. and a smallish Fordson Major from England. Ato Chanialew admired most the great American T.D.C., but Lieutenant Eshete Hapte Mariam had a liking for the Fordson which can be used in places where the T.D.C. is too big and cumbrous.

Though the ground was really too soft and water-logged for the tractors, they were driven out to show us their performance and to enable Haile Mezenghe to photograph them.

At the farm are a number of guard-towers consisting of a light metal framework and a corrugated-iron roof for the platform where the guard would be stationed, to protect him from sun or rain. None of these towers were in use. Apparently, however, it was anticipated they will be required when the number of prisoners is increased and the area of land under cultivation greatly extended. Ato

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Chanialew was having the corrugated iron roofs changed for thatch, as the corrugated-iron becomes too hot to be a protection, and the thatch keeps the platform much cooler. The prisoners were thatching the guard towers and also some hay-ricks very cleverly. They were using a special kind of grass, called "sambellet." This is always selected for the fine grass-thatch of Ethiopia, which lasts for thirty years or more. The thatch was tied down by ropes made from the bark of a certain tree used for this purpose in Ethiopia. Ato Chanialew intends to make additional guard-towers with a wooden framework and a grass-thatch; the appearance will be improved and the towers will thus be constructed wholly from material available on the farm.

At mid-morning coffee we tasted some papayas grown on the land; the flavour was infinitely superior to that of similar fruit purchased in the shops of the capital. Certainly, as far as the food is concerned people can do very well at Robi prison farm.

We had a talk with the farm manager, Ato Worku Alemma Hapte Mariam, who had received agricultural technical training in Germany, the manager of Robi farm. He told us the seeds for sowing there had been obtained from the agricultural research station at Debra Zeit, which is under the management of American agriculturalists from the Oklahoma College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. Ten varieties of soya bean, 19 of green peas, 10 of castor seeds were being tested to see which would flourish best in the Robi climate. Of wheat, Kenya 1 and Kenya 5 were being tried; both have done extremely well at Debra Zeit. Alfalfa, Sudan grass, clover, cabbage, and other smaller crops will also be grown.

Tobacco Monopoly Curing Station

We drove now to the station of the Ethiopian Tobacco Monopoly situated a short distance from Robi and is under the management of Ato Kassa Wolde Mikael. Here we found tobacco seedlings were being planted in rows drawn absolutely straight with the aid of a string of appropriate thickness, carefully pegged down in professional style.

The tobacco farm comprised only a third of an acre, as it is mainly an experimental station and aims at supplying seed to other growers. Twenty-five acres are under tobacco at the Robi prison farm in order to supply the curing plant here. Some 2,500 to 3,000 kilos of tobacco are also brought to this tobacco monopoly station by local farmers.

Ato Kassa led us to the steaming house, which was really unbearably hot in that extremely sultry climate. Here, the tobacco leaves are exposed to currents of steam for upwards of 90 hours. Thereafter they are moved to underground chambers for three or four days, as may be required, and are then sorted and graded into 12 varieties and packed into 40-kilo bales.

After farewell to the Tobacco Station, its manager and his assistants and members of the staff who had kindly guided us there from Robi it was time to return to Addis Ababa. The very pleasant visit thus terminated, leaving that sense of regret one must always feel.

A group from Robi accompanied us as far as the village of Narrow Plain which is the English equivalent of its Ethiopian name. It was indeed but a ledge on the mountain. Here Ato Chanialew provided a farewell lunch for our companions of this part of the journey before we said goodbye.

There was one more pause in the lowlands outside a wayside hostelry where sugar-cane was on sale. One type resembled bamboo in appearance; the other was thicker and greenish-red in colour.

Ato Chanialew purchased some of the latter to take back to Addis Ababa for the children born in prison.

In the amazingly short time which is possible in the abrupt changes of altitude, and hence of climate, in Ethiopia, we were back in the bleak highlands. The dusky, purple rain-clouds we had left behind us the day before were looming ahead.

We stopped at a frugal mountain dwelling, reached by steps carved from the rock—a house, all breadth and little depth, built on a narrow ledge. All the family were assembled to greet the prison director, their relative. The elderly parents and the younger generation, among them lovely girls in bright cardigans with flowered skirts of pretty muslin and the dogs lazily gnawing their bones.

An excellent cup of Ethiopian black coffee, courteously carried out to the car, was a stimulant which cheered us for the rest of the long journey.

On reaching Addis Ababa we found the drenching rains had ceased, the clouds were disappearing in the calm of a mellifluent golden sky. So it is in Addis Ababa in the rainy season—a climate of sunshine after rain.

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Community Development at Mulu

It was a great day at Mulu when the Emperor Haile Sellassie and a numerous host of notables arrived to view the Community Development Centre which is flourishing there as the fruit of four years hard, unremitting effort.

The long drive from Addis Ababa over the top of the Entoto mountain range was exhilarating. The spirits were raised by the sun and the wind in those wide highland spaces. The neat little farms with their dark clumps of eucalyptus, the occasional flocks and herds appeared miniature in the vast scene.

At the point of the road for turning off toward Mulu was a group of brightly garbed horsemen in scarlet and gold with stoles and head-gear fringed with lion-mane, round hippopotamus-hide shields embossed with silver, curved swords in velvet-covered and silver-decorated scabbards, quite in the ancient style, and their horses were not less brilliantly caparisoned, the mane plaited with white and scarlet, pink or occasionally pale blue striped saddle-cloths with streamers of red and white. Some priests were also present, gorgeously arrayed with scarlet umbrellas embroidered and fringed with gold, to ward off the too great heat of the sun which was momently growing in power as the hours advanced toward noon.

All the many miles to Mulu after leaving the highway, up hill and down dale, over frail bridges or passing through shallow streams, one came across groups of gaily clad horsemen and here and there soberly garbed countrymen, stationed erect, to indicate the winding way, meandering on through fields, as we knew it formerly, but slightly denoted by a few small stones. Here and there, however, at difficult places, we came to a stretch of actual new efficiently constructed road.

All the guiding watchers whose presence indicated the path to follow, had been stationed by the Governor of the local Wereda. He had simply been told the Emperor and other visitors would arrive that morning and had made preparations accordingly. He had indeed produced a fine show—a glimpse of the old days. The Ethiopians are always adept at pageantry; this trait is doubtless a part of the genius that enabled them to hold their mountain strongholds against all-comers for two thousand years and more.

At Mulu farm all was in readiness for inspection. Brigadier and Mrs. Sandford, the initiators and administrators of the Centre, were there of course as host and hostess of a project wholly their own in its inception at the farm where they have been working as friends and farmers for upwards of thirty-five years—the Italian interregnum excepted.

The United States Point Four, who jointly with "World Neighbours," a wholly voluntary American Association, are paying the salary of ten school-teachers at the Centre, were much in evidence, setting up and explaining the plans of a new Mulu town which is projected in a tent erected for the ceremony.

When the frailer spectators had squeezed into the rows of chairs in the tent and the others had grouped themselves outside, the Emperor arrived.

Brigadier Sandford then told us all about the project and its development. He explained how the Emperor had visited Mulu four years before and had encouraged these two old friends to prepare a scheme for the development of the area. His was the first encouragement—an encouragement which opened the way not only in the immediate Mulu neighbourhood, but in the whole Salulta Wereda—an area of 40 by 30 kilometres. The Emperor's ready aid and encouragement had in fact rendered possible the whole project as the same generous help had made possible the commencement of Mulu Farm forty or so years before. Time flies but the activity of the two ardent farmers appears as unfailing as it was in those early days. Mrs. Sandford's activity especially is in fact truly formidable.

When the Emperor had given the work its send-off, "World Neighbours," an American charitable organisation, had advanced with good financial aid. The organisation had proved indeed a truly good neighbour in its generous help to Mulu.

As the project grew and proved its usefulness, the Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute was enlisted to make an air survey of the locality; the Ministries of Agriculture and Education and the Gondar Public Health College provided their graduates to give agricultural instruction to provide elementary education and handicraft tracts for the Mulu school and others arising in the neighbourhood, to furnish nurses for the clinic and the neighbourhood, and the sanitarians for Mulu community and the surrounding villages.

The finest thing in the whole enterprise was the immediate response of the people of the area to the first tentative beginnings at Mulu before the government agencies came into operation, the immediate response of the people, their voluntary co-operation in self-help and community effort—by raising funds among themselves and by giving their voluntary, unpaid labour in social service.

Herein lies the great hope for Ethiopian development. If the Government will give a lead to the people and encourage them to co-operate much can be accomplished, much will be learnt. This is how the Ethiopian people will achieve their national salvation.

After the speeches Brigadier and Mrs. Sandford indefatigably piloted His Imperial Majesty and the rest of the concourse round the settlement.

We had visited Mulu at the commencement of the venture and now were pleased to note that the school had been doubled in size and improved in equipment. Many new buildings had been added. In the carpenter's shop, a new development, a student was busy at work on the large plane. There were specimens of handicraft on view; some ambitious, if still crude, straw hats, such as are worn in the neighbourhood, garments for little boys and girls.

Out in the open was an exhibition of spinning with a simple machine, of hand-loom weaving and of carpet making.

(Continued on following page, column one)

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Notes from a Speech by Brigadier Sandford at the Field Day at Mulu, June 1, 1960

Your Imperial Majesty visited Mulu Farm four years ago and encouraged my wife and myself to put forward a scheme for the development of a rural area.

Plans were made which were approved by the Imperial Government, and funds to implement them were offered by World Neighbours, an American philanthropic corporation interested in such development in other parts of the world. And so, in January, 1957, the Mulu Community Development Centre came into being.

The general idea of the promoters of the project is that they are providing facilities to the various Ministries of the Ethiopian Government to enable them to carry out their own policies and programmes of community development. Ir other words that the Mulu Community Development project shall be a pioneer community development project, fitting into the framework of the overall programme of development envisaged by the Ethiopian Government.

(Continued from previous page)

Animal husbandry was a strong point; inoculation against Rinderpest was in progress, and sheep-shearing with tools of various types; the correct method of drying hides stretched on a frame was demonstrated. At the dairy, where cream is purchased from the local farmers, a mechanical cream separator was in operation, and also butter and cheese-making.

The clinic is another busy centre for minor ailments. Some patients whose maladies are too serious for treatment at the clinic are sent all the way from Mulu to the Princess Tsahai Hospital in Addis Ababa where 25 per cent. ot free beds are available.

The vegetable gardens were visited at the end of the long hot tramp in the sun, from exhibit to exhibit, at each of which instructive literature published by one or other Ministry was available for all to take.

Lunch was now served. At Mulu farmhouse the garden was glorious with blossoms. The old house, with its thatched roof and massive "chicka" walls, erected more than thirty-five years ago, still homely and substantial as ever, an entrancing variety of flowering shrubs, African and European; their delicate beauty could have delighted the eyes for hour upon hour—always the exquisite green recesses of the bowery plantation had some exquisite new loveliness to reveal. What a toil it was clambering up the rough, steep track to road level! How the young, who could bound up lightly, out-distanced the corpulent and the old who came at last to the summit on the verge of collapse.

And now the return to Addis Ababa after a brief detour to view a large cattle-shed, barns and garage.

The brilliant horsemen were still on guard to indicate the way—their faithful patience admirable indeed.

This requires, of course, close collaboration and confidence from both sides.

The area allotted for the operation of the Mulu Centre was the Saluta Wereda, an administrative unit, about 40 x 30 kilometres in extent. A general survey of this area was quickly made with a view to ascertaining the extent of the problems involved and the centres of population. Great help was given in this work by the Geography and Mapping Institute who, by aerial photographs, provided the Centre with an accurate and indispensable map of the area. It was found that with Mulu Farm as the operational centre and with sub-centres at Salulta, Ghancho, Sagno Gabaya and Beddi, at each of which places there are weekly markets where several thousands of people congregate, contact could most easily be made with the whole population of the Wereda. It is thought, too, that a fifth sub-centre should be envisaged at Itenni in the Mugur valley.

The next thing to consider was communications. The main roads from Addis Ababa to Fiché and Ambo run along the Eastern and Southern boundaries of the Wereda, and it was at once obvious that there must be a motorable road connecting the Centres and sub-centres with each other and with these main roads. The matter was put to meetings of the atbiya dagnas and farmers by the Governor of the Wereda, and as a result, a motorable track has been cleared by voluntary communal labour from Gafarsa on the Ambo road through Beddie, Sagno Gabaya, Falle and the Mulu Community Centre to Ghancho on the Fiché road. Moreover, the inhabitants of the Wereda volunteered nearly three years ago to subscribe the funds necessary for the construction of a bridge over the Sibile River; and a bridge is under construction over the Bole River by the local balabat, with some financial assistance from World Neighbours' funds. The road requires improvement and more bridges, but the Community Ambulance and other cars and lorries already use it regularly; and with technical advice and assistance from the Highway Authority it can be made into an all-weather road except perhaps for two months in the year.

The educational programme is going ahead satisfactorily with the full co-operation of the Ministry of Education, which has for the present put all schools in the Wereda under the supervision of the Joint Administrators of the Community Centre. (Brigadier and Mrs. Sandford). Two Government schools were already in existence at Salulta and Ghancho. The school at the Mulu Centre has been built with World Neighbours' funds and was opened in January, 1958. A school was opened at Sagno Gabaya in hired premises in January, 1960; and another has just been opened at Beddi, also in hired premises. The inhabitants of the Sagno Gabaya area have engaged themselves to put

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up school buildings similar to those at the Community Centre with their own resources and money; and it is expected that the people in the Beddi area will do the same. To enable the building of these schools to be within the reach of local resources they are all being constructed by local labour, using local materials, except for the windows and doors—and it is hoped that when the school carpenters' shops are operating satisfactorily the windows and doors will also be made locally. These schools are at present staffed by 20 teachers (of whom 5 are women) and 5 priests. Ten teachers and three priests are paid jointly by World Neighbours and Point Four; the rest by the Ministry of Education. The Government has supplied adequate books and stationery; and U.N.I.C.E.F. has provided powdered milk, vitamins, soap and necessary utensils. Each school will in due course have its own school garden and poultry club.

The Ministry of Education has laid it down that the Mulu Centre school shall take pupils up to 6th grade, and the other schools up to 4th grade. These standards have, of course, not yet been reached. Special stress will be laid on handicraft teaching.

At each school there is already an average attendance of from 100 to 180 children, i.e., a total in the Wereda of roughly 600. At the Mulu Centre school electric light has been installed by World Neighbours, and night classes with an average attendance of about 60 are held there.

The Health Programme envisages at Mulu Centre a maternity and child-welfare centre (already built with World Neighbours' funds) and a general clinic (already functioning with Mulu Farm funds), and a small First Aid clinic at each sub-centre which will be constructed from local resources. Emphasis will be placed on preventive medicine, but to meet the urgent needs of the population in an area where no medical services have previously been available and to gain the confidence of the people, curative medicine must be the first aim. The maternity and child-welfare centre at Mulu has been most adequately equipped by U.N.I.C.E.F. and medicines have been forthcoming for it and for the general clinic from the Ministry of Public Health. Work was started by an experienced Scotch nurse engaged by World Neighbours, with the help of a trained dresser employed by Mulu Farm and with the use of a Landrover Ambulance, provided by World Neighbours, and proceeded very satisfactorily for six months, when the nurse left. Schools and sub-centres were regularly visited and many inoculations given for typhus and smallpox. It has been understood that it is the policy of the Ministry of Public Health to establish a Health Team at the Mulu Centre, consisting of a Health Officer, two Nurses and a Sanitarian, but this policy is not yet stabilised. Meanwhile, to avoid delay and waste of money and to ensure continuity and stability, World Neighbours is seeking to engage two ex-patriate nurses who will not only carry on the routine of first-aid clinics and inspection of schools, but will also be capable of training dressers and assistant midwives from among the local people, and of giving instruction in general hygiene to the rural population.

The Agriculture and Animal Husbandry programme is under way but needs expansion, and for this more trained staff are required. (At present only two extension agents have been provided by the Ministry of Agriculture). Sixty merino rams have been issued to suitable farmers, and demonstrations have been given of sheep-shearing. The agents are called upon frequently to drench cattle, perform castrations, etc., and they have given assistance with the school gardens and poultry clubs. The Imperial Veterinary Service by means of their Veterinary assistants Training Project have done excellent work in controlling Rinderpest. A milk collecting station is being started to fit in with the Ethiopian Government's plan for ensuring a pure milk supply for Addis Ababa—and this project will be run on co-operative lines.

Advice and assistance has been received from many sources and many persons interested in community development have visited the Centre.

None of the work carried out at this Centre could have been achieved without the very generous help of World Neighbours, who up to the end of the last financial year (August 31, 1959) expended nearly Eth. $80,000 on buildings, the purchase of an Ambulance, an electric lighting installation, an audio/visual equipment with generator, salaries and administrative expenses. During the current year they have provided funds for the purchase of a Ford 'bus and for the building of a club-house for the staff and a new wing to the school.

Your Imperial Majesty. We trust the pioneer work that is being initiated at this Centre will gain your approval and that it will be of use to Ethiopia. We hope the experience gained will make easier the rapid extension so-much-to-be-desired of community development in this country.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE ETHIOPIANS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

By EDWARD ULLENDORFF

(Oxford University Press, 30/-)

Dr. Ullendorff has here attempted in brief compass "to present" as he declares, "a balanced picture in which to repair what he regards as the absence of a suitable work of introduction which might, between two covers, summarise the extent of our present knowledge of historical and modern Ethiopia."

Actually the book is redolent of the library rather than the living scene. Dr. Ullendorff has in fact catalogued more than one collection of Ethiopic literature.

He states in his preface that he spent five years in the country itself. In fact those five years were spent in Eritrea under British military administration at a time when the future of that area which the Italians had long occupied, was heatedly in debate. His residence in Ethiopia was only three months, in which he also re-visited Eritrea. This brief visit was due, as he frankly acknowledges to the "generosity of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland."

No doubt it is owing to his five years in Eritrea that he devotes a disproportionately large number of the illustrations in his book to Eritrean scenes. Among these two are devoted to the publication of the British Military Administration, "The Eritrean Weekly News," which sought to promote the policy of Brigadier Longrigg, who was for two years British Military Administrator of Eritrea. This policy, which Longrigg bequeathed, with more or less success, to his subordinates and successors received some wavering, and eventually dwindling support from the British Foreign Office. It would have involved the removal of the Tigré (sometimes called Tigrai), province of Ethiopia from the rest of Ethiopia and its union with Eritrea under a prolonged period of British Trusteeship. It would have involved the severance from Ethiopia of Aksum, the birth-place of Ethiopia's Christian faith and the centre where the present archaeological researches into Ethiopia's ancient past are to-day being conducted. It would have prevented Ethiopia's access to the sea.

Having given much space to Eritrean scenes, Dr. Ullendorff was unable to include in his book even one single ancient Ethiopian building or even one example of mural decoration, wood-carving or sculpture. He shows a photograph of only a single Ethiopian manuscript and this one is on so small a scale that its quality cannot be discerned.

An opportunity to display Ethiopian art has thus been missed; readers must look elsewhere to obtain a least notion of it in any of its many aspects.

Our author provides a brief sketch of Ethiopian history which could be criticised in many respects, notably in the account of the first Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia, in which he follows the errors of other writers, who, like himself, evidently did not read the letters of the young Ethiopian Emperor, Lebna Dengel to the Portuguese Kings. These reveal very clearly the fact that the Emperor of Ethiopia was extremely desirous of an alliance with the Portuguese against the threatened Turkish aggression, the Portuguese being then at war with the Turkish Power. Following other writers who also did not read the Emperor's letters, Dr. Ullendorff alleges that the Emperor did not desire a Portuguese alliance at that time, despite the many concessions he offered in those letters to obtain it.

This error, repeated again by our author, is the more remarkable as the letters have been published by the Hakluyt Society in the English translation by Lord Stanley of Alderley of the narrative of Alvarez, the Chaplain of the Portuguese Mission—a document which Dr. Ullendorff cites as one of his authorities and includes in his bibliography.

Our author's account of the life and death of the Emperor Theodore and his conflict with the British Government omits to observe the essential fact of the shift in British policy which occurred with the change of the Foreign Secretaryship from Lord Clarendon to Lord John Russell, the brief period of Lord Malmesbury, under whom the change had already begun, intervening. This shift of policy affected not only the Christian populations on the Red Sea coast but also the Ethiopian Christian Church. It involved withdrawal of protection of the people on the coast of the Red Sea against Turkish aggression and that of Egypt as Turkey's vassal and their forcible conversion from Christianity to Islam as a means towards the success of imperialist expansion. The policy of protecting Ethiopian territorial integrity and the coastal population gave way to the policy of promoting commerce with Egypt and military alliance with Turkey. Failure to comprehend the shift precludes understanding of Theodore's conflict with the British Government. So far as Theodore was concerned, as Dr. Charles Beke has explained, this came tragically to a head when the head of the Ethiopian Monastery in Jerusalem, was expelled from his church, was chained and imprisoned. Having managed to escape with other than British official assistance, he arrived in Ethiopia to tell his distressed sovereign what had befallen him and the Ethiopian Church in Jerusalem.

All this can be read in the diplomatic correspondence of the period. Dr. Charles Beke in his "British Captives in Abyssinia" has also given an account of these events.

We have not space to analyse all the statements which occur in this Dr. Ullendorff's version of Ethiopian history. There are several very manifest errors in the account of the post-Menelik period. Incidentally it should be noted that the Emperor Haile Sellassie was not educated in a French Missionary school, as alleged.

Dr. Ullendorff is on surer ground in his comparisons of the architecture and ritual of the Ethiopian Christian Orthodox Church with the Temple and the ritual of the Jews, owing to his familiarity with the latter. We understand he came from Palestine to Eritrea. As he rightly observes, and is of course, very well known, much of Jewish religious law and ritual was incorporated in the early Christian Church. He cites, in developing this argument, the passages from Chapter V of the Gospel of St. Matthew, wherein Christ's Sermon on the Mount is quoted:

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"17. Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil."

"18. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one title shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

Without desiring to enter into religious controversy, however, one may venture to suggest that the whole purport of the Sermon on the Mount is not contained in the passages Dr. Ullendorff has cited, but that greater significance must be attached to the new Commandments in which a more advanced ethical standard was demanded.

In any case no one who has studied the matter would attempt to deny that much of the Jewish ritual was taken over by the early Christians and that these practices as they were received in the fourth century of the Christian era, have been preserved in the ancient Christian Church of Ethiopia.

That the three divisions of the Ethiopian formed Church correspond to the three divisions of the Hebrew Temple, that the "tabot" of the Ethiopian Church corresponds to the Jewish "Ark of the Covenant" are not in doubt.

All this is, of course, well known and has been previously described by other writers, but, as Dr. Ullendorff declares in his preface, his purpose has been to compile already accepted material, not to introduce anything new. He writes:

"I have been careful to deal almost exclusively with assured results rather than with some recent and hitherto unproven hypotheses."

That decision may be respected, though, as already observed, it has not altogether preserved our author from the errors committed by former writers. Moreover every author should surely endeavour to keep abreast with current archaeological researches which throw light on the subject he has chosen. In this case the systematic archaeological excavations which have been proceeding in Northern Ethiopia in the current decade are totally ignored by Dr. Ullendorff. These researches, initiated by the Emperor Haile Sellassie are being carried out by a group of competent French archaeologists with Ethiopian aids. Extremely important results have been obtained.

Had our author visited the Archaeological Museum in Addis Ababa, or taken the now quite easy journey to Aksum, he could scarcely have written:

"The inscriptions of Yeha, the Akkela Guzay and finally the great trilinguals of King Ezana, written in South Arabian, Ethiopic and Greek are the only literary remnants of Ethiopia's pre-Christian past."

A wealth of other inscriptions have been recently unearthed and studied by archaeologists during the past decade, together with statues, figurines, human and animal, representations in stone, bronze, alabaster and terracotta, fragments of buildings, jewellery, pottery, etc., etc.*

The most important of the recently discovered inscriptions are inscribed on several objects discovered by humble Ethiopian peasants in the course of their agriculture in a cache at Azbi Dera in Northern Ethiopia. These were subsequently submitted to expert archaeological investigation. The objects bearing inscriptions include the base of a small seated figure, an altar or pyre and a knife made of jet. The inscriptions are believed to date from the fourth or fifth century B.C. They thus antedate the much longer inscriptions of Ezana by several centuries. The archaeologists who have studied the script employed in these early inscriptions of Azbi Dera declare it has already diverged from the South Arabian languages and is in fact Ge'ez (Ethiopic).

This reviewer published a photograph of the statue and an account of it and the objects found in the same cache in "Ethiopia: A Cultural History," so long ago as 1955. Dr. Ullendorff has evidently examined that book as he quotes it in some of his footnotes: It is curious, therefore, that when in Ethiopia in 1959 he did not examine the statue and the inscription found with it.

The author of "A Cultural History" was fully aware in 1955 that some sceptics had cast doubt on the authenticity of the Azbi Dera discoveries and had even suggested the statue had been imported from Arabia. Further study of the inscriptions and many new discoveries have now confounded the hostile critics. Dr. Ullendorff missed a great opportunity of embellishing and lending value to his volume by ignoring, as he has done, all the recent discoveries, among others the remarkable statues and the votive throne discovered at Haoulti.

As readers of "Ethiopia Observer" No. 3, Vol. IV are aware, the archaeologists A. Caqhot and A. J. Drewes have written concerning the inscriptions on the altar found with the statue of Azbi Dera:

"The text is important for the ancient history of Ethiopia. It reveals the existence of an independent Ethiopian realm, ante-dating the known documents of Aksum. The language is of a South Arabian dialect, like the Sabaean and the Minnalan, but it does not exist in Arabia. It can therefore be considered actually Ethiopian. The name of the prince who has dedicated the altar is partly destroyed. His genealogy, as given in the inscription, probably connects him with the Ge'ez people, of whom this is the first ancient mention. He was Mukareb (King) of Daamet and Saba. The last named is probably not the Saba celebrated in Arabia; it should be located in Ethiopia."

C. Conti Rossini, whom Dr. Ullendorff cites repeatedly, as one of his authorities, mentioned in his "Storia d'Etiopia" the ruins of an ancient city named Saba, in Ethiopia. The French archeaologists have made some interesting discoveries on the site of that old city which may be seen in the Museum.

It is disappointing to find that while reference is several times made to the "Kebra Nagast," the accepted and official Ethiopian Church version of the story of the Queen of the South, King Solomon and their son, Menelik I. Dr. Ullendorff writes, "the son visited his father and abducted the Ark of the Government." The Kebra Negast however, describes at considerable length, the abduction of the Ark by the son of the high priest of Jerusalem and his companions, who, being ordered to go with Menelik to serve him in Ethiopia, were unwilling to leave the Ark behind. Menelik, according to the Kebra Nagast, was not told that the Ark was present in his train until the party was well on its way to Ethiopia when he was informed that the removal of the Ark from Jerusalem was by the will of God and could not have been affected without His sanction. To those who will repudiate all this as fiction, one must reply that what is at issue in this criticism is not whether one believes the story in the "Kebra Nagast," but

* See **Ethiopia Observer**, Vol. IV, No. 3.

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what that story actually contains. Dr. Ullendorff has followed other authors in his assertion, not the "Kebra Nagast."

Space however precludes a running commentary on the small volume. It contains a good deal of useful information gleaned from many sources as well as many errors.

THE ETHIOPIAN CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

In his chapter on the Christian Orthodox Church of Ethiopia, Dr. Ullendorff confuses the official doctrine and practices of the church itself with the superstitions of unsophisticated villagers, some of whom arrived comparatively late in their present habitat from areas in the south and west where Christianity had not then permeated. The continuance of more primitive customs and superstitions among peoples who are Christian believers is a phenomenon very familiar in Europe as well as in Africa.

It is of course widely known that Christianity was officially adopted as the State religion of Ethiopia in the first quarter of the fourth century after Christ and that thenceforth the Ethiopian Christian Orthodox Church was connected with the See of St. Mark at Alexandria in Egypt.

Frumentius, Ethiopia's first Christian Bishop, known in Ethiopia as Abba Salama was consecrated about A.D. 325 by Athanasius the Great, in Alexandria, where he had journeyed from Aksum to ask that a Bishop be appointed for the growing Christian congregations in Ethiopia. Dr. Ullendorff writes of Frumentius: "He was of course a Syrian." Rufinus on whose authorty the accepted account of Frumentius is based (in addition of course to Ethiopian sources), declares that Frumentius was a native of the Phoenician City-State of Tyre, famous with its sister city, Sidon, in Biblical and other ancient history. Under Assyrian conquerors Tyre maintained its language and political identity and issued its own coins. After the fall of Assyrian rule Tyre suffered the assault of divers other imperial conquerors. In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great succeeded in entering the city after a siege of seven months in which he built out a mole from the mainland to enable him to bring his engines of war to the very walls of Tyre. He is said to have massacred 800 Tyrians and sold 30,000 into slavery. Nevertheless after suffering the oppression of other conquerors, Tyre was again fully independent in 120 B.C. The Roman conqueror, Pompey arrived in 64 B.C. but Tyre was allowed to retain self-government. Being now within the Roman Empire, Tyre, Sidon and the other Phoenician cities lost their ancient language during the second century A.D. Nevertheless when, in the fourth century A.D., Frumentius became Bishop at Aksum, one should like to think he still considered himself one of the able, industrious Phoenicians in ancient times.

As we understand from the writings of many Semitic scholars, Phoenician was a western Semitic language the branch to which Hebrew, Canaanite and Moabite belong. Araniaric, the semitic language the Phoenicians are said to have adopted as their current speech when their own language had disappeared was, we understand, originally a Northern Semitic language, but acquired an extremely wide diffusion and came to be spoken over an area extending from Babylonia to Palestine and Egypt. Assyrian we believe, was of the Eastern branch of Semitic languages, as was Babylonian and its descendant, Syriac, spoken in the Christian era.

Dr. Ullendorff, who is of course a Semitic scholar, considers the classifications into North, West, East and South Semitic "more obscure rather than illuminate." Be that as it may, we would follow Rufinus and Ludolf in considering Frumentius as a Phoenician and a native of the famous city of Tyre.

We think Dr. Ullendorff is mistaken in ascribing desire to please the Emperor Constantine as a factor in causing the Emperor Ezana at Aksum in Ethiopia to espouse the Christian faith. We have it from Rufinus that Frumentius had been the tutor and was the trusted adviser of Ezana; it was from Athanasius in Alexandria and not from the Roman Emperor in Constantinople that a Bishop was sought for Ethiopia. How small was the influence of the Roman Emperor on the ruler of Aksum, as compared with the influence of Alexandria and of Frumentius himself is seen in the fact that the demand of the Roman Emperor Constantius, addressed in A.D. 356, to Ezana for the dismissal of Frumentius because he had been consecrated by Athanasius and the claim of the Roman Emperor to exercise authority over the Ethiopian church* were completely ignored. Frumentius and Alexandria remained the paramount church influences at Aksum.

ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES

In his chapter on Ethiopian languages Dr. Ullendorff makes the unambitious prophecy that Amharic will, "in time" become "a *lingua franca* in most parts of the Ethiopian Empire."

The Ethiopian Government has of course already given Amharic the status of a national language. Every nation needs a national language. The fact of the diffusion of Amharic being greater than that of any other Ethiopian language long ago established it as the inevitable national language of Ethiopia. It is taught in the schools; the textbooks, newspapers and official documents are published in Amharic.

English has already become largely a *lingua franca* for Ethiopia and several other African territories, though in Ethiopia it has to contend for this position with Arabic, French and Italian.

ETHIOPIAN ART

We cannot follow Dr. Ullendorff in the claim he makes on page 159 that "the most potent influence in Ethiopia was no doubt exerted by Byzantine art." From Ethiopia's first entry into the Christian world her art henceforth was devoted mainly to the service of the Christian faith. She was, as we have seen, attached to the Christian church of Alexandria. Our author himself is not alone in pointing to the Syrian words found in the Ethiopic translation of the Bible and to the Hebraic traditions which influenced the Ethiopian Church ritual.

Moreover Ethiopia looked always with reverence to Jerusalem and the Holy land as the birthplace of Christianity; her pilgrims journeyed there and as early as the twelfth century she obtained there a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a station in the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem. She early established a monastery for her ecclesiastics in Jerusalem. To Ethiopia came Monoplysite refugees from other Eastern Churches when theoretical disagreement respecting the nature of Christ

* For the English translation of this letter see "Ethiopia: A Cultural History"; for the Italian translation see Rossini.

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caused division in the early Church. It is these refugees who are believed to have introduced Syrian terms into the Ethiopian Church ritual and the translation of the Bible. Our author holds this view, why should we look so far away as Byzantium for the principal influence on Ethiopian art when these other nearer and closer associations are known to have existed?

This assumption is presumably based on the motion that Christian art originated in Rome and Constantinople, formerly current, but now generally discarded. On this point we may quote Heathcote Statham*, who in his "History of Architecture," wrote more than fifty years ago:

"In Texier and Pullan's work on Byzantium architecture it is remarked that the science of construction acquired by the Romans descended to the Byzantines! If this is intended as an assumption that the typical Byzantium form of architecture was derived from Rome—that Hagia Sophia** is the architectural descendant of the Pantheon, we must hold it to be a false conclusion. Neither in regard to construction nor detail is there any alliance between the two."

Actually the dome of the Pantheon rests upon a circular building, whereas that of St. Sophia, with its two semi-domes, extends over a rectangular space, the architectural construction of St. Sophia and other Byzantine churches was therefore immensely more difficult and called for the application of other methods of building construction than that of the Roman Pantheon.

Breasted, who participated in the excavation of numerous ancient cities, explains in his "Ancient Times"† that the great dome of Hadrian's Pantheon in Rome is a huge concrete cast, supported during its construction on a wooden framework of the requisite shape until the concrete had set hard. This frame was subsequently removed by knocking away the wooden posts which held it in position.

Breasted also emphasises that the Emperor Octavian (B.C. 63—A.D. 14), the greatest builder of Rome, was much interested in the architecture of the Orient, which in his time of course could be seen in its glory, not as today so largely in ruins, or hidden by the sands. "Octavian's Triumphal Arch" was arranged with three gates like the Assyrian palace. He carried away from the Nile a number of Egyptian obelisks. . . . In building his own family tomb he selected a design from the Orient."

Hayford Pierce and Royall Tyler, in an article on Byzantine architecture in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1947 edition observe: "In the 100 years preceding Constantine, Eastern influence on Roman culture increased continually. In architecture the Syrian provinces developed a vivid style of their own, which by the time of Hadrian (117—123 A.D.) already showed marked changes in classical practice." These writers add "many builders working on the later Roman Empire seem to have had Syrian training. When Constantine moved his capital to Constantinople (330 A.D.) the importance of the Syrian influence in its architecture was inevitable." These authors recall the well-known fact that Isidorus of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles (both from the East) were the architects of St. Sophia, the most famous edifice of the Byzantine style.

It is, however, to Josef Strzygowski*, who has spent his life in the study of the origins of Christian art among churches and ruins of churches themselves, not in the library alone, that we must turn for the fullest and most accurate information. In his "Christian Church Art," he observed that while the decisive development of Islam took place in the East, Christianity spread both East and West. In the early years of its growth, he says, the peoples of the Mediterranean coast-lands were perhaps a third of its adherents, the other two-thirds were Semites and Iranians, both Eastern peoples.

"Syrians, Cappadocians, Armenians, with the populations of the adjoining Iranian territory to the East and the Greeks on the West, together created a Christian art of cardinal importance for the Middle Ages and the succeeding period down to the building of St. Peter's by Bramante and the Church of Gesú by Vignola. The great Mediterranean cities, with Rome at their head may soon have created to their own satisfaction a so-called Christian art. But the lead was quickly taken by the peoples of Hither Asia, wedged between Iran and the Roman Empire whose artistic forms were instinct with vital force. These nations were in contact with Christianity at so early a date that in their case it was possible for Christianity to become a State religion as early as the third century, thus both Edessa and Armenia took this step earlier than Rome. This is a decisive fact, not only in political but also in artistic history."

Strzygowski considers on the basis of archaeological researches, in which he has been confirmed by others, asserts that the barrel vault was invented in Mesopotamia and the dome in Iran.

He further urges: "As soon as Syria and Armenia, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Southern Persia and finally Northern Iran were united by the possession of common ideas, physical conditions themselves compelled the emergence of a new cultural centre. This actually happened in the early Christian period. What the Mediterranean was to the Graeco-Roman world, the triangle of cities Edessa, Nisibis, Amida, became for the nationalities of Hither Asia. . . .

"Everything justifies the assumption that fixed types in church building were here developed before the fourth century, a time when in the Roman Empire Christianity was barely tolerated or had only just begun to make itself felt. The supersession of the Greek style of the Mediterranean by the vaulted architecture of the Syrian and Armenian area is only intelligible on the theory that this architecture already had reached maturity."

All students of the historic styles in architecture and all the arts, whether fine or applied, are aware that the architecture and decoration of the Orient had an immense impact on every aspect of art in the West and gave it a new direction. The commencement of this new direction coincided with the advent of Christianity. Figure sculpture which had been prominent in Greece and Rome and the ornaments of Greece and Rome in all their traditional forms were now replaced by the type of surface decoration developed in the East. Ornament which did not detract

* R. Heathcote Statham, **A History of Architecture**, revised by Hugh Braun, F.S.A. F.R.I.B., page 108.

** Hagia Sophie: Devine Wisdom, otherwise St. Sophie.

† J. H. Breasted, **Ancient Times: A History of the Ancient World**, pp. 610, 651.

* Josef Strzygowski, **Origin of Christian Church Art: New Facts and Principles.** Translated by O. M. Dalton, M.A. and J. Braunholtz, M.A., pp. 1, 3

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from the flatness of the wall now predominated. Walls were covered with mosaics, or other characteristic decoration, with which the groups of figure sculpture seen in a Greek or Roman temple would have been incongruous. Sculpture, if used at all, had to be subordinated to the general scheme. In metal work and all the applied arts this new type of artistic expression became paramount. Byzantine art, in short, was produced by the impact of influences from the Orient; the new direction came from the East and spread westward along with the Christian faith which had been born in the Orient.

Constantinople, enriched by the tribute the Roman Emperors were able to exact from the subject peoples of their wide empire, was able, of course, to produce edifices of a grandeur far eclipsing those earlier produced. Correspondingly Aksum in the days of its splendour when its port, Adulis, was one of the principal markets of the Middle East, produced great buildings of a magnificence not afterwards approached in Ethiopia, even at Lalibela and probably not even at Gondar the wealth and splendour of Constantinople was never transmitted to Ethiopia.

With these facts and arguments before us, the assumption that Byzantine art exerted the most potent influence on Ethiopian art is seen to be untenable. Moreover, and this is a consideration more substantial than any theoretical discussion, however learned, Ethiopian church architecture is proved by existing examples to have been based on a form of building which had been employed on Ethiopian soil in pre-Christian times. The oldest existing Ethiopian churches incorporate the architectural features which are imitated in exquisite carving on the monolithic stelae of Aksum, each of which represents a tower with a door at the base and a series of storeys above containing the semblance of windows.

There is evidence to show that this style of building construction was also practised in Southern Arabia, and that immigrants from Arabia had brought it with them into their new African home. The style of building construction imitated in bas-relief on the stelae of Aksum is found in its most complete form in the ancient church of Debra Damo, erected on an almost inacessible mountain in the province of Tigré. The same type of construction was employed in a perhaps older church situated in Asmara, Eritrea, but the Italians demolished it and replaced it by a "picturesque representation of the Ethiopian style." The carved ornament found at Debra Damo is typical of the Orient—the Middle East—to which, of course, Ethiopia belonged.

David Buxton, like Strzygowski considered such ornament as that seen in the carved ceiling of Debra Damo to have originated in Persia. It is noticeable however, that most, if not all, the animals and birds carved on the ceiling panels of Debra Damo are alive in Ethiopia to this day and could have been observed there by the artist who carved the panels.

We do not find in Ethiopian art the sharply spiky acanthus of Byzantine ornament, but we find two most remarkable conventionalised representations of Euphorbia Abyssinica carved on the capitals of the old church at Asmara which were carefully drawn by the members of the German-Aksum expedition but which subsequently the Italians most calamitously destroyed. This is surely a remarkable instance of adaptation of local material by a local craftsman and should be accepted as an example of truly indigenous art.

One would suggest that the Ethiopian people, who alone, among the Semites created a complete vowel system for their originally consonental script were capable also of creating their own art. The stelae of Aksum are unique; there are none others resembling them in the world. The conventionalised ibex border carved on the pre-Christian votive throne excavated at Haoulti near Aksum appears to be the ancestor of the carvings on the ceiling at Debra Damo.

Our author himself avers that the Ethiopian artists were not mere copyists and that the features of the people and the Ethiopian landscapes modified and transformed any Biblical or other scenes the basis of which might have been received from abroad. We appreciate this discernment on his part.

On page 159 Dr. Ullendorff declares: "In its art Ethiopia displays the same syncretistic traits which we have observed in other facets of its civilisation." The commonest significance of the term "syncretism" is an attempt to reconcile different systems; it may mean an illogical compromise or a wise selection of what is regarded as best in different systems. We leave it to the reader to guess what Dr. Ullendorff really desires to convey.

He adds that Ethiopian art displays "the usual Semitic hesitations over representational art." He continues on page 159, "from Byzantium also originates (or at least receives strong support) the curious ambivalence between the Semitic aversion to depicting the divine figure and the uninhibited anthropomorphism of the classical world."

Anyone who has entered an Ethiopian church or turned over the pages of an Ethiopian manuscript, will discover no Semitic or other "hesitations over representational art," nor any trace of Semitic or other "aversion to depicting the divine figure."

On the contrary, the church walls are covered with representations of the Holy Trinity, depicted as three elderly men all dressed alike and resembling each other as closely as possible. The life of Christ, including such scenes as His scourging of the money changers in the Temple, the Agony in the Garden, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, will be depicted, as well as the life of the Virgin Mary, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi and so forth. The lives of the Saints, St. George slaying the Dragon, Heaven and Hell, with nude souls being destroyed by the Devil, Adam and Eve and the Serpent, are all to be found on the walls. The exploits of emperors and famous battles may also find a place in church mural decorations and in MSS. In the latter there may be also many homely scenes: the making of bread and wine, and the slaying of oxen in a very realistic fashion.

In Byzantine art itself we do not find "hesitations" in depicting the human figure or "aversion" to portraying divinity. True, the divine persons, whether Christ, or the Holy Trinity, are not portrayed nude, as the Greeks so often portrayed their gods, except in such scenes as the crucifixion where there is no reluctance to portray the nude Christ, either in Constantinople or in Ethiopia. The society of the Christian countries of the Orient was not like that of Greece and Rome. Public games and athletic contests which predominated in Greece and Rome were condemned

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by Christian Society. Physical perfection was no longer one of the paramount ambitions in a religion which was not of a privileged caste, but had sprung from the poor and lowly. Greek artists in Constantinople for a brief period portrayed Christ as a lovely youth such as the famous Greek sculptor Praxiteles might have carved, but this conception was soon superseded by the bearded Christ with long robes.

There was, of course, the Iconoclastic period in the Christian Church under the Roman Emperors of the Eastern Empire, which extended from about 726 A.D. to 842 A.D. We have no evidence that the Iconoclastic edicts of the Emperors and the ecclesiastical councils held under their auspices ever affected Ethiopia.

We know that in pre-Christian times representations of the human figure in sculpture was practised as has been demonstrated by recent archaeological discoveries notably at Haoulti but also at other sites. In the surviving Christian churches sculpture is rarely found, as accords with the prevailing taste of the Orient in the middle ages.

We would suggest that our author's assumption of semitic aversion to representational art and to depicting divinity springs from an undue restriction of the term Semitic to the Hebrews. Perhaps also he includes in his argument the followers of Mahommed who of course soon ceased to be all Semites.

Great Semitic Empires flourished thousands of years before the advent of Islam, in which representational art and the portrayal of divinity were in no wise inhibited. Under the great Semitic conqueror, Jargon, who triumphed over the Sumerians about 2,750 B.C. sculpture portraying human and animal figures was produced and soon developed a high degree of skill in bas-reliefs and seal engravings. Under the Akkadian Semite rulers fine sculptured figures were carved in bas-relief. The Amonite Semites of Syria also portrayed men, animals and divinities. Their ruler Hammurabi is sculptured on a monument receiving his code of law from their God. The Arameans and the Assyrians were of course also Semites. Both practised representational art. Who is there claiming to know anything about art and history who is not familiar with the marvellous Assyrian bas-reliefs: The Assyrian tree of life, sometimes topped by a representation of the god Assur drawing his bow, the terrible battle scenes, the chariots drawn by swift horses, the powerful archers, combats with lions, all depicted with amazing vigour. Finally followed the Chaldean Empire of Nebuchadnezzar who decorated his palace with glazed bricks on which were lines of fiercely realistic lions.

Stryzygowski goes so far as to assert that it was the Semites holding the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates who introduced representation art and portraiture into Christian art.

If that be so, we are convinced that these forms of art would have been introduced, in any case, from another source without much delay.

We regret to find at the commencement of the chapter on Art and Music what amounts to a depreciation of the great work contained in Vols.II and III of the "Deutsche Aksum Expedition" by Krencker and von Lüpke under the editorship of the great Ethiopic scholar, Enno Littmann. Our author only partially exempts this work from his dismissal as "prolegomend to an eventual full treatment," all that has hitherto been written concerning Ethiopian art and music. We suggest that the art and music of any people cannot be adequately treated in one book however "full." In Ethiopia archaeological researches are continually revealing fresh examples, of ancient art, while new works are being produced by contemporary artists as must be the case of any living people.

The two volumes of the German Aksum report, Dr. Ullendorff mentions, are illustrated not alone by photographs, but, still more important by beautiful and highly scholarly drawings, which reveal with perfect clarity the principles, as well as the style of Ethiopian building at the periods covered, the architecture studied extending over several centuries. The text also is highly illuminating.

Our desire would be to have reprinted the whole of this great German work of research, now out-of-print. It should be re-issued in its original language and also translated into English and French and published in a format less cumbrous than the original. This could be done without reducing the size of most of the illustrations. The few that would exceed the limits of a volume approximating in page area to the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, when reproduced in facsimile, could be enclosed in a folder at the back of the volume.

It is true the German Aksum expedition did not visit either Lalibela or Gondar; it is true that recent archaeological researches have revealed many new treasures, some of them several centuries older than the great Ezana inscriptions, as already noted. Nevertheless the report of the German Aksum expedition has permanent value and is essential to the study of Ethiopian art.

The little volume under review devotes less than a couple of pages to the treasures of Aksum.

We are obliged to reject Dr. Ullendorff's statement that the Church of Debra Dumo is the best preserved example of the old "rectangular style." This ancient church was shored up with timbers by the Italians during their occupation 1936-41, as it was falling apart. A few years after Ethiopian liberation the Ethiopian Government had it carefully rebuilt by Mr. D. H. Matthews.* All the stones were carefully numbered as they were taken down. Though every effort was made to secure an exact reproduction of the original structure, comparison of the church as it now stands with the careful drawing of it by the German Aksum expedition before serious disintegration commenced clearly reveal that certain features have disappeared. The building nevertheless remains a precious gem of ancient Ethiopian architecture.

For the best preserved examples of the old rectangular style we must go to Imrahanna Kristos, built in a cave on Mount Abuna Joseph, and thereby preserved from war and from weather, and to Bethlehem, safeguarded from injury by seclusion inside a large circular tukul-style building.

Imrahanna Kristos is not so old as Debra Damo. It bears of a Zagwé sovereign who is said to have built it and to have lived in the same cave for many years. He reigned from about A.D. 1110 to 1150.

Imrahanna Kristos has the alternate projection and recession of the walls which are found on the Aksum stelae, as well as at Debra Damo. It has alternate layers of wood and stone which characterise ancient Ethiopian building and are initiated on the Aksum stelae, but the projecting round ended beams or "monkey heads," so prominent a feature

* Sylvia Pankhurst. **Ethiopia: a Cultural History**, Plate IX pp. 65, 67.

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on the stelae, and found also at Debra Damo, are discarded at Imrahanna Kristos. Preserved by its seclusion in its cave, the pristine brightness of the whitened plaster covering the layers of stone and the contrasting bands of blackened wood show forth brilliantly on the walls of Imrahanna, while from the weathered stone of Debra Damo all traces of plaster have disappeared.

We are surprised that Dr. Ullendorff apparently knows nothing of Imrahanna Kristos, though several photographs of it appear in Mr. Buxton's "Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia" and also in "Ethiopia: A Cultural History."

Recently, as our readers will have noted from No. 5, Vol. IV of "Ethiopia Observer," a number of photographs in colour and black and white of the interior of Imrahanna Kristos have been published by Mrs. Irmgard-Bidder. There is probably no wood-carving in Imrahanna quite to equal the exquisite panels in the ceiling of the Narthex at Debra Damo, but Imrahanna possesses many other beauties. Bethlehem, also built in the old rectangular style, is in the village of Gaynt. This beautiful little church was photographed and described by Thomas Pakenham.*

Our author claims his book has been produced to repair the absence in the English language which he alleges exists, of any suitable work of introduction to existing knowledge of historical and modern Ethiopia. We are accordingly surprised to discover so many instances of his lack of knowledge concerning the historic monuments of Ethiopian art and of the works in which other writers have endeavoured to disseminate knowledge of them. Here in his chapter on art and music, Dr. Ullendorf declares Medhane Alem, the largest of the rock-hewn churches " betrays at once its connection with the storeyed stelae of Aksum."

Unfortunately of all the rock-hewn churches Medhane Alem, with its outer colonnade, is the one which shows the least connection with the stelae of Aksum. True, it is the largest of the rock-hewn churches, but it is Emmanuel, a smaller church, which reproduces the storeys depicted on the stelae of Aksum in imitation of the style of Ethiopian building seen at Debra Damo and Imrahanna Kristos. With a trifle more attention to the photographs which are reproduced in the works he has cited, our author might have informed himself correctly. He has evidently endeavoured to cover too wide a field in the time at his disposal. All authors make mistakes but here we certainly have a full measure of them. We are correcting some of these errors in order to assist enquirers who desire information concerning Ethiopian art and culture. Photographs of the rock churches appear in David Buxton's *Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, in *Ethiopia, a Cultural History*, and in Achille Raffray's *Les Eglises Monolithes de la ville de Lalibela*, 1882; A. A. Monti della Corte's *le Chiese Ipogee e Monolitiche e gli Altri Monumenti Medievali de Lasta*, 1940; L. Findlay's *Monolithic Churches of Lalibela*, 1943. This is not a complete list.

Gondar and other Palaces

Dr. Ullendorf follows the oft-repeated error of other writers in ascribing the castles of Gondar to "Portuguese craftsmen." In fact it is known that the castle of the Emperor Fasiladas, the first and largest of these castles was built by an Indian as is stated by an Arab writer who visited Gondar several years after the castle was erected.

The statement on pages 159-60 that no secular buildings have survived and that " as Ethiopian Emperors had no permanent capital (excepting again only the Gondar period) no royal palaces were built," requires examination. One may mention the two most famous capitals of ancient and mediaeval times, Aksum and Lalibela. Older capitals than Aksum are known to have existed. At Aksum, Cosmas in the sixth century A.D. mentions " the four-towered palace of the king." The German Aksum expeditions discovered and published reconstructions of many palaces whose ruins they had excavated, including the foundations of the palace Cosmas mentions. A reconstruction was published by Rossini. It appears also in "Ethiopia, a Cultural History." The ruins of the ancient seaport of Adulis excavated by the German expedition comprise of remains of an entire town wiith streets and many secular edifices as well as a temple of pre-Christian times and a later Christian town. The later archaeological researches have unearthed the foundations of many secular buildings in the Aksum neighbourhood, as well as the foundations of several other cities.

Coming nearer to the Gondar period the Castle of Guzara built for Sartsa Dengel (1563-1597) is still to be seen, although in a ruined state. Debra Berhan was the capital of many Ethiopian sovereigns. The palace of Yohannes IV (1868-1889) is still extant and in good condition at Makalle. The Shoan King Sahle Sellassie (died 1846) had two palaces, one at Angolala, the other at Ankober. These residences were visited by French and British travellers and envoys.

There were of course many more royal residences and residences of Governors. Great numbers of palaces and great numbers of churches were destroyed in the long periods of war, that of the Moslems aided by Turkish arms, the Galla invasions, before the Gallas became assimilated, the two Italian wars. The tropical rains and the prolific growth of vegetation contributed to rapid decay. Fugitive building materials were used, of course, in several cases, as happened also elsewhere.

Dr. Ullendorff states the dwellings of the humble were huts of poor construction. Is there anywhere in the ancient world where this was not the case? Does anyone think there were model flats for workmen in Babylon? Has the learned doctor read of how the plague and subsequently the Great Fire of 1666 spread in the wooden earth-floored dwellings of seventeenth century London? London was a very prosperous city at the time.

The statement that the " Old Palace " of Menelik II in Addis Ababa is " essentially European " is of course mistaken. The architect of this palace was an Indian, Haji Kawas. The Swiss engineer, Alfred Ilg, whom the Emperor Menelik employed, only arranged the water supply. Anyone who visits the " old palace " will recognise the Indian style.

Stone Age Cave Painting

We have been more greatly astonished by the following passages from page 165 than by anything else in this little book. Its author is here refering to cave carvings and paintings found at Kohaito and in other parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea:

" It seems probable that they are either contemporaneous with the Aksumite epoch, or even antedate it. In any

* Thomas Pakenham, **The Mountains of Rasselas**, pp. 132—134.

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event they must be much earlier than even the oldest paintings in manuscripts. . ."

Cave art is of course the work of mankind in the Stone-Age. It belongs to a period infinitely remote from that of Aksum where masons of the time carved from the mountain, transported and set upright enormous monuments, one of them 120 feet in height, exceeding in size the largest of the obelisks of Egypt. As we have seen, the building style of the period was imitated in the decoration of these monuments with consummate skill. Moreover at Aksum, as the German archaeologists, and their French successors more recently discovered sumptuous palaces were erected. All this was totally imposible to Stone-Age man. He lacked the necessary tools, the technical skill, the architectural knowedge.

C. C. Rossini published in his "Storia d'Etiopia" some drawings by himself and others copying Stone-Age art incised on the rocks and a photograph by Dainelli of the cave painting of flocks and herds in the cave of Addi Alauti at Kohaitu which Dr. Ullendorff mentions. These are seen to be typical Stone-Age work. The delineation of the animals is extremely primitive, though the grouping and the arrangement of dark and light colour is very attractive. There is nothing here of the perfect precision in stone-cutting found in the decorated stelae of Aksum or of the beautiful ornament found in the floral and animal carving discovered at Aksum, Adullis and other Aksumite sites.

In 1933, before the Italian War, H. Breuil, the eminent specialist in prehistoric cave art, was invited to visit Ethiopia to examine cave paintings discovered in the previous year at Surré, near Harar. Further cave paintings were subsequently found near Harar and Diredawa. Here are depicted, with considerable spirit, men with bows and arrows, children, cattle with large horns, cows and their calves, birds, leopards. Breuil published a detailed description of these important discoveries in the review "L'Anthropologie." He there described these works of ancient Stone Age art as being similar to the cave art of "predynastic and protodynastic Egypt when man had attempted to domesticate the wild ruminants surrounding him." This, he argued, was long before the humped zebu cattle, now usual in Ethiopia, had arrived in the country. In fact in the cattle of these cave-paintings no hump is seen.

While Breuil declared it impossible to determine whether these Ethiopian works were anterior, posterior or contemporary with the neolithic art of Egypt, the relationship between them he said, compelled attention. Most especially the similarity was evident between the cave carvings of Jebel Wenet in Libya, depicting cattle with large horns and without humps and those found at Surre, 50 kilometres west of Harar city; certainly these Surre cave paintings belonged, he declared, to a prehistoric civilisation which extended to the Libyan desert and further . . . Enough has been probably adduced here to indicate that the cave art of Ethiopia has been known to scholars who specialise on the art of the Stone Age humanity for thirty years or more.

Dr. Ullendorff declares a lioness carved on a boulder on a mountain slope at Gobedra, a short distance from Aksum resembles the English white horses in Wiltshire and Berkshire. The same statement was made by an earlier writer. This fact indicates how reading in the library, unchecked by personal observation, may lead authors astray. There is in fact no resemblance at all between the lioness of Gobedra and the English white horses. The lioness is approximately life-size, only 3.27 metres. The white horses of England are of gigantic size. that of Uppingham, the oldest, measures 374 feet from nose to tail. Moreover the lioness is only slightly relieved from its background of blue-grey stone and is a monochrome on a monochrome ground. The white horses on the other hand have been produced and are maintained by cutting away the green turf on a steep hillside and revealing the white chalk beneath. The contrasting green and white, together with their immense size renders the white horses visible from a great distance. The most famous of the white horses, that at Uppingham, is mentioned in a document of 1084. It is highly conventionalised and resembles horses on coins of that period. Moreover the outline carved on stone made possible a more naturalistic treatment than could be achieved by cutting away the turf. Von Lüpke of the German Aksum Expedition, though unable to estimate its date, points to the fact that the lioness is much more realistic in style than the lion heads found at St. Mary of Aksum (built in the reign of Emperor of Fasiladas (1632-1667)). He therefore suggests it may be of later date.

On page 107 we find the assertion that the painters and scribes who produced the Ethiopian manuscripts were priests and monks. By Ethiopian ecclesiastics we are assured this is not the case; the painters and scribes were not in Holy Orders, although working mainly for the Church or on religious texts for persons rich enough to commission for them.

"Senior District Officers"?

The chapter on "Daily Life and Customs" is redolent of out-of-date books and of what our author heard when he served in the British Administration in Eritrea. There are, of course no Senior District Officers in Ethopia; they are a purely British colonial institution introduced under the British Military Administration of Eritrea 1941-1951, they were never appointed in Ethiopia. They should have no place in a book which declares "We shall again only be concerned with the life of the people in historic Abyssinia . . . since they alone embody and represent traditional Ethiopia"

The changes in house-building among the people, as seen in Addis Ababa and on the roads throughout the country as one drives from east to west, north to south, were not perceived by our author during his brief visit, though they are very considerable. Since these were not observed, it will be understood that the less manifest changes in the customs of the people have not been discerned by him. This part of the book should be omitted.

The final chapter entitled "Ethiopia To-day" is based largely on official documents to that extent it is innocuous. We cannot follow our author in his statement that the Italian Government of Eritrea "worked remarkably well." We do not think Eritreans would agree with his statement that the departure of thousands of Italians has left Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, "an empty, at times almost eerie place, a white elephant." We have not space to recall the

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Ethiopian Record

Ethiopian Troops for Congo; New African States Gain Independence

July 6.—His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Haile Sellassie, granted an audience to Mr. B. K. Birla of the Indo-European Textile Company who announced the grant of two 5-year scholarships for Ethiopians to study textile technology (see *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. IV, No. 10).

July 7.—It was announced that Ethiopian Airlines has purchased two Boeing 720 B jet airliners.

July 7.—It was learned that 23 students had graduated at the Ethiopian College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. 1, No. 10).

July 10.—A new nail factory costing over Eth. $200,000 was inaugurated at Nazareth by the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Planning, H.E. Ato Makonnen Haptewold.

July 13.—The Emperor exchanges telegrams with Dr. Nkrumah on the Congo crisis.

July 13.—The Emperor awarded 56 degrees, diplomas and certificates at the University College of Addis Ababa's seventh graduation ceremony.

July 14.—The Emperor in a telegram to Mr. Hammarskjoeld announced that Ethiopia would immediately fly its first battalion of troops to Congo.

July 17.—Ethiopia's annual arbour day ceremonies were held at Holleta agricultural field.

July 17.—The Emperor in a telegram to Mr. Hammarskjoeld announced the details by which the first air-lift of 600 Ethiopian troops to Congo would be complete by July 18.

July 18.—His Majesty awarded 826 school-leaving certificates and 290 other awards to Addis Ababa scholars.

July 19.—The Emperor in another telegram to the United Nations Secretary-General announced Ethiopia's readiness to despatch a further two battalions to Congo.

July 21.—His Majesty laid the foundation of a Community Development Workers' Training and Demonstration Centre at Koka.

July 23.—All Ethiopia celebrated the Emperor's birthday.

July 25.—The Emperor inaugurated the model houses of the new Low Cost Housing project.

July 26.—His Majesty received in audience Mr. and Mrs. Skouras, President of 20th Century Fox.

July 28.—The Emperor received Ethiopia's 11 participants for the International Olympic Games.

July 28.—The following appointments were announced: Tsehafe Taezaz Gabrawold Inngida Work, to be Minister of State in the Ministry of the Pen; Ato Ketema Yifru, to be Vice-Minister in the Ministry of the Pen; Lieutenant Dereje Haile Mariam, to be Assistant of the Haile Sellassie I Military Academy, with rank of Captain; Bejirond Makonnen Eshete, to be Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Finance; Ato Mulatu Debebe, to be Director-General of Planning in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Planning; Ato Tekle Haymanot, to be Director-General of Economics in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry anl Planning.

July 29.— Ethiopia's first six F 86 F jet fighters were seen over Addis Ababa.

July 29.—The following appointments were announced: Ato Zenebe Haile, to be Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Finance; Ato Hagos Twelde Medhen, to be Adviser in His Imperial Majesty's Embassy in Moscow; Kegnazmach Feleke Irgetu, to be Assistant Minister of Veterinary in the Ministry of Agriculture; Major Deneke Reta, to be Consul General in His Majesty's Consulate General in Djibouti; Ato Gebre-Meskal Oda, to be Director General of Administration in the Ministry of Agriculture; Ato Amde Wandafrash, to be Director-General of Animal Husbandry in the Ministry of Agriculture; Ato Ketema Abebe, to be Assistant Minister of Development in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; Kegnazmach Ayanew Adale, to be Director-General of the Ministry of Justice; Blatta Beyene Biadegelegne, to be Inspector in the Ministry of Agriculture; Ato Zewene Wolde-Mariam, to be Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Gerazmatch Beyene Tegene, to be Provincial Governor of Ellekeree in the Governorate General of Balle; Ato Gorffu Gabre Medhene, to be Director-General of Accounting in the Ministry of Finance; Ato Haile Alemayou, to be Director-General of the

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condition of Eritrea under Italian colonial rule, save to point out that it was as "a white elephant" that the British described Asmara when they occupied it after the Italian defeat in 1941. They applied this term to Asmara because of its parasitic dependence upon imports from Italy—even imports of milk and vegetables, and its lack of industries.

The author advocates "considerable development" of the port of Assab; in fact the construction of the new port of Assab had been commenced some years before he wrote by the "Pomgrad" Company of Yugoslavia with supervision by "Norconsultants" of Norway and the new port is now nearing completion.

We must dissent from the statement of Dr. Ullendorff on page 203 that "vast sums" of money are being spent in Ethiopia on the upkeep, improvement and construction of roads. This is a vast exaggeration. Ethiopia, with her modest revenue is struggling to improve her highway network but only with difficulty and at the cost of postponing or restricting many other desired objectives. The "generous foreign loans and investments" the author mentions are of course extremely small in relation to the vast field of resources awaiting development in Ethiopia. A total revenue of Eth.$20,000,000, annually, even though it has somewhat risen since the figures our author quotes were compiled, is of course, inadequate to maintain and develop Northern Ethiopia with her great interests, responsibilities and possibilities. Nevertheless, Ethiopia will persevere to-day and to-morrow as in former times.

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Technical Department in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; Kegnazmach Seyoum Negash, to be Director of the Governorate General of Balle; Ato Araya Bekele to be Assistant Auditor to the Deputy Auditor-General; Ato Kassa Lulesegede, to be Director of the Adolla Mines.

July 30.—Their Imperial Majesties arrived in Dire Dawa at the beginning of their annual visit to Harar province.

July 31.—The Emperor sent a telegram to M. Hubert Magu, Prime Minister of Dahomey, on the attainment of his country's independence.

August 2.—It was announced that the Ethiopian Brigadier General Iyassou was appointed Chief of Staff of U.N. Forces in Congo.

August 2.—The Emperor sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Hamani Diori, Prime Minister of Niger, on his country's independence.

August 3.—The Emperor in a telegram to Mr. Hammarskjoeld announced Ethiopia's willingness to send yet another battalion to Congo. Arrangements were also to be made, he said, to send a gift of 7½ tons of canned meat.

August 3.—It was announced that Mr. Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, was to visit Ethiopia in the near future.

August 4.—Arrangements were made to send 11 Ethiopian telecommunications specialists to Congo.

August 4.—The Emperor sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Marice Yameogo of Upper Volta, on the attainment of his country's independence.

August 7.—His Majesty sent a telegram of congratulations to M. Houphouet Boigny, Prime Minister of Ivory Coast, on the attainment of his country's independence.

August 8.—It was announced that the Emperor had agreed to the proposal of an African Summit Conference to be held in Congo.

August 10.—The Emperor sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Francois Tombalbaye, Prime Minister of Chad, on his country's independence.

August 10.—Commander Alexander Desta began a 3-day visit to Portugal.

August 12.—The Emperor laid the foundation-stone of a new school at Dire Dawa.

August 12.—It was announced in New York that Ethiopia and Liberia were ready to submit the United Nations dispute with the Union of South Africa to the International Court of Justice.

August 12.—The Emperor sent a telegram of congratulations to M. David Dacko, Prime Minister of the Central African Republic, on the attainment of its independence.

August 12.—His Majesty sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Fulbert Youlbu, on the attainment of his country's independence.

August 14.—The Emperor urged the need for African unity in a telegram to Mr. Tshombe, of Katanga.

August 15.—It was announced that Ethiopia's fourth battalion for Congo had left.

August 15.—The Emperor sent a telegram of congratulation to Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, on his country's independence.

August 16.—His Majesty sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Leon Mba, Prime Minister of Gabon, on the attainment of his country's independence.

August 21.—The Emperor and President Tubman exchanged telegrams on the Congo crisis.

August 21.—The Emperor and M. Mamadow Dia exchanged telegrams on the Mali Federation crisis.

August 23.—Ato Belai Abai, Ethiopian economist with the Economic Commission for Africa left for Congo.

August 24.—Their Imperial Majesties returned to Addis Ababa from their visit to Harar province.

August 30.—The Emperor sent telegrams to the leaders of other independent African states calling for a meeting to discuss the Congo crisis.

September 5.—His Majesty exchanged telegrams with Mr. Hammarskjoeld on the Congo crisis.

September 5.—His Majesty presided over an Extraordinary Conference of the Ethiopian Armed Forces to discuss the Congo situation.

September 5.—The Annual Education Conference opened in Addis Ababa.

Correspondence

FROM LORD PETHICK LAWRENCE OF PEASLAKE

My dear Sylvia,

I have been reading in the June issue of the *Ethiopia Observer* your article on the Rock Churches of Lalibela. I appreciate what these remarkable objects must be like because I know several of the famous caves in India which have been hewn out of the solid rock in somewhat the same way. When I was Secretary of State for India the Nizam presented me with a case of beautiful plates (on card of course) depicting both the Ajanta and the Ellora caves in "his" State of Hyderabad. (In 1957 I visited them in person.)

As you say, it is the Ellora cave which most nearly resembles the works in Ethiopia. They are also both religious in origin.

According to the information which was given to me (and which is borne out by the statues inside) the dates of the caves are somewhat older than what you say, ranging from the oldest 1st or 2nd century A.D. to the latest 6th or 7th century A.D.

In the earliest there is a sculptured reproduction of the Buddha—*standing*; in the next Buddha is sitting (as you and I do). A century or two later he is portrayed sitting cross legged, and finally in the seventh century cave all traces of the Buddha have vanished and we are back to the Hindu gods Shiva and Parvati.

This shift back from Buddhism to Brahmanism is borne out chronologically by what is known of contemporary history in India. An archeologist friend of mine has also told me that had there been a cave earlier than the Christian era it would have had no image of Buddha in it at all because Buddha was revered as a prophet at the time and not worshipped as a god.

Your affectionate,

FRED.

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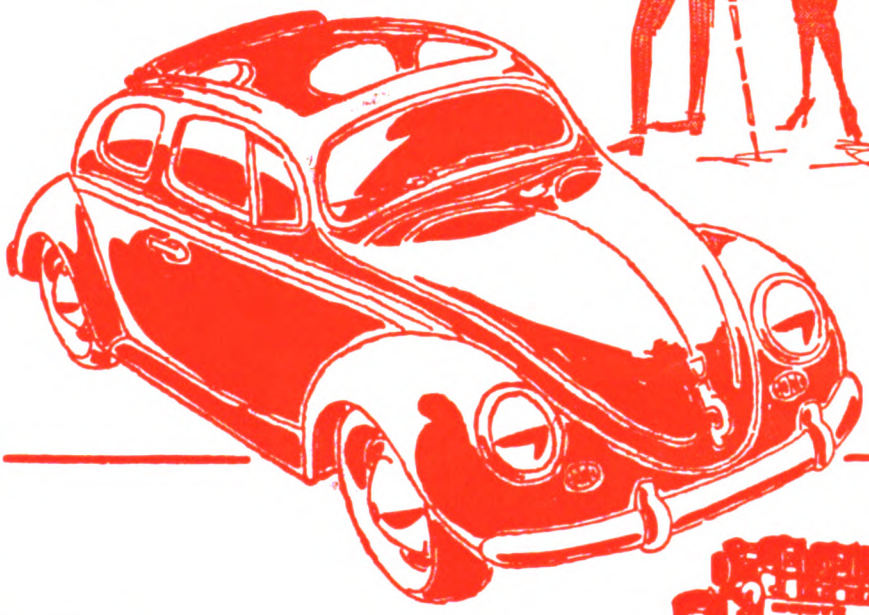

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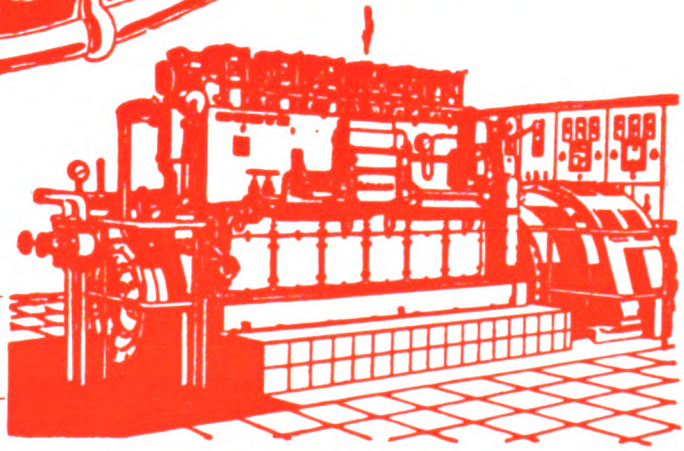

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